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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN MILTON,

AND

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

OXFORD:

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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN MILTON:

NARRATED IN CONNEXION WITH

THE POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND LITERARY

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

BY

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VOL. VI.

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PREFACE TO VOLUME VI.

It is naturally with some satisfaction that I complete at last a work begun so long ago. It is a satisfaction also, to myself at least, to have been able to persevere to the very end in the original plan, omitting nothing, slurring nothing, that the plan required. In the present volume, for example, I have done my best towards the conjunction of a sufficient History of the Restoration and its Consequences with the concluding Fourteen Years of Milton's Biography.

It is unnecessary, I hope, to repeat my assurance that the historical portions of the six volumes, even those that are most summary in appearance, are no mere compilations from any existing history, or from all existing histories together, but are the results of original and independent survey and inquiry, according to gradually formed notions of what English History ought to be and to include, with very deep digging, and much use of the pickaxe, in many tracts and spots of previously neglected ground. What may be more necessary is the repetition of an acknowledgment made, more than eight years ago, in the Preface to Volume II. "I never can pass a sheet of the historical kind for the press," I then wrote, "without a dread lest, from inadvertence or from sheer ignorance, some error, some blunder even, may have escaped me." No sincere historical inquirer but will understand this confession and sympathise with it; but I would repeat it now expressly with reference to the entire work. The errors of fact that have yet been pointed out in the previous volumes are few and slight; but I am aware of some that have not been pointed out. The gradual

execution of the work and the publication of it in successive instalments have occasioned also some flaws of mechanical form, which revision might amend. As it stands, I can but offer it as, on the whole, a faithful fulfilment of a large design, and trust that it may not be without its uses in its professed character, as combining a more thorough and minute Life of Milton than had before been attempted with a new Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of Milton's whole Time.

Though the dimensions of the book are somewhat unusual they are even moderate for such a combination of the Biography of Milton with a History of England, and of the connexions of England with Scotland and Ireland, and with foreign countries, through the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, the Protectorates of Oliver and Richard, the Anarchy, and the first fourteen years of the Restoration. A copious Index is needed and is in preparation; and meanwhile there may be some convenience in the Tables of Contents prefixed to the several volumes and in the studied fulness of those for Volumes IV, V, and VI.

EDINBURGH: *December*, 1879.

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THE LIFE OF JOHN MILTON,

WITH THE

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

CHAPTER I.

THE YEAR OF THE RESTORATION: MAY 1660—MAY 1661.

At the Hague, whither Charles and his retinue had removed from Breda, and where their reception by the States-General was "incredibly noble and splendid," there duly arrived, on the 15th of May, 1660, the Commissioners from the two Houses of the Convention Parliament, sent to congratulate his Majesty and implore his immediate presence in his dominions. In the audiences they had with him next day the chief spokesman was Denzil Holles, one of the twelve Commissioners for the Commons. He informed his Majesty of the boundless joy of the Parliament in the prospect of his return, and of their alacrity in adopting means for manifesting that joy. "In so doing," proceeded Holles, "they are, "according to the nature of Parliaments, the true representa- "tives of the whole nation; for they but do that in a more "contracted and regular way which the generality of the "people of the land, from one end of it to the other, do in "a more confused and disorderly manner, yet as heartily and "as affectionately. All degrees and ages and sexes,—rich "and poor, as I may say, and men, women, and children,—

"join in sending up this prayer to Heaven, *God bless King "Charles! Long live King Charles!*, so as our English air is "not susceptible of any other sound, and echoes out nothing "else. Our bells, bonfires, peals of ordnance, volleys of shot, "the shouts and acclamations of the people, bear no other "moral, have no other signification, but to triumph in the "triumph of our King in the hearts of his people. Your "Majesty cannot imagine, nor can any man conceive it but "he who was present to see and hear it, with what joy, what "cheerfulness, what lettings out of the soul, what expressions "of transported minds, a stupendous concourse of people "attended the proclaiming of your Majesty, in your cities "of London and Westminster, to be our most potent, mighty, "and undoubted King. The oldest man living never saw the "like before; nor is it probable, scarce possible, that he who "has longest to live will ever see the like again." With this and the other speeches, copies of the Proclamation, the letters of the Parliament, and other documents, were delivered to Charles, and acknowledged most graciously. Then, for yet another week, the crowded Hague was still festive round the departing Royalty of the British Islands, the States maintaining their hospitalities magnificently to the last. The only inconvenience to Charles and his brothers was that they had some difficulty in obtaining cash for the bills on Amsterdam merchants which had been sent them by Parliament in payment of the main portion of the sums voted them for their first expenses. Or, if there was any other inconvenience, it arose from the necessity of granting interviews to Messrs. Reynolds, Calamy, Manton, Case, and the other eminent Presbyterian ministers who had come from London to bespeak the King's fidelity to Presbytery and the Solemn League and Covenant, or at least to obtain his assurance that he would not show sudden favour to Episcopacy by requiring the use of the Book of Common Prayer and the surplice by his own chaplains. In the particular of his own practice the King told the reverend gentlemen distinctly that he reserved the same liberty for himself that he meant to allow to others; but on the general question he was sufficiently polite.

There was then with his Majesty another representative of British Presbyterianism, who had preceded the English clergymen. This was the Scottish Mr. James Sharp. Monk, with whom he had been in close intimacy in London for the last three months, had dispatched him to Breda in a frigate, with express and very private letters of introduction to the King and to Hyde. It was thought that Sharp, while his main business would be to secure the Kirk and Covenant in Scotland, might be able to do something also for the cause of Presbytery in England; and, when it was known in Scotland that he had gone to Breda, his friends among the Scottish Resolutioner clergy, and especially Mr. Douglas in Edinburgh and Mr. Baillie in Glasgow, were intensely interested. By the wild haste of the Convention Parliament at Westminster, Charles was coming in absolutely without conditions; and might not Mr. Sharp's dexterity, even at the last moment, remedy that fatal blunder as it might affect Scotland? What passed between Sharp and his Majesty, or between Sharp and Hyde, no one really knows. "The King, "at my first address in Breda, was pleased to ask very kindly "about *you*," Baillie was afterwards informed by Sharp, if that could be any gratification; and to Douglas it was explained at the time by a letter from Sharp: "I shall not be "accessory to anything prejudicial to the Presbyterian govern- "ment; but to appear for it in any other way than is within "my sphere is inconvenient, and may do harm and not good." This referred only to interference in behalf of Presbytery in England; in the business of his dear native Kirk he would, of course, remain indefatigable. On receipt of the letter, Mr. Douglas could only sigh, and hope the best. Amid all that vast jubilation in the three kingdoms which Holles reported to his Majesty there were, here and there, some heavy hearts [1].

For some days Montague's fleet had been in the Bay of

[1] Clarendon, 907—909; Lords and Commons Journals, May 23; Parl. Hist. IV. 35—40 (Holles's Speech); Phillips (continuation of Baker's Chronicle, edit. 1679), 710; Pepys's Diary, May 4—16; Baillie, III. 410; Memoir of Sharp in Chambers's *Biog. Dict. of Scotsmen* (containing extracts from Sharp's letters).

Scheveningen, ready for his Majesty's orders. Visitors from the Hague had been coming on board daily in great numbers, and some of the officers of the ships had, by Montague's leave, landed at the village of Scheveningen for a run thence to the Hague. One of those so favoured had been Mr. Samuel Pepys, Montague's private secretary, whose delight with the city and its fine sights, and his chance meetings with Dr. Fuller and other London friends there, and his glimpses of important Dutch personages, and especially his pleasure in being admitted to kiss the royal hands, are all duly chronicled in his Diary. Montague himself had remained on board, waiting the eventful day, while in all the ships there was carpentering, painting, and cutting out of silks and other decorations. And lo! at last, after a delay of two days on account of rough weather, there did come the complete procession of departure from the Hague to Scheveningen. His Majesty, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, were accompanied by the ex-Queen of Bohemia, the widowed Princess of Orange, and her young son Prince William of Orange, to see them off, while an "infinity of people" who were to go with them, the Parliamentary Commissioners included, either preceded or followed. This was on Tuesday the 22nd, when a cannonade twice round all the ships of the fleet welcomed his Majesty's arrival on the shore, and Mr. Pepys, firing the first gun on board the Naseby, nearly blew out his right eye by holding it too near the touch-hole. But the cannonading was nothing to that of next day, Wednesday the 23rd, when boats from the shore brought off his Majesty and his Royal relatives, and they actually stood on the deck of the Naseby. While Montague and the rest were kissing hands there, the roar of guns in the bay was perfectly astounding. It ceased only when his Majesty, the two Dukes, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess of Orange, and little Prince William, sat down to a state-dinner by themselves,—"which was a blessed sight to see" says Pepys most gravely. After dinner there was a rather interesting ceremony. It was on board *The Naseby* that his Majesty had come, but that could be the name of the ship no longer. It was agreed that

she should be thenceforth *The Charles;* and the King and the Duke of York, with Montague assisting, went over the names of the other ships, changing *The Richard* into *The James*, *The Dunbar* into *The Henry*, *The Lambert* into *The Henrietta*, *The Speaker* into *The Mary*, &c. This ceremony over, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess of Orange, and her son, took their leave, to return to the Hague, the Duke of York at the same time going on board the London, and the Duke of Gloucester on board the Swiftsure, in which ships they were to make the voyage severally, while Charles himself remained in the re-christened Naseby. Anchor was weighed in the afternoon, and, "with a fresh gale and most happy weather," the squadron sailed for England[1].

All the afternoon, while the Dutch coast was yet visible, Charles was walking "here and there, up and down," about the ship, "very active and stirring" and chatting and discoursing with everybody. On the quarter-deck he got on his favourite subject of his escape after the battle of Worcester, telling the most laughable stories of his disguised wanderings and the queer straits in which he found himself, though Pepys, standing among the listeners, was sometimes "ready to weep." Evening had come when Montague, by his swiftest vessel, sent off a letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords, reporting all well so far. "May 23, 1660, about ten leagues "from Scheveling, our course west-and-by-north; seven "o'clock in the evening, Wednesday; a fresh gale at north-"and-by-east," is his sailorly dating of the letter, corroborated by Pepys's farther report, "Under sail all night, and most glorious weather." Though the ship was so overcrowded that there was difficulty in finding beds for all, Pepys was in splendid company and never enjoyed himself more. Next day it was even better, for then Pepys had Mr. Holles, Dr. Earle, the King's chaplains, the King's physicians, and others, to dine with him in his own cabin, and on deck all day persons of honour were walking about, or distributed into groups,

[1] Pepys, May 14—23; Letter of Montague to the Lords, of date May 23, printed in the Lords Journals of the 25th. Clarendon, by a blunder rather strange from him in such a matter, gives the 24th as the day of setting sail (p. 910).

and among them was the inimitable Tom Killigrew, telling his funniest stories. And so that day passed, and just before night they sighted the Kentish coast [1].

On Friday the 25th there was the landing at Dover. The King and the two Dukes went ashore together about noon in one barge, the captain of Montague's ship steering, and Montague himself attending bare-headed. On the beach, "infinite the crowd of people, and the horsemen, citizens, and "noblemen of all sorts," with shouting and joy "past imagina-"tion" when his Majesty set foot on the ground, and General Monk stepped forward from the rest with a profound obeisance, as if to prostrate himself, but his Majesty took him by the hand most gloriously and kissed and embraced him. Others round Monk were kissing the hem of his Majesty's garments; and one of these, who says he observed his Majesty's countenance closely on his first stepping ashore, thought he could see in it "a mixture of other passions besides joy." As there was to be no stay at Dover, a canopy had been prepared, under which his Majesty walked, attended by Monk, to a chair of state at some little distance from the water-side; and here, while he talked with Monk, the Mayor and Aldermen of Dover made their formal salutations. They presented him with "a very rich Bible," which he graciously accepted, saying "it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world." Then, in a coach which was in waiting, he and the two Dukes, with Monk, drove off through the town on their way to Canterbury, these four inside, and the Duke of Buckingham stowed in the boot. To Montague, who had never stirred from the barge, it was a relief to know that his part of the great business was thus happily over without the slightest mismanagement. He returned to his ship, thanking God; and his last order to Pepys that night was that a mark at the head of the chief cabin, which his Majesty had made with his own hands that morning, in record of his exact height, should be carefully gilded, and a crown and the letters C. R. placed in gold beside it. All future visitors to

[1] Pepys, May 23—24; Lords Journals, May 25.

the ship were to be shown that mark, and to know that it was in this ship that Charles had come over[1].

At Canterbury the Royal party made a halt of nearly three days, with a fresh influx of people of rank to welcome his Majesty, and with more and more of conversation between his Majesty and Monk. Here it was too that his Majesty conferred the great honour of the Knighthood of the Garter on Monk and on the Earl of Southampton, with more ordinary knighthoods on a number of others. Among these was Mr. William Morrice, now specially introduced by Monk as his intimate friend and wisest adviser, and on that ground at the same time admitted of his Majesty's Privy Council and made one of his Secretaries of State. Monk himself and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper were also sworn of the Privy Council. More important than these formalities perhaps was the fact that Hyde, the King's real chief minister all through his exile, first under his old title of Chancellor of the Exchequer, dating from 1642, but since 1658 under the higher title of Lord Chancellor of England, had now an opportunity of taking his private measure both of Monk and of Mr. Secretary Morrice. Hyde had been making his observations, and communicating to the King his doubts whether "Old George" was altogether the Solomon he looked, when, on Monday the 28th, there was a move from Canterbury Londonwards, by Rochester. One reason for the delay at Canterbury had been that his Majesty wished to enter London on his birthday, Tuesday the 29th, when he would be thirty years old.

So it was arranged, and so it happened. Of that extraordinary royal progress of King Charles from Rochester to Whitehall on the 29th of May, 1660, there was to be a remembrance to all generations. Who can describe it? The long highway of more than five-and-twenty miles from Rochester was lined on both sides with acclaiming multitudes, so that it seemed "one continued street wonderfully inhabited." On Blackheath there was the passage of review

[1] Pepys, May 25; Phillips, 711; Parl. Hist. IV. 58—59.

through the bannered army of horse and foot, fifty thousand strong, drawn up to salute his Majesty, with the address of loyalty presented by the commanding officer, and all the other picturesque incidents, as imagined by Scott for the last scene of his *Woodstock*. At the skirts of London itself there were the kneeling Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, with a rest for civic ceremonial, and for the collation which had been provided; and thence through the City, the trained-bands and City Companies keeping order in the streets, and the windows all hung with tapestry, there was the procession as far as to Fleet Street and Temple Bar. After it had passed Temple Bar one could see how it was finally marshalled. Major General Browne led the whole, with a troop of three hundred in cloth of silver; next came a marching mass in purple velvet; next, a troop in buff, with silver sleeves and green scarfs; then smaller troops, in blue and silver, grey and silver, and pure grey, all with trumpeters before them, as finely apparelled as those of the former troops; then three troops more in rich habits, but of colours not reported; then the Sheriff's-men, in red cloaks and with pikes in their hands, to the number of four-score, and six hundred picked men of the City-companies, in black velvet suits with chains of gold; then kettledrums, trumpets, and streamers; then twelve London ministers; then the Knights of the Bath and their Esquires; then more kettledrums and trumpets, preceding his Majesty's life-guard of horse; then, in a blaze of various colours, the City-marshal, the City-waits, and all other City-officers, concluding with the two Sheriffs, the Aldermen, the Heralds and Macers, and the Lord Mayor carrying the sword; then Lord General Monk and the Duke of Buckingham; then, O then, His Majesty himself, between the Dukes of York and Gloucester; then a number of the King's servants; and, last of all, a troop of horse with white colours, and the Lord General's life-guard, and five regiments more of horse, and two troops of mounted noblemen and gentlemen. It was about half-past seven in the evening when his Majesty thus arrived at Whitehall, where meanwhile the two Houses of Parliament were assembled in the Banqueting

House, ranged in due order. In among these his Majesty walked, with strange thoughts perhaps as he remembered his father's last moments in that fatal room, with the scaffold ready outside; and, after he had seated himself in the chair of state and there had been all obeisances, he was addressed in prepared orations by the two Speakers,—by the Earl of Manchester for the Lords, and by Sir Harbottle Grimstone for the Commons. His Majesty replied briefly, but suitably, excusing himself for his brevity by declaring that the fatigue of his journey, and the confusion of joyful noises still in his ears, unfitted him for saying much. He was, indeed, so completely tired out that the religious service in Westminster Abbey with which the day was to have ended had to be exchanged for private service in the presence-chamber of Whitehall. He slept in Whitehall that night, the first time since January, 1641–2, when he had left it with his father as a boy of twelve. Gossip says that the beautiful Mrs. Palmer, to be known afterwards as Lady Castlemaine, and finally as the Duchess of Cleveland, was already near the Palace [1].

Over England, Scotland, and Ireland flew the news of the King's triumphant entry into his capital, and everywhere with the same delirium of joy. In Edinburgh, Dublin, and all considerable towns, there were proclamations and re-proclamations, with peals of bell-ringing, bonfires and shouting mobs, public feasts and wine running from the spouts for the general benefit, drinkings of his Majesty's health and of Monk's, and burnings of Oliver in effigy, by himself or with a twin-effigy of the Devil. For months and months the delirium was to continue, and even to grow; nor through the whole reign of Charles was there ever to be an end, or even much visible abatement, of that mood of popular adoration of the monarch, with hatred to the memory of Oliver and all his belongings, which ran through the Islands, like a sudden epidemic, in the first year of the Restoration [2].

[1] Clarendon, 994—996 (*Continuation of Life*); Phillips, 709—710; Whitlocke, IV. 415—416; Parl. Hist. IV. 54—63; Burnet (edit. 1823), I. 160, footnote by Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State and Lord Privy Seal in the reign of Queen Anne.

[2] Phillips, 714; Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, II. 261; and tradition *passim*. From an Edinburgh

From that year, for example, what a universal wheel of popular English literature to abject Stuartism and systematic Anti-Oliverianism in politics! Passing from the books and pamphlets of the Protectorate, or even from those of 1659, to the new mass from 1660 onwards, one is amazed at the discovery that the Muses in a nation can be such arrant turncoats. While Oliver lived, and for some time after his death, they had applauded him and panegyrised him, even the honest Royalist wits who remained within his dominions subdued at length into respect for him, and expressing that respect in language which was the more remarkable because it was cautious and reluctant. Now it was all otherwise. In prose and in verse, nothing but panegyrics to Charles, laudations of Charles and his kindred day after day, renunciations of Oliver in every form of posthumous insult, reports of his meditations in Hell and of his blasphemous messages upwards from his pre-eminence among the damned. Take a few of the leading instances:—Among the first to celebrate the Restoration in verse was Edmund Waller, of whose relations to Cromwell we have already seen enough, and of whose *Panegyric to my Lord Protector* in May 1655 there may be some recollection (Vol. V. pp. 85, 86). Waller must have been busy with the necessary recantation as soon as he heard of the King's arrival at Dover; for his poem *To the King on his Majesty's Happy Return* was registered by the publisher, Richard Marriott, on May 30, the day after his Majesty's entry into Whitehall [1]. Amid 120 lines of heroics his Majesty might read these:—

"Much-suffering Monarch, the first English-born
That has the crown of these three nations worn,
How has your patience with the barbarous rage
Of your own soil contended half an age,

correspondent of the London *Parliamentary Intelligencer* of June 25—July 2, 1660, we learn that the rejoicings in that city were protracted into June. One day in that month the Major-General in command "fired the great "cannon called Mounce Meg (a cannon "never fired but on extraordinary occasions); after which followed all the "guns in Edinburgh Castle, Leith citadel, and the ships in the Road." There was a largess to the soldiery; and at night "about 1500 bonfires were made on Arthur Seat, one of 40 loads of coals."

[1] Stationers' Registers.

Till (your tried virtue and your sacred word
At last preventing your unwilling sword)
Armies and fleets which kept you out so long
Owned their great sovereign and redressed his wrong;
When straight the people, by no force compelled,
Nor longer from their inclination held,
Break forth at once, like powder set on fire,
And with a noble rage their king require! . . .
Faith, Law, and Piety, that banished train,
Justice and Truth, with you return again;
The city's trade and country's easy life
Once more shall flourish without fraud or strife.
Your reign no less assures the ploughman's peace
Than the warm sun advances his increase,
And does the shepherds as securely keep
From all their fears as they preserve their sheep.
But, above all, the muse-inspired train
Triumph and raise their drooping heads again:
Kind Heaven at once has, in your person, sent
Their sacred judge, their guard, their argument."

Another of the "muse-inspired train" who made all haste was Abraham Cowley. His *Ode upon the Blessed Restoration and Return of his Sacred Majesty Charles the Second* was out on the 31st of May, published by Henry Herringman [1]. Much is to be excused to Cowley, a man of far finer intellect and of more generous nature than Waller, and whose compliance with Cromwell's rule, though it involved the rupture of intimate previous connexion with the Stuarts, had been the effect of mere momentary despair. All things considered, however, was not Cowley labouring too consciously in this poem to win his pardon by skilful phraseology? He doubts whether the Isle, after its long lapse into barbarism, can yet expect back any of the virtues.

"Of all, methinks, we least should see
The cheerful looks again of Liberty.
That name of Cromwell, which does freshly still
The curses of so many sufferers fill,
Is still enough to make her stay,
And jealous for a while remain,
Lest, as a tempest carried him away,
Some hurricane should bring him back again."

[1] Dated Thomason copy in the British Museum.

Still there are signs of hope:—

"Where's now that *ignis fatuus* which erewhile
Misled our wandering Isle?
Where's the impostor Cromwell gone?
Where's now that falling star, his son?"

And Charles is on the horizon:—

"Come, mighty Charles! desire of nations, come!
Come, you triumphant exile, home!
He's come, he's safe at shore: I hear the noise
Of a whole land which does at once rejoice;
I hear the united people's sacred voice.
The sea which circles us around
Ne'er sent to land so loud a sound;
The mighty shout sends to the sea a gale,
And swells up every sail;
The bells and guns are scarcely heard at all;
The artificial joy's drowned by the natural.
All England but one bonfire seems to be,
One Ætna shooting flames into the sea;
The starry worlds which shine to us afar
Take ours at this time for a star.
With wine all rooms, with wine the conduits, flow;
And we, the priests of a poetic rage,
Wonder that in this golden age
The rivers too should not do so.
There is no Stoic, sure, who would not now
Even some excess allow,
And grant that one wild fit of cheerful folly
Should end our twenty years of dismal melancholy."

Sir William Davenant could at no time write so well as Cowley; but, as having been Poet-Laureate of the late reign from 1637, and as now stepping legitimately into the Laureateship again, something was expected of him. He had been a faithful Royalist all along, had suffered for his Royalism more than Cowley, had never lapsed as Cowley had done, and had been under no greater obligations to the Protectorate than for shelter, and permission at last to set up an English Opera. In these circumstances his *Poem upon his Sacred Majesty's most happy return to his Dominions*[1] is even creditable to his moderation. There is little of retrospective malice in it, but chiefly

[1] Printed for Herringman, and out in London June 25, as I learn from a copy in the Thomason Collection.

a heavy enumeration of the undoubted virtues of Charles,—his clemency, his judgment, his "fire of thought," his valour, his social and domestic graciousness, and his care for religion; and the only thing one cannot wholly forgive in the poem is its existence. Here are the six lines following the list of Charles's virtues:—

> "Thus showing what you are, how quickly we
> Infer what all your subjects soon will be!
> For from the monarch's virtue subjects take
> The ingredient which does public virtue make;
> At his bright beam they all their tapers light,
> And by his dial set their motion right."

But what shall we say of Dryden? He had grown up in the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, connected with their statesmen and acknowledging their principles; he had been in official employment under Thurloe for Oliver (Vol. V. p. 375); and his best known literary performance hitherto had been his *Heroic Stanzas consecrated to the memory of his Highness Oliver*, written just after the entombment of Oliver in Westminster Abbey. Among the stanzas had been these:—

> "How shall I then begin or where conclude
> To draw a fame so truly circular?
> For in a round what order can be shewed,
> Where all the parts so equal-perfect are?
>
> His grandeur he derived from Heaven alone;
> For he was great ere Fortune made him so,
> And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,
> Made him but greater seem, not greater grow...
>
> And yet dominion was not his design;
> We owe that blessing not to him but Heaven,
> Which to fair acts unsought rewards did join,
> Rewards that less to him than us were given."

And so, through a sustained eulogy on all Cromwell's military and political career, till death took him. Even then his grand influence remained:—

> "No civil broils have since his death arose,
> But faction now by habit does obey;
> And wars have that respect for his repose
> As winds for halcyons when they breed at sea.

His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest;
His name a great example stands to show
How strangely high endeavours may be blessed
Where piety and valour jointly go."

And yet now, in the series of Dryden's poems, that which stands next to the stanzas to Oliver's memory is the *Astraea Redux*, or celebration of Charles's Return, published, as Cowley's similar poem had been, by Herringman[1]. Here there is the most unblushing retractation of all that he had written less than eighteen months before. There is a poetic account of the voyage of Charles home, with note of the ship that brought him,—

"The Naseby, now no longer England's shame,
But better to be lost in Charles's name;"

and, after praises of Charles, and predictions of his beneficent reign, the poem ends:—

"The discontented now are only they
Whose crimes before did your just cause betray:
Of these your edicts some reclaim from sins,
But most your life and blest example wins.
O happy prince, whom Heaven hath taught the way
By paying vows to have more vows to pay!
O happy age! O times like those alone
By fate reserved for great Augustus' throne,
When the joint growth of arms and arts foreshew
The world a Monarch, and that Monarch you!"

It is refreshing, after all this, to read a piece of verse on the same subject that came afterwards from the pen of honest Andrew Marvell. At the very least, it has the merit of bringing us close to the actual figure and physiognomy of the man that had come over in the Naseby:—

"Of a tall stature and of sable hue,
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew,
Twelve years complete he suffered in exile,
And kept his father's asses all the while.
At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,
The people call him home to help the State;

[1] Publisher and author were turncoats together in this case, for Herringman had published the stanzas to Cromwell's memory.

And, what is more, they send him money too,
And clothe him all, from head to foot, anew:
Nor did he such small favours then disdain
Who in his thirtieth year began his reign.
In a slashed doublet then he came ashore,
And dubbed poor Palmer's wife his royal ——"[1].

The following was the composition of Charles's Privy Council and Ministry in June 1660, immediately after his return:—

Of the Blood Royal.

James, Duke of York (ætat. 27), *Lord High Admiral of England, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.*

Henry, Duke of Gloucester (ætat. 20). He died of small-pox, Sept. 13, 1660.

Great Officers of State and of the Household.

Sir George Monk, K.G. (ætat. 52), *Captain-General of the Forces of the Three Kingdoms, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Master of the Horse to his Majesty, and Gentleman of the Bedchamber.* On the 7th of July 1660 he was created Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, and Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Teyes; and there was thenceforth much interest in observing how he, and his slatternly wife,—remembered as Nan Clarges, a blacksmith's daughter, and once a milliner,—comported themselves in the ducal dignity.

Sir Edward Hyde, Knt. (ætat. 52), *Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.* The king wanted to make him a peer at once; but he declined the honour for the present.

James Butler, Marquis of Ormond (ætat. 50), *Lord Steward of the Household.* His Marquisate (raised, March 20, 1660–1, to the Dukedom of Ormond) was in the Irish peerage; but, on the 20th of July 1660, he was made an English peer also, as Earl of Brecknock and Baron Butler of Llanthony.

Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton (ætat. 51), *Lord High Treasurer.* He was put into this office in September 1660, the Treasury having meanwhile, at his request, been managed by commissioners, of whom he and Hyde were the chief.

William Fiennes, Viscount Saye and Sele (ætat. 67), *Lord Privy Seal.* This is "Old Subtlety" (Vol. II. p. 155) at the close of his life.

Sir Edward Montague (ætat. 35), *Master of the Wardrobe.* This is the Oliverian Admiral Montague, the naval agent of the Restoration, as Monk had been the military one. In July 1660 he was

[1] "An Historical Poem": Grosart's edition of Marvell's Works, I. 343.

made K.G., and created Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Montague of Hitchinbrook, and Baron St. Neots.

Montague Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, *Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England.* His tenure of office dated from 1642.

Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester (ætat. 57), *Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*

Francis Seymour, Lord Seymour of Trowbridge, *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

Sir George Carteret, Knt. (ætat. 61), *Vice-Chamberlain of the Household.* He was an intimate friend of Hyde; he had been in charge of Jersey for Charles II, till that Island was surrendered to the Commonwealth in 1653; and he had since then resided in France.

Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Knt., *Treasurer of the Household.*

Sir Charles Berkeley, Knt., *Comptroller of the Household.*

Sir Edward Nicholas, Knt. } *Principal Secretaries of State.*
Sir William Morrice, Knt. }

Other Privy Councillors.

William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford. This aged Royalist lived only long enough to see the Restoration, and to be rewarded with a revival, in his honour, of that Dukedom of Somerset which had been dormant since the attainder of his great-grandfather, the Protector Somerset, in 1552. He died Oct. 24, 1660.

Henry Pierrepoint, Marquis of Dorchester (ætat. 54). He was the son and heir of that Robert Pierrepoint, Earl of Kingston and Viscount Newark, who had been killed on the king's side in 1643 (vol. II. p. 248).

Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, son of the former Royalist Earl (Vol. II. p. 152 and p. 428).

Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, known to us at intervals since 1638, both on his account, and as the father of Viscount Lisle and Algernon Sidney.

Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, first known to us before the Civil Wars, and afterwards as a conspicuous Parliamentarian through the Wars, from 1642 to 1649.

George Goring, Earl of Norwich, Royalist since 1643 (Vol. II. p. 429), and remembered most by his connexion with the siege of Colchester in the Second Civil War.

Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Alban's. As Lord Jermyn, he had been chief of the household to the Ex-Queen Henrietta-Maria in France, and also, it is believed, secretly her husband (Vol. III. p. 495). The earldom had recently been conferred on him abroad by Charles II. at his mother's request. On July 18, 1660, he returned to France for a while, as ambassador for Charles to Louis XIV.

Lord Colepepper, known to us as the staunch Royalist Sir John Colepepper, minister for Charles I. just before the Civil War, and colleague and friend of Hyde in the councils of Charles II. in his exile. He died July 12, 1660, having barely lived to see the Restoration and join in its first proceedings.

Lord Roberts, one of the Parliamentarian Peers in the Civil Wars (Vol. II. p. 431), but Royalist since then. It was intended that he should be *Lord Deputy of Ireland.*

Lord Wentworth (Vol. II. p. 429). He had been with the King in Scotland, and had commanded an English regiment for him, raised abroad.

Colonel Charles Howard. This is the Oliverian on whom Oliver had conferred one of the only two peerages he created. By Oliver's patent he had been Viscount Howard since July 20, 1657. That title was null now; but in his new position as a king's man he might expect compensation.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart. (ætat. 39).

Mr. Denzil Holles (ætat. 63), sufficiently known already.

Mr. Arthur Annesley, late President of the Council of State which had been appointed by the Parliament of the Secluded Members, and chief manager, along with Monk, of the proceedings towards the Restoration in the interval between that Parliament and the Convention Parliament[1].

In this body of thirty mixed old Royalists and new Royalists, forming the King's Privy Council, some with ministerial offices and others without, there was, of course, a more private Junto or Cabinet. It consisted at first of Hyde, Monk, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Southampton, Lord Colepepper, and Secretaries Nicholas and Morrice; but, in fact, there was no fixed number, and the King might call any councillor he chose to an occasional meeting. In the Junto itself, which was professedly only a Committee for Foreign Affairs, Hyde, Ormond, and Southampton, all men of stately character and great ability, and knit together by the strongest mutual trust and respect, overswayed the rest, and combined especially to keep Monk in his proper place, as Commander-in-chief of the Army, Duke of Albemarle, and much else nominally, but in reality "Old George" defunct[2].

[1] List in Phillips, 713, and another (less perfect) in *Mercurius Veridicus* of June 5—12, 1660; with particles of information from Phillips afterwards, from Clarendon (whose want of dates is a constant drawback and annoyance in consulting him), and from Peerage-books and the Lords Journals.

[2] Clarendon, 992—3 and 1004—6 (*Continuation of Life*); Burnet, I. 160—167.

Chancellor Hyde, however, was the Supreme Minister. To this honour he was entitled by his indefatigable services through all the weary years of the exile of the Royal Family. It was he that had never given up the game; it was he, with Ormond, that had always steered Charles in what they thought the right course of policy abroad, even offending the imperious Queen-mother by setting aside her interferences and suggestions from Paris; it was he that had organized and maintained the correspondence with the Sealed Knot and with other Royalists in England, urged them on or checked them on occasion, and been at the centre of all the strings. He but stepped into his natural place, therefore, in becoming the Prime Minister of Charles at the Restoration. With such a king, and with such a complexity of interests and intrigues round him, it was a position of enormous risk and enormous responsibility. The English premiership was not then the organized institution it has since become. All the ministers held directly from the King, could negotiate with him independently in the affairs of their several departments, and could be dismissed by him at his own pleasure; it was in the power of the King also to have private consultations with persons about him not of the Privy Council, and to do acts by their persuasion of which the Privy Council or the nominal Cabinet knew nothing; and it was only in so far as the King might choose to follow the custom of having a "Favourite" for the time, and regulating his dealings with everybody else by the advice of this Favourite, that any one minister could exercise general control. There is no more interesting passage in Clarendon than those pages of the Continuation of his Life where he specifies the difficulties of such an undefined ministerial supremacy. His conclusion, he tells us, was to accept the place as clearly his by right and by necessity, and to do his best as prime minister for Charles till Charles should discard him, but to avoid the name of "prime minister," as unpopular in England, and to exercise the functions, in as constitutional a manner as possible, in his capacity as Lord High Chancellor. In this capacity, and as Privy Councillor and member of the Junto, he could have access to the King at all

times, know all that went on, and have sufficient power of check or remonstrance where he disapproved, without lodging himself permanently in Whitehall, and so imposing his grave presence upon the King unofficially or unnecessarily, and interfering with his companionships and pleasures. And Charles, in the beginning of his reign at least, was most willing to accept this Premiership of the Chancellor. He had his conferences with other ministers, and his more careless hours with many sorts of companions, not without effects that were annoying or thwarting to Hyde; but, in the main, he saved himself trouble by deferring to Hyde in everything, and sending everybody to Hyde that came on any public business.

The King and The Prime Minister, The Junto or Select Cabinet of the Privy Council, and The Privy Council itself: such was the top of the apparatus of the Restoration Government. But the apparatus included The Parliament; and all depended on the proper connexion and cooperation of the top of the apparatus with this main body of it.

Now the Parliament to which the King, the Prime Minister, the Junto, and the Privy Council, had to adjust themselves, for some time at least, was that Convention Parliament which had met on the 25th of April 1660, and which on the seventh day of its sittings had received the King's communications from Breda, transmitted their enthusiastic response, and arranged for his return. I. *The House of Lords.*—At the first meeting of the Parliament this House had been merely a voluntary gathering of such of the old peers as had chosen to come, knowing that they were wanted. There were but ten peers present, with the Earl of Manchester in the chair. But these had beaten up for recruits, with such effect that on April 27 twenty-six peers were present, and on the 1st of May, when there was the reception of the King's letters and the invitation for him to return, as many as forty-one. This number remained pretty steady through the subsequent days, till May 31, the second day after his Majesty's arrival at Whitehall, when it was voted, by his Majesty's request, that peers made by his father during the Civil War should be

admitted. That day, accordingly, the House rose to seventy. It was the last day of the provisional speakership of the Earl of Manchester. The arrangement thenceforward was that, as by old custom, the Lord Chancellor should occupy the woolsack, or, in his absence, by commission from the King, Sir Orlando Bridgman, who had just been appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer. On the 1st of June Hyde took the chair for the first time, with eighty lords present: viz. their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York and Gloucester, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquises of Dorchester and Newcastle, thirty-seven Earls (among whom the Earl of Salisbury ventured to show his face), five Viscounts (of whom Cromwell's son-in-law Falconbridge was one), and thirty-three Barons. The King himself made his appearance in the House that day, and, the Commons having been summoned to meet him, made his first address to the two Houses, followed by a longer speech from the Chancellor. He also gave his assent, *Le Roy le veult*, to three Bills of pressing importance that had been prepared by the two Houses, one of them being an Act for confirming the present Parliament and removing all doubts of its validity hitherto. This, as it were, reconstituted the two Houses; and from that day between seventy and a hundred peers continued to be the maximum attendance in the Upper House, though, as the same peers were not always present, the total number of peers available may have exceeded a hundred. They were all temporal or lay peers, the readmission of Bishops not having yet been even discussed. Between twenty and thirty of the peers had been Parliamentarians, and were of Presbyterian prepossessions[1]. II. *The House of Commons.*—This House, it is to be remembered, no longer included representatives from Scotland and Ireland, but was a representation of England and Wales only, in the old fashion. Of the 500 members who had been returned by the constituencies more than 400 had taken their seats at once. When the House was counted on the 5th of May there were 400 present. Returned

[1] Lords Journals, from April 25 to June 1, 1660.

as they had been in a fervour of Royalism among the constituencies, they were, almost to a man, friends of the Restoration at all risks, and prepared to support Charles after they had received him. Lambert, Harrison, Ludlow, Scott, Weaver, Miles Corbet, and other Republicans or Regicides who had been daringly proposed for constituencies, had been rejected. Actually, however, two of the Regicides had got in,—Colonel John Hutchinson for Nottingham, and Colonel Richard Ingoldsby for Aylesbury; and there were at least two more who, though they had not signed the death-warrant of Charles I, as these had done, had taken part in his trial,—Francis Lassels, member for Allerton in Yorkshire, and Robert Wallop, member for Whitchurch. Several others must have been uneasy in their seats, in recollection of their extremely Republican antecedents. There was also in the House a considerable sprinkling of Oliverians proper, or persons who had been conspicuous supporters and servants of the Protectorate, as distinct from the old Republicans. Monk himself, Admiral Montague, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper were Oliverians who had already splendidly redeemed themselves by hailing the Restoration or helping towards it,—to whom may be added Lord Broghill, Clarges, and William Pierrepoint. Oliverians not so sure of forgiveness, but who had yet to earn it, were Sir Charles Wolseley, Richard Norton, and Andrew Marvell, member for Hull. Among Royalists in Monk's retinue, whether Oliverians or not before, were, besides his brother-in-law Clarges, Colonels Knight and Clobery, and Mr. William Morrice. Among the members one notes, more miscellaneously, Fairfax, Lord Bruce, Sir William Waller, Holles, Arthur Annesley, Prynne, Major-General Browne, Colonel Massey, Sir George Booth, Colonel Fagg, Viscount Falkland, Sir Thomas Wenman, Alexander Popham, Sir John Evelyn of Surrey, Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Samuel Luke, Sir Robert Pye, Sir William Penn, Sir Edward Deering, John Rushworth, John Crewe, Sir Richard Onslow, Arthur Onslow, Sir Anthony Irby, Sir Horatio Townshend, Alderman Robinson of London, and the lawyers Sir Thomas Widdrington, Glynne, Matthew

Hale, Maynard, and Heneage Finch. Altogether, the House, though with old Episcopalian Royalists in it, and young Royalists pliable enough on the Church-question, was massively Presbyteriano-Royalist.—In the month it had sat before the King's arrival the most active members in shaping the business and keeping all in proper order, under Sir Harbottle Grimstone's Speakership, had been Annesley, Prynne, Pierrepoint, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Morrice, Clarges, Crewe, Alderman Robinson, and the lawyers. The two first are especially conspicuous in the journals. Annesley, as President of the Council in State, had reported daily from that body and submitted the most important motions, while Prynne, as an independent member of peculiar celebrity, had taken a great deal upon himself. Holles had gone to the Hague as one of the Commissioners to the King, or he would have been as prominent. There was no division till the 29th of May, and then only on the question of adopting some amendments by the Lords on a bill that had been sent up to that House. There were then 170 present, of whom 104 voted *Yea* and 66 voted *No*. It was the day of the King's arrival in Whitehall. On the 1st of June, when the House was summoned for the first time to meet his Majesty in the Lords, as many as 400 may have been again present.—Thenceforward, the Parliament having been confirmed and reconstituted that day by the King's assent to the Act for the purpose, and the interim Council of State having been superseded by the new Ministry and Privy Council, and the members of the House having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, all was to go in regular routine. While the Chancellor presided in the Lords, Sir Harbottle Grimstone sat on as Speaker of the Commons, with steady attendances about him of from 200 to 300, rising on occasion to about 350; and Annesley, Holles, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Mr. Secretary Morrice, the leading councillors or ministers in the House, interpreted between it and the Junto, or between it and the King, and managed accordingly. There were other members who were much about the King or in employment at Court; and Prynne was still most conspicuously

active as an independent member[1]. Monk and Montague were soon to be removed by their peerages to the other House.

One great business in which the Parliament had been engaged before his Majesty's arrival was that of Pardon or Revenge. The basis for proceedings in this business was furnished by that Declaration, dated from Breda, April 4, and entitled *His Majesty's Gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects*, which had been one of the documents brought over by Greenville to Monk, and which, after having been kept in reserve till the fit moment, had been produced in the two Houses on the 1st of May with such immense effect (Vol. V. pp. 696–698). Monk's advice having been that his Majesty should promise the freest and widest indemnity possible, and Hyde and his associates abroad having concurred, this was one portion of the Declaration :—

"And, to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country in the restoration both of King, Peers, and People to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, We do, by these presents, declare,—That We do grant a Free and General Pardon, which We are ready, on demand, to pass under Our Great Seal of England, to all Our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof shall lay hold upon this Our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects : *excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament,—these only to be excepted.* Let all Our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against Us or Our Royal Father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of Our best subjects : We desiring and ordaining that henceforth all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all Our subjects ; whom We invite

[1] Commons Journals from April 25 to June 4, 1660 ; and Parl. Hist. IV. 1—66 (including complete list of the Commons).

and conjure to a perfect union among themselves under Our protection[1]."

As this Declaration was published in London on the 1st of May by order of the Houses, all who chose to avail themselves of it before the 10th of June were to be safe, with the exception of such as might be implied in the passage in Italics. Who the excepted culprits were to be depended on the Parliament itself. The two Houses were to make the exceptions, and not the King or his Councillors.

The business had begun in the Commons on the 9th of May, the day after the proclamation of his still absent Majesty. "Mr. Finch reports a Bill of General Pardon, "Indemnity and Oblivion, which was this day read the first "time," is the record in the Commons Journals. The second reading was on the 12th, when a significant indication was given where the exceptions would lie. Passages from the Journals of the Rump concerning the late King's Trial were read, and also a Journal of the Proceedings at the Trial itself. Naturally this caused a scene. Divers members present, who had been among the King's Judges, "did severally express "how far they were concerned in the said proceedings, and "their sense thereon." Happy those who could say that, though named among the Commissioners for the Trial, they had never sat in the Court, or had discontinued their sittings before the fatal close. For it was the actual Regicides that the House was now in search of, first of all, as the necessary exceptions from the General Indemnity, and these Regicides were now voted to be such of the King's Judges as had been present at the last sitting of the Court and the pronouncing of the sentence on Saturday the 27th of January, 1648–9, whether they had or had not signed the subsequent death-warrant of Monday the 29th. The debate, having been adjourned, was resumed on the 14th of May, with very definite farther results. It was then resolved "That all those persons who sat in judgment upon the late King's

[1] Declaration, as given in Lords and Commons Journals of May 1, 1660, in Phillips, 702—3, and in Parl. Hist. IV. 16—17.

Majesty when the sentence was pronounced for his condemnation be forthwith secured,"—a resolution which, though absolute in the wording, could apply, of course, only to such of them as were still alive; also that Mr. John Cook, who had been the solicitor or prosecuting counsel at the Trial, and Messrs. Andrew Broughton and John Phelps, who had been the clerks of the Court, and Edward Dendy, who had been the sergeant-at-arms, should be forthwith secured; also that the two executioners of the King, if they were discoverable, should be secured, with specification on chance of a certain person named Matthew, who had boasted of being one of them and of having received £300 for the work; also that Cornet Joyce, of Holmby House celebrity, should be secured; and, finally, "That the number of *Seven*, "of those who sat in judgment when sentence was given "upon the late King's Majesty, be the number who shall be "excepted, for life and estate, out of the Act of General "Pardon and Oblivion." These Resolutions were unanimous. They amounted to this:—that, while all the Regicide Judges were to be branded as infamous, and all the survivors of them, and six or seven persons more, were to be secured, to await consideration of the penalties to be inflicted on them, it was the desire of the House that the number of the surviving Regicide Judges to be proceeded against capitally should be restricted to seven, and that the rest should be reserved for minor punishments. There was no security so far that other culprits, not among the Regicide Judges, e. g. the additional six or seven above-named, might not be thought worthy of death for *their* particular shares in the great crime [1].

At this stage it may be well to enumerate the Regicide Judges present at the sentence in Westminster Hall on Saturday, Jan. 27, 1648–9. They were sixty-seven in all, of whom twenty-three were now dead. In the following list they are arranged alphabetically, save that the first four are put in a group by themselves. An asterisk prefixed to a name denotes the aggravation of having been not only one

[1] Commons Journals of dates.

of the *sixty-seven* present at the sentence, but also one of the *fifty-nine* who signed the death-warrant two days after :—

* John Bradshaw (*dead*).
* Oliver Cromwell (*dead*).
* Henry Ireton (*dead*).
* Thomas Pride (*dead*).

Francis Allen (*dead*).
* John Alured (*dead*).
Thomas Andrews (*dead*).
* John Barkstead.
* Daniel Blagrave.
* John Blakiston (*dead*).
* Sir John Bourchier.
* John Carew.
* William Cawley.
* Gregory Clements.
* Sir William Constable (*dead*).
* Miles Corbet.
* Sir John Danvers (*dead*).
* Richard Dean (*dead*).
* John Dixwell.
* John Downes.
* Humphrey Edwards (*dead*).
* Isaac Ewer (*dead*).
* George Fleetwood.
* Augustine Garland.
* William Goffe.
* Lord Grey of Groby (*dead*).
Thomas Hammond (*dead*).
* Thomas Harrison.
Edmund Harvey.
William Heveningham.
* John Hewson.
Cornelius Holland.
* Thomas Horton (*dead*).
* John Hutchinson.
* John Jones.
* Robert Lilburne.
John Lisle.
* Sir Michael Livesey.
Nicholas Love.
* Edmund Ludlow.
* Henry Marten.
* Sir Thomas Mauleverer (*dead*).
* Simon Mayne.
* Gilbert Millington.
* John Moore (*dead*).
* Sir Gregory Norton (*dead*).
* John Okey.
* Peregrine Pelham (*dead*).
Isaac Pennington.
* Vincent Potter.
* William Purefoy (*dead*).
* Owen Rowe.
* William Say.
* Thomas Scott.
* Adrian Scroope.
* Henry Smith.
* Anthony Stapley (*dead*).
* James Temple.
* Peter Temple.
* Robert Tichbourne.
Matthew Tomlinson.
* John Venn (*dead*).
* Sir Hardress Waller.
* Valentine Walton.
* Thomas Wayte.
* Edward Whalley.
* Thomas Wogan[1].

Two most positive Regicides are here omitted. These are Thomas Challoner, and Cromwell's kinsman, Richard Ingoldsby, commonly called Dick Ingoldsby. The reason is

[1] List in Lords Journals of July 23, 1660; where, however, the names of Hutchinson and Tomlinson are omitted, for reasons there given. For the asterisks I have gone to the death-warrant itself, as given in Vol. III. pp. 719—720. The Lords Journals of the above date also give the names from the death-warrant, but with two omitted for certain reasons. —I have culled the *dead* in the list from Noble's *Lives of the Regicides*. The *date* of death is unknown in a good many cases.

that the Commons had now defined the Regicides to be those Judges who had been present at the sentence, and Challoner and Ingoldsby were in the peculiar predicament of having signed the death-warrant without having been present at the sentence. Challoner had been present almost every day of the trial, including that sitting in which the sentence had been agreed to; nay, he had been in his place on the very day of the sentence; but he had been absent at the moment when it was pronounced,—to compensate for which he had signed the death-warrant. Ingoldsby, it is believed, had signed the death-warrant without having been present at the trial at all. How it was to fare with Challoner in the circumstances we shall see very soon. That Ingoldsby was to escape without any punishment whatever was a foregone conclusion even now. And no wonder. Regicide though he was, had he not amply purchased his pardon by his gallant capture of Lambert and suppression of the last struggle of the Republic, and had he not been thanked for that service by the House itself not three weeks ago? There could be no thought now of penal procedure in his case. He was even to be exceptionally recommended to his Majesty's favour; and, though the awkward fact of his name on the death-warrant was to be remembered jocularly against him to the end of his life, he had his famous explanation ready, and could turn off the laugh [1].

With the list of the sixty-seven before them, the Commons advanced a step on the 15th of May. They at once distinguished the four at the top of the list from the rest, for reasons perfectly obvious; and, these four being dead and beyond the reach of punishment personally, they excepted them from the Bill of Pardon and Oblivion by the method of posthumous Attainder for High Treason. This involved the absolute and immediate forfeiture of all the property possessed by them at the date of their treason, and also the "corruption of their blood," or the stoppage of all titles, properties, or rights that might come from them, or through

[1] See note, Vol. III. pp. 720—721.

them, to their descendants. Accordingly, it was formally resolved "That John Bradshaw, deceased, late sergeant-at-"law, be one of those that shall, by Act of Parliament, be at-"tainted of high treason for the murthering of the late King's "Majesty," and similarly for "Oliver Cromwell, deceased," "Henry Ireton, deceased," and "Thomas Pride, deceased;"—each attainder to date from the 1st of January, 1648–9. This specification of four of the sixty-seven having been made by the House itself, the Bill of Pardon and Oblivion was referred, for the rest, to a committee for consideration and report. Much depended on the composition of this committee. It consisted of fifty-two members, and included Annesley, Prynne, Lord Commissioner Tyrrel, Lord Commissioner Widdrington, Glynne, Maynard, Matthew Hale, Lord Howard, Sir Anthony Irby, and Mr. Heneage Finch. Having appointed the committee, the House turned to other matters for a while, taking care, however, on the 17th of May, to pass comprehensive resolutions empowering sheriffs and other officers to search for and seize all or any of the forty-four Regicide Judges that were still living, and also to seize the estates, real or personal, of all the sixty-seven, living or dead; with an accompanying resolution requiring the Council of State to stop all the ports, so as to prevent the escape of the fugitives. The House of Lords, when asked to concur with these resolutions, demurred somewhat to the one which vested powers in the Council of State, regarding that body as temporary and anomalous; but this did not prevent the most energetic action of the police by the order of the Lords too. The Regicides were hunted for most diligently. Harrison had been already captured in Staffordshire, and on the 21st of May he was committed to the Tower[1].

The Committee on the Indemnity Bill were still engaged with it when the King crossed from the Hague to Dover in Montague's fleet, journeyed thence to Canterbury and Rochester, and made his great entry into London on the 29th of May. After his Majesty was in London, he himself,

[1] Commons Journals of dates.

or Hyde for him, or the Junto and the Courtiers generally, might have something to do privately with the farther progress of the Bill, and with the suggestion of the persons that ought to be excepted.

Publicly, however, the business went on still within the Commons. On the 31st of May, the second day after the King's arrival, Mr. Heneage Finch, from the Committee, reported several amendments to the Bill; these and other amendments, some of them originating in the House itself, were discussed that day, and on the 1st, 2nd, and 4th of June; and on the 5th of June the House was in a position to put the question "That the Seven Persons who by former order "are to be excepted out of the Act of General Pardon for life "and estate be named here in this House." The question having been carried unanimously in the affirmative, one of the seven to be so excepted was at once named. He was Thomas Harrison. No more were named that day; but next day the other six were named and agreed to in this order—William Say, John Jones, Thomas Scott, Cornelius Holland, John Lisle, and John Barkstead. Of these only Jones, in addition to Harrison, was yet in custody; most had escaped, or were to escape, to the continent. The tale of the seven surviving Regicide Judges to be proceeded against capitally was now complete. The roll of the doomed, however, was not yet closed; for on the 7th of June it was resolved that John Cook, Andrew Broughton, and Edward Dendy should, in respect of their prominent, though subordinate, parts at the King's trial, be in the extreme class of those excepted both for life and estate, and also that the two executioners "who were upon the scaffold in a disguise" should be in the same extreme class. About these two the House had been making every inquiry. One hears no more of the person called Matthew, suspected on the 14th of May; but William Lilly the astrologer had, by order of the House of June 2, been examined by a committee as to *his* knowledge of the subject, and the report from this committee had been read to the House by Prynne, June 6. What it was we do not learn from the Journals; but we have Lilly's own

account of the evidence he gave. "The next Sunday but "one after Charles the First was beheaded," says Lilly, "Robert Spavin, secretary unto Lieutenant-General Cromwell, "invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony "Peirson and several others along with him to dinner. Their "principal discourse all dinner-time was only who it was that "beheaded the King. One said it was the common hangman; "another, Hugh Peters; others were nominated, but none "concluded. Robert Spavin, so soon as dinner was done, "took me to the south window. Saith he, 'These are all "mistaken; they have not named the man that did the fact; "it was Lieu enant-Colonel Joyce. I was in the room when "he fitted himself for the work—stood behind him when he "did it—when done, went in again unto him. There 's no "man knows this but my master [Cromwell], Commissary "Ireton, and myself.' 'Doth not Mr. Rushworth [then "Army Secretary] know it?' said I. 'No, he doth not,' "saith Spavin. The same thing Spavin since had often "related to me when we were alone." Substantially this had been Lilly's information to Prynne; who, says Lilly, "did with "much civility make a report hereof to the House." Accordingly, next day (June 7), after Mr. Annesley had reported the examination of another witness, Leonard Watson, touching the person who executed the late King, there was a repetition of the order of May 14 for the arrest of Joyce, with an order for the arrest also of Hugh Peters. There could be no more popular candidate for one of the executionerships, if not for the executionership-in-chief, than this unfortunate preacher. It was with delight that the town heard of his probable indictment in that character; and this rhyme was at once concocted for the newspapers,—

'The best man next to Jupiter
Was put to death by Hugh Peter.'

In the House itself the notion that Peters had struck the blow was too ludicrous for serious belief; but it seems to have occurred to them that the rhyme, if not true in the literal sense, might be construed in another, and that in any case

the arrest of the notorious parson would be universally satisfactory. Really, as far as one can see, the order for the arrest of Peters, at this stage at least, came about by the accident of Lilly's babble in the Committee[1].

On the same 7th of June on which there were the five additional exceptions for life and the order for the arrest of Joyce and Peters there were two other incidents in the history of the Act of Indemnity. One was the completion of a resolution by the Commons in these words: "Resolved "and declared by the Commons in Parliament assembled "that they do by this their public act, for and in behalf of "themselves and every one of them, and of all the Commons "of England, of what quality or degree soever they be,—*ex-"cepting only as is, or shall hereafter be, excepted by this "Parliament in an Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, "and Oblivion, now under consideration*,—lay hold upon his "Majesty's free and general Pardon, in his late gracious "Letters and Declaration granted, tendered, or expressed." The other was the issue of a Proclamation by the King, recommended by the two Houses, and dated June 6, requiring all the surviving Regicide Judges not already in custody, forty in number, with Cook, Broughton, and Phelps, to surrender themselves within fourteen days to the Speaker of the Lords, the Speaker of the Commons, the Lord Mayor of London, or some Sheriff, "under pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity for their respective lives and estates." Both these incidents might bear a merciful construction. By the first the House had, with the exception we have put in italics, taken the whole nation under its wing, many of

[1] Commons Journals of dates; Lilly's *History of his Life and Times*, as quoted in Chambers's *Book of Days*, I. 189; and two news-pamphlets in the Thomason Collection—*An Exact Accompt communicating the Chief Transactions of the Three Kingdoms, &c., with the daily Votes and Resolves in both Houses of Parliament: published by Authority* (No. for June 1—8, 1660), and *Mercurius Veridicus* (June 5—12, 1660). The second contains the rhyme.—In that rhyme, it may be observed, the name is given as *Peter*, without the final *s*. Though this may have been for the sake of the rhyme only, it is correct. In his own letters he signed himself always "Hugh Peter." So we are informed in Vol. VI. of the Fourth Series of the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections* (p. 91), where many letters of his are printed from the MSS. They are addressed chiefly to John Winthrop, Junr.; whom, on account of their peculiar relationship by marriage, he calls "dear and loving son." But *Peter* will be *Peters* so long as he is remembered in the world.

its own culpable members included, assuring them that they were safe. The other might be interpreted as a distinct pledge by the King that those of the Regicides that should surrender in terms of the Proclamation would fare the better for their confidence in his clemency [1].

Still, in that phrase of the Commons which we have put in italics, a vast deal was left dubious. It left several questions open. In the first place, what was to be the fate of the thirty-seven Regicide Judges still living, over and above the seven that had been selected capitally, and what was to be the posthumous dealing with the nineteen dead, over and above the four it had been decided to attaint in chief? In the second place, were any others not yet named to be classed especially as Regicides and dealt with as such? As the House had marked its determination to seek its chief victims from among those immediately concerned in any way with the King's death, and had consequently doomed Cook, Broughton, Dendy, and the two executioners, if they could be found out, to the same gibbet with the seven selected Regicide Judges themselves, might they not now enlarge their definition of the Regicides by bringing in some of those of the Judges who, though not present at the actual sentence, had taken some active previous part in the Trial, and also some others who had officiated at the Trial, though not as Judges? If so, how many more were to be so counted as Regicides? Then, apart altogether from the fate of those implicated in the one crime of the regicide, there was the farther question of the selection of victims from the community at large, on account of the notoriety of their actings, whether civil or military, through the time of the Republic, the Protectorate, and the Anarchy. There could be no general security till that question also was decided.

[1] Commons Journals of date, and original black letter copy of the King's Proclamation. On comparing the list of the Regicide Judges summoned to surrender in this Proclamation with that of the Regicide Judges given *ante* at p. 28, I find that the four surviving Regicide Judges not named in the Proclamation were Gregory Clements, Harrison, John Jones, and Matthew Tomlinson. Probably Clements was by this time already in custody, with Harrison and Jones. Tomlinson was at hand when wanted, whether in custody or not.

On the 8th and 9th of June there was some farther light in the Commons on all these questions. On the first of those days, "a question being propounded, That the number of "*twenty and no more* (other than those that are already ex- "cepted, or sat as Judges upon the late King's Majesty) "shall be excepted out of the Act of General Pardon and "Oblivion, for and in respect only of such pains, penalties, "and forfeitures, not extending to life, as shall be thought "fit to be inflicted on them by another Act, intended to be "hereafter passed for that purpose," there were two divisions. On the previous question, "whether the question should be put?" there were 160 Yeas against 131 Noes; and, the question itself having been put, there were 153 Yeas against 135 Noes. In other words, it was carried, though not by a large majority, that from the general community, apart from the Regicides, the number of victims to be selected should be limited to *Twenty*, and the punishments of these should not extend to death. But, next day, it became evident that, as regarded the Regicides still to be designated, the House was in a mood of severity. On a report from Prynne, who had been in his element in a committee for studying all the records of the King's Trial, it was found that eleven of the King's Judges, in addition to the sixty-seven who had been present at the pronouncing of the sentence, had taken such a part in the trial by sitting in the Court once, twice, or oftener, that it would be a farce not to include them among the Regicides. The eleven, here arranged alphabetically, were these:—

James Challoner: present at three sittings of the Court continuously, though not after Jan. 22.

* Thomas Challoner: present at six sittings, including that of the 26th Jan., where the sentence was agreed to, and present also on the actual sentence-day, though not at the moment; also a signer of the death-warrant.

John Dove: at one sitting only, but it was that at which the sentence was agreed on.

John Fry (*dead*): six sittings continuously, to that of Jan. 25, at which the sentence was rough-drafted.

Sir James Harrington: twice present.

Francis Lassels: three times present continuously, but not after Jan. 22,—i.e. same as James Challoner.
Thomas Lister: one sitting only; and that the first.
Sir Henry Mildmay: four sittings continuously, including those at which the sentence was rough-drafted and finally agreed on.
William, Lord Monson: five sittings, including that of agreement on the sentence.
Sir Gilbert Pickering: three sittings, but not after Jan. 23.
Robert Wallop: three sittings, of which that of Jan. 23 was the last.

Besides the fifty-six Regicide Judges, thirty-seven of them living, that had been left in suspense out of the total of sixty-seven already reckoned, there were now, therefore, these eleven, of whom ten were alive, to be treated as also Regicides. Then and there, in a series of Resolutions, the House disposed of all of both sets. In one Resolution, fifty-two out of the former fifty-six, including thirty-four of those living and eighteen of those dead, were named together for exception from the Indemnity in respect of all pains and penalties, not capital, that it might be thought right to inflict upon them by another Act. The four thus left out were Lord Grey of Groby, among the dead, and John Hutchinson, Adrian Scroope, and Matthew Tomlinson, among the living. Influence was being exerted for the family of Lord Grey of Groby, and it was resolved not to except him "as to his own estate," i.e. to leave his family in possession of what property had been really his. Hutchinson, who was a member of the House, had been expressing his repentance, and had won sympathy; and, while it was resolved to expel him from the House, and also to declare him incapable of bearing any office of trust in future, there was a separate resolution that, "in respect of his signal repentance," he should be subject to no fine, and no forfeiture out of any part of his estate "not purchased from, or belonging to, the public." Adrian Scroope had sent in a humble petition to the House, in consideration of which it was resolved that, by "paying a year's rent of his lands in lieu of a fine," he should be exempt from farther fine or loss of estate. Tomlinson, for recent good conduct, had been virtually condoned since the 17th of May, when the

Commons omitted him singly from the list of Regicides to be apprehended and the Lords concurred.—But what of the new eleven ferreted out by Prynne, to be added to the former list? By separate resolutions, eight of these were at once put in the same class with the fifty-two excepted in every respect not capital. These were James Challoner, Thomas Challoner, Fry (*dead*), Harrington, Lister, Mildmay, Lord Monson, and Pickering. The remaining three were treated differently. The case of Dove, on his humble petition, was referred to a committee; Lassels, who was a member of the House, was expelled and declared incapable of any public trust, but was admitted, by a majority of votes, to the benefit of the General Pardon on payment of a fine of one year's value of his estate; and Wallop, also a member of the House, was required to appear at next sitting.—The same opportunity was taken of disposing of the case of John Phelps, the other clerk of the Court at the King's trial. Though he had escaped being conjoined with his fellow-clerk Broughton in exception for life, it was voted now that he should be among those amenable to any penalty short of death [1].

On Monday the 11th of June Wallop appeared in the House according to order. There was no such favour for him as for his fellow-members Hutchinson and Lassels. Expelled the House and declared incapable of public trust, he was reserved moreover for all penalties that might be thought fit, short of death, and taken at once into custody [2]. The state of matters in the House of Commons, as regarded the Regicides, then stood thus:—Eighty-four persons in all, living or dead, had been classed as Regicides: to wit, the sixty-seven judges who had been present at the pronouncing of the sentence and the eleven who had taken a culpable part in the trial, with four of the court-officers at the trial, and the two executioners, whoever they were. Of these eighty-four the votes had been that four, who were dead, should be punished by the most absolute posthumous attainder, twelve of the living should be punished capitally (seven of the King's

[1] Commons Journals of June 8 and 9.

[2] Ibid. June 11.

judges, three of the court-officers at the Trial, and the two executioners), sixty-two should stand excepted in every respect not capital (viz. forty-two of the judges yet living, with nineteen of the dead judges and one of the court-officers), one should have his case farther considered (Dove), three should be admitted to the benefit of the Pardon on certain conditions (Hutchinson, Lassels, and Scroope), and two unconditionally (Grey of Groby among the dead, and Matthew Tomlinson among the living). For the forty-two of the living judges excepted from death-punishment much might depend, however, on their alacrity in surrendering themselves according to the King's Proclamation. As that had been dated June 6, the term of fourteen days would expire on the 20th, or, with allowance of a day for the publication, on the 21st. For those who did not surrender it might go worse than had been arranged.

The Regicides having been disposed of, it remained for the House to select the twenty out of the general community deserving to be regarded as prime, or all but prime, culprits, and so to be conjoined with the main mass of the Regicides by being also excepted from the Pardon in all particulars not extending to life. This difficult and intricate business, begun on Monday the 11th of June, was pursued daily till Monday the 18th, as follows:—On the 11th, ex-Speaker Lenthall and Sir Henry Vane were put among the Twenty. There was a letter from Monk in Lenthall's behalf; but it went against Lenthall notwithstanding, by 215 votes to 126, Clarges one of the tellers in his favour. There was no division in Vane's case.—On the 12th, a William Burton, better known then than now, was made one of the Twenty. Sergeant Richard Keble was named for another, but the question was not put. —On the 13th, Oliver St. John, Alderman John Ireton, Sir Arthur Hasilrig, Colonel William Sydenham, and Colonel John Desborough, were added to the list, the only division being in the case of Sydenham, who lost by 147 to 106.—On the 14th, Bulstrode Whitlocke, who had presented a humble petition, went through the ordeal and came off by a vote of 175 to 134 not to put the question. After all, this mode of

escape might amount only to a respite. Daniel Axtell was at the same time unanimously made one of the Twenty, in recollection perhaps that he had been with Lambert in the last rising for the Republic, but also of the fact that he had commanded the guard in Westminster Hall during the King's trial.—On the 15th, William Butler, one of Cromwell's major-generals, was named; but such interest had been made for him that, after two divisions, he escaped by 160 to 131. A John Blackwell of Mortlake, the reasons for whose unpopularity might need research, was added without hesitation.—On the 16th, Lambert and Alderman Christopher Pack were unanimously added, as was also Sergeant Keble now, on second thoughts; while Sir William Roberts escaped by one vote only. It was now Saturday, and the House in one week had settled on only thirteen of the proposed Twenty.—On that same Saturday, in evidence of the fact that, in looking about for a suitable Twenty, the demerits of various stray persons besides those that have been named had come duly to mind, and had been much discoursed of and canvassed, there is a memorable entry in the journals. The last piece of business that day, it appears, consisted of two consecutive orders and a resolution appended. The orders were (1) that his Majesty should be moved to issue his Royal Proclamation for the calling in of all copies of John Milton's *Eikonoklastes* and his first *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, and of all copies of John Goodwin's *Obstructors of Justice*, with other books of which the House would prepare a schedule, in order that all might be burnt by the hands of the hangman, and (2) that Mr. Attorney-General Geoffrey Palmer should be instructed to institute immediate proceedings, by indictment or information, against Milton and Goodwin for their defences of the Regicide in the books named. The appended Resolution was that Milton and Goodwin should be forthwith taken into custody by the Sergeant at Arms. In relation to Milton there will be subsequent investigation of this incident. We note it now in its proper chronological place as an occurrence in the week of deliberations by the Commons concerning the twenty persons in the general community that were to be excepted from the

Pardon in all respects save that of life. It happened precisely at that point of their deliberations when they had chosen thirteen of the Twenty and had seven more to choose. In their ranging for suitable persons, one sees, they had naturally thought of the two most conspicuous literary defenders of the Regicide.—Hyde and the Privy Council were growing impatient with the slow course of the Indemnity Bill in the Commons; and on Monday the 18th Mr. Secretary Morrice delivered a written message to the House from his Majesty. In very gracious terms, it urged expedition with the Indemnity Bill. That day, accordingly, the House completed the Twenty by adding Charles Fleetwood, John Pyne (called "The King of the West" and described by his enemies as "a great tyrant" there), Richard Dean (not the Regicide of that name, but another, represented as "an Anabaptist"), Major Richard Creed (with Lambert in the last rising), Philip Nye (the famous Independent preacher), John Goodwin (now separated from Milton and taken by himself), and Ralph Cobbet (with Lambert in his last rising, but remembered also as the officer who had brought Charles I. from the Isle of Wight). The nominations appear in the Journals as all unanimous, except Creed's, in favour of whom there were two divisions without success. There is evidence, however, both in the Journals and elsewhere, that this day's debate was very vehement, and that, as only seven of the Twenty then remained to be chosen, there was a competition for their nominations correspondingly keen. There had even been motions by Prynne, Lord Falkland, and others, for debarring members of Republican or Oliverian connexions from the vote on such an occasion; and, when that idea was set aside, there were various proposals of names, with arguments for and against each. Prynne was the most ruthless and reckless in his nominations. It was he that proposed Fleetwood, and secured him in spite of some defence by military members. He actually proposed Richard Cromwell, but was not seconded in that instance; he then proposed Major Salway, but only to be met by arguments for Salway which, with a petition from himself, saved him. Philip Jones was similarly saved, by his own petition and the intervention

of Mr. Annesley and Mr. Finch. Bulstrode Whitlocke had again a narrow escape. Prynne was eager for including him after all, and was supported by some; but the defences of Attorney-General Palmer, Sir Geoge Booth, and others, brought Whitlocke off a second time. Richard Dean was nominated by Clarges; John Goodwin by Prynne; Nye by Sir William Wylde, who denounced him as a fellow that had enriched himself hugely in the troubles, while others attacked his conduct as one of Oliver's triers of church-presentees, and one speaker insisted that he ought to be made a special example by being excepted capitally. Judge Thorpe was proposed in competition with Cobbet for the last place, and, to make room for him, it was suggested that Cobbet also might be reserved for trial for his life; but, the House not rising to this pitch of severity in Cobbet's case either, Thorpe had to be dropped.—The notion, however, of excepting some capitally, over and above the twenty reserved for any penalties short of the capital one, had struck the House as convenient. They were at the end of their Twenty, and yet there were several left over that they longed to include somehow. "*Twenty and no more*" had been the wording of their original Resolution of June 8, in prospect of the only exceptions they were to make from the Bill of Indemnity in addition to the direct mass of the positive Regicides. Without heeding that, they ended their sitting of Monday, June 18, their Journals tell us, as follows:—"The information of William "Young, of Piellcrochun in the County of Pembroke, Doctor "of Physic, concerning Hugh Peters, was read: *Resolved*, "That William Hewlet be excepted out of the Act of General "Pardon and Oblivion; *Resolved*, That Hugh Peters be ex-"cepted out of the Act of General Pardon and Oblivion." In the Hewlet here mentioned, an old Parliamentary soldier who had risen to captain's rank, the House thought they had found one of the King's executioners at last; and, if they were right, their resolution in his case was only a confirmation of a previous resolution by inserting his name in one of two blank spaces there. But Peters was clearly a supernumerary. He was not one of the outstanding Regicide Judges

that alone remained to be added in the class of the positive Regicides when the House passed their resolution for *twenty and no more* beyond that class; nor had he been included in that Twenty; nor was there any relic now in the House of the absurd belief, which might have justified his conjunction with Hewlet, that he had been one of the two executioners. What then? Was not Dr. Young's information from Pembrokeshire to the effect that Peters, when dangerously ill at Plymouth on his return from Ireland, and attended by Dr. Young, had told him that "he and Oliver Cromwell, when "the said Cromwell went from the Parliament unto the Army "in 1648, did, in a field on this side Ware, none being present "besides, contrive and design the death of his late Majesty, with "the change of the Government?" What evidence could be clearer? Could not one see the very field, and Cromwell and Peters talking in the middle of it, and not a soul else on the horizon? In such an extraordinary case why should there not be a twenty-first man? Why should not Peters, who was yet skulking somewhere, but sure to be captured, be conjoined with Hewlet, and left to the law among the capital exceptions? That, at any rate, was what the House did. His real crime was that he was Hugh Peters[1].

One would have expected Thurloe to be among the twenty excepted. He had been under arrest, by order of the Commons, on a special charge of high treason, since May 15, when a small committee of the House, including Annesley and Prynne, had been appointed for his examination. He had been found very reasonable, and willing to be of any use to the King's government that would not be dishonourable to himself. The understanding, therefore, had come to be that he should suffer no very severe punishment. Still the Commons had inserted into the Bill a special clause for putting some mark of disgrace upon him[2].

[1] Commons Journals of dates; Mrs. Green's Calendar of State Papers for 1660—1661, pp. 52, 57; Parl. Hist. IV. 68—75 (including extracts from a manuscript diary of the House by a Member, beginning June 18, 1660); the newspaper called *Exact Accompt*, &c., No. 101 (June 15—22, 1660). The summary of Dr. Young's information about Peters is from the last.

[2] Commons Journals of May 15 and June 29.

For yet another three weeks the Bill dragged through the Commons. There had to be adjustments of the wording to bring it into coherence; and amendments and provisos still suggested themselves. Thus, after reconsideration of various particulars on June 19, 22, 27, 29, and 30, and when the Bill was in the stage of the third reading, there was an exciting and complex debate, from July 2 to July 7, over certain provisos moved by one member or another in order to make the Bill even then more stringent and revengeful. One unknown member had put in a proviso for disabling all who had sat in high courts of justice since 1648, all Cromwell's major-generals and decimators, and all who had petitioned against the King. Prynne strenuously supported the proviso, and others were for extending it so as to include all who had sat in Parliament in 1647 and 1648, or had been active in any way through the Protectorate; and it required all the exertions of Annesley, Finch, Clarges, and Matthew Hale, to quench this "hand-grenado thrown into a barrel of gunpowder." Then there was a proviso for causing all in office through the Protectorate to refund their salaries,—a worse hand-grenado than the last, inasmuch as the punishment it threatened would have been worse to many than inclusion among the Twenty. Prynne, of course, spoke for the proviso, which was opposed and scouted by Sir Thomas Widdrington, Clarges, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and others, and set aside by 180 votes to 151. Yet other provisos, tending to the disablement of large classes of persons, were set aside by the steadiness of the moderate members; and, though minor alterations and additions were agreed to, the Bill emerged at last on the 9th of July, ready for one other important proviso, the addition of which had been rendered necessary by circumstances.—Before the expiring of the fourteen days allowed by the King's Proclamation, twenty of the Regicides till then at large had been reported to the House as having surrendered themselves, in this order,—Heveningham, Wayte, Mayne, Peter Temple, Isaac Pennington, Alderman Tichbourne, George Fleetwood, James Temple, Sir John Bourchier, Owen Rowe, Robert Lilburne, Scroope, Garland, Harvey, Henry Smith, Henry Marten, Sir Hardress

Waller, Lord Monson, Ludlow, and Carew. Wogan had also surrendered, though after the proper date; Downes, Millington, and Potter are heard of as having surrendered; and Dixwell had announced himself as ill, but as intending to surrender. Only eleven of the Regicide Judges apart from the seven capitally prejudged seem now to have remained at large. It was deemed proper that these should suffer for their contumacy; and, accordingly, almost the last proviso added to the Bill on the 9th of July was one removing them from the second class of the excepted, and putting them into the first or extreme class, who were to be excepted for life as well as for estate. They were Daniel Blagrave, William Cawley, Miles Corbet, John Dixwell, William Goffe, John Hewson, Sir Michael Livesey, Nicholas Love, John Okey, Valentine Walton, and Edward Whalley. It would seem that Dixwell had changed his mind, and that Wogan's late surrender had been accepted.—All was now complete; and on the 11th of July the Bill passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords[1].

The Lords took their own time over the Bill, examining it in gross and in detail from their own point of view, which was by no means that of the Commons. No sooner had it been brought up by Mr. Annesley than there was a request to the Commons for all the documents concerning the King's Trial; and, on the first reading of the Bill, on July 12, there was a sign already that at least one of the "twenty" of the Commons would fare worse in the Lords. Axtell had been talking imprudently in his prison, saying that "Monk's reign would be short," that the King and Council "would involve the kingdom again in blood," &c.; and it happened that, just as Axtell's good friend reported this to the Council, there came also a letter from Ireland, written by an old servant of Charles I, expressing surprise that Axtell was to escape with life, when the writer could testify that he had heard him incite his soldiers in Westminster Hall to cry out

[1] Parl. Hist. IV. 75—80 (with accounts of the debates from MS.); Commons Journals of dates given. The surrenders of the Regicides were reported successively, June 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, and 21.

for the King's execution. The letter was sent by the King to the Lords, and there read with effect. But it was after the second reading of the Bill, on July 17, when the Lords went into Committee of the whole House upon it, with Lord Roberts for chairman, that the procedure became practical. On report from the Committee by Roberts on the 20th, it was agreed that all the Regicide Judges, sentencers or signers of the death-warrant, should be excepted from the Indemnity; and on the 23rd the House had the two fatal lists before them,—that of the sixty-seven sentencers and that of the fifty-nine signers. Then, to make their meaning more exact, they ordered that Colonel Hutchinson's name should be struck out of both documents, agreeing with the Commons that he deserved pardon; and, Ingoldsby's name also being regarded as deleted from the warrant, there remained sixty-six sentencers, of whom fifty-six were also signers, while Thomas Challoner, as the only signer who had not been a sentencer, was put in a corner of the list of sentencers as virtually one of them. Thus, in the reckoning of the Lords, there were sixty-seven Regicide Judges; regarding whom they could come to no other conclusion than that they should be "absolutely excepted" from the Bill, whereas the Commons had put only twenty-two in that extreme category, viz. the *four* dead and *seven* living originally named, and the *eleven* afterwards added because they had persisted in absconding after the King's Proclamation. In the afternoon sitting of the same day, however, it was agreed by the Lords to spare Tomlinson, though not without a protest by the Earl of Lichfield and Lord Maynard. This reduced the number to sixty-six. The lists before the House hitherto were the most authentic that could be had; but, on intimation that Colonel Francis Hacker, who was a prisoner in the Tower, could produce the original death-warrant, on which he had acted on the dreadful day, with all the names attached in autograph, it was ordered that Hacker should be examined on the subject. On the 24th it was reported that Hacker said the parchment was still extant, but that it was in the country, and could only be obtained by sending his wife to fetch it; also that, on being questioned who the

actual executioner was, he said he believed him to have been of the rank of a major in the army, but did not know his name. The same day John Rushworth was brought into the House and interrogated, but could give no information to the point.—By this time the feeling in the Commons was that the Lords were very dilatory. It had been hoped that they would accept the Bill very much as the Commons had sent it up; but their Lordships were inquiring into all afresh, as if bent on shaping an entirely new Bill of their own. There had been messages from the Commons urging expedition; and on July 27 his Majesty himself appeared among the Lords and made an earnest speech to the same effect. He reminded their Lordships of his large promises of pardon in his Declaration from Breda, quoting the entire paragraph textually; he hinted that, but for those promises and the very breadth of the wording of them, neither he nor their lordships might have been where they now were; and he exhorted them to pass the Indemnity Act "without other exceptions than of those who were immediately guilty of that murder." Their Lordships thanked his Majesty, and moved that he would be pleased to cause his speech to be printed; but, having thus given him the benefit of whatever popularity might accrue from his interference, they persevered in their own course.—Hacker's poor wife had brought the terrible parchment from the country; Hacker had delivered it to the Lieutenant of the Tower; and on the 31st it was in their Lordships' House, where it has remained ever since. On that day and the next there was reconsideration of the case of Matthew Tomlinson. His name was not on the death-warrant; but, as one of the sentencers, and as the colonel in chief charge of the King between his sentence and his execution, ought he not after all to be included among the Regicides? On evidence produced that the dead King himself had spoken of Tomlinson as one who had treated him with civility and respect in his last hours, it was finally agreed to show him favour and to omit his name from the list of sentencers. This was on Aug. 1; on which day also the House resolved, on report from Roberts, that Hacker, Vane, Hasilrig, Lambert, and

Axtell, should be "wholly excepted" from the Bill, thus adding Hacker and Axtell to the list of the unpardonable Regicides, and conjoining with them three general culprits whom the Commons had placed among the twenty reserved for penalties not capital. As Axtell also had been put among these twenty by the Commons, there remained but sixteen of that body whom the Lords agreed to consider not absolutely unpardonable. These the Lords proposed to deal with in a different way from that which the Commons had designed. On August 2 it was resolved, on report from Roberts, "That "if any of these persons following,—viz. William Lenthall, "esquire, William Burton, Oliver St. John, Colonel William "Sydenham, Colonel John Desborough, John Blackwell of "Mortlake, Christopher Pack, alderman, Richard Keble, "Charles Fleetwood, John Pyne, Richard Dean, Major "Richard Creed, Philip Nye, clerk, John Goodwin, clerk, "Colonel Ralph Cobbet, and John Ireton, alderman,—shall "hereafter accept or exercise any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or "military, or any other public employment, within this "Kingdom, Dominion of Wales, Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, "or Ireland, then such person or persons as do so accept or "execute as aforesaid shall, to all intents and purposes of law, "stand as if he or they had been *totally excepted* by name in "this Act." Whether intentionally or not, this brand of perpetual incapacitation upon the sixteen might prove a less severe punishment for some of them than might have been awarded if they had been reserved, as the Commons had proposed, for penalties, not extending to death, to be fixed by a future Act. On Aug. 4 and Aug. 6, at all events, there were two slight relapses into mercy; for it was agreed, on consideration of the expressed repentance of Thomas Lister and Sir Gilbert Pickering, and of the fact that their part in the King's Trial had been small, to cancel their names from the list of Regicides and give them the full benefit of the Act. But on the 7th the House proposed four additional capital victims, in a second (?) John Blackwell, a Colonel Croxton, a William Wyberd, and an Edmund Waring, selected, by private agreement, from among those who had

sat in the courts that had sent the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel to the scaffold in March 1648–9, and the Earl of Derby in October 1651. On the 8th there was a resolution freeing Thurloe from penalties altogether; but on the 9th there was exactly such a final sweep of indiscriminate vindictiveness as Prynne and others had demanded in the Commons when the Bill was leaving that House. It took the form of a resolution "That all "those that sat in any High Court of Justice shall be made "uncapable of bearing any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or "military, within the Kingdom of England, and Dominion "of Wales, and that all such persons that have sat in any "High Court of Justice shall be liable to such further "penalties as by any future Act of Parliament shall be in-"flicted upon them, not extending to life." It was intended, though not here expressed, that the resolution (which, it will be observed, brought back some of the sixteen for penalties besides incapacitation) should not apply to Ingoldsby, Tomlinson, Lister, or Pickering, who had already been condoned otherwise. There were yet some concluding adjustments; but on the 10th the Bill, as amended, passed the Lords, and went back to the Commons for their concurrence[1].

There was a debate of two days in the Commons over the amendments of the Lords (Aug. 11 and 13). Some of the amendments were accepted,—e. g. that condoning Thurloe entirely, that removing Lister and Pickering from the list of excepted Regicides, and that adding Hacker to their number. A more difficult question was that of adopting the proposal of the Lords to brand sixteen of the "twenty" with perpetual incapacitation, instead of reserving them to be dealt with in a special Act inflicting other penalties. By a division of 197 to 102 it was agreed, however, to concur with the Lords here too, though adding Lister and Pickering to the sixteen.—But on the question of transferring the remaining four of the twenty, viz. Vane, Hasilrig, Lambert, and Axtell, to the list of capital

[1] Lords Journals of dates; Mrs. Green's Calendar of State Papers, 1660—1661 p. 116 (about Axtell).

exceptions, the Commons stood firm. They negatived that amendment, adhering to their own more merciful intention for the four. No wonder, either, that there was a resolute opposition to that amendment of the Lords which decreed capital penalties to all the surviving King's Judges who had been sentencers or signers of the death-warrant, except the three specially condoned. It proposed the capital condemnation of forty-three in this class, whereas the Commons had been content with seven originally, though they had at the last added eleven more for their contumacy in absconding after the King's Proclamation. Some were for concurring with the Lords; but others pleaded the honour of the House for the lives of all it had already voted to save, and a large majority, including Annesley and Sir George Booth, argued that the honour of the King himself, as well as that of the House, was pledged for at least the lives of all the sentencers and signers of the death-warrant who had come in on the Proclamation. These, it would seem, were reckoned now as only twenty-one,—Carew, Downes, George Fleetwood, Garland, Harvey, Heveningham, Robert Lilburne, Henry Marten, Mayne, Millington, Pennington, Potter, Rowe, Adrian Scroope, Smith, James Temple, Peter Temple, Tichbourne, Sir Hardress Waller, Wayte, and Wogan. Ludlow, who had surrendered, had again absconded; and old Sir John Bourchier had died since his surrender, testifying to the Regicide, it is said, on his deathbed, "It was a just act, and all good men will own it." For the twenty-one named the House resolved to adhere to their previous votes, repeating expressly their stipulation that Adrian Scroope's penalty should be limited to a year's value of his lands. The proposal of the Lords for four additional capital victims from among the judges of the Royalist peers was negatived with some indignation. Was it seemly that the blood of the mere Peerage should be mingled at such a moment with that of the King? Had the Commons asked for victims on account of misdeeds or insults to *their* House? Finally, on the complex proviso of the Lords for incapacitating all that had sat in any High Court of Justice through the interregnum, and also for inflicting

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penalties on such by a separate Act, the Commons also disagreed with the Lords. They negatived the second clause of the proviso, reserving such culprits for penalties; and they voted to accept the first clause if worded as follows: "Provided "likewise that all those who, since the 5th of December, 1648, "did give sentence of death upon any person or persons in "any of the late illegal and tyrannical high courts of "justice in England or Wales, or signed the warrant for the "execution of any person there condemned (except Colonel "Richard Ingoldsby and Colonel Matthew Tomlinson) shall "be, and are hereby, made incapable of bearing any office, "ecclesiastical, civil, or military, within the kingdom of "England or dominion of Wales, or of serving as a member "in any Parliament after the 1st day of September, 1660." The Bill then went back to the Lords[1].

There had to be four Conferences between the two Houses, —Aug 17, 21, 22, 25,—with speeches and reasonings at each, besides debates in the Houses themselves in the intervals, before they could come to agreement. The Lords gave up their demand for four additional capital victims for the slain peers, and they accepted also the modification of the proviso for those who had sat in high courts of justice; but they stood to their determination to make Vane, Hasilrig, Lambert, and Axtell capital exceptions, and also to their determination to deal capitally with all the Regicides on *their* list (the sentencers and signers), except Ingoldsby, Tomlinson, and Hutchinson. On these two questions there was a keen controversy.—That of the four culprits on general grounds was first decided. It was decided on the 24th of August, and chiefly in consequence of a suggestion thrown out by Chancellor Hyde, who had managed the third conference for the Lords and reasoned in defence of their severe policy with all his lawyerly skill. Vane, Hasilrig, Lambert, and Axtell, he had contended, were "persons of a mischievous activity," such criminals that the Lords could not consent to record a punishment against them less than capital; but their lordships would

[1] Commons Journals of dates, and Parl. Hist. IV. 96—97; with some references to Noble's *Regicides*,—a most slovenly and careless book.

join with the Commons, if they pleased, in a petition to his Majesty that, if they should be capitally condemned, he would spare their lives. This was far from satisfactory to many in the Commons, but it had such an effect that they debated on the four severally. Axtell was easily given up, as a kind of assessor of the Regicide. There was a fight for Vane, in which Holles took a brave part; but Vane was given up too. For Lambert the chief speaker was Sir George Booth, the very man whose Cheshire insurrection for the King had been crushed by Lambert; but Lambert too was given up. Finally came Hasilrig's turn. There was more speaking for and against in his case than in any of the others. On one side were Mr. Tomkins, Lord Ancram, and Sir Roger Palmer, reminding the House of his evil actings and his evil speakings. Was it not he that had stirred up the vote for no more addresses to the King in the Isle of Wight, saying to the Speaker, "Sir, shall we believe that man of no faith?" Had he not said to Sir Roger Palmer not long ago that, if Charles II. did come in, he knew the consequence for himself "It was but three wry mouths and a swing?" Let him have what he had expected! On the other hand, Annesley, Ashley Cooper, Colonel Birch, and others, spoke for him, adducing also Monk's opinion in his favour. When it went to a division, there were 141 votes for Hasilrig to 116 against him; and so *he* was saved. There had been no division in the cases of Vane and Lambert; but it was agreed, on a motion by Mr. Pierrepoint, going beyond Hyde's suggestion, to petition the King that they should not be tried for their lives. No one had anything more to say for Daniel Axtell.—Only the question of the Regicides now remained. Not all Hyde's special pleading could convince the Commons that the King was not bound in honour to make a difference in favour of those who had come in on his Proclamation. Otherwise they had been "snared"; all argument to the contrary by Hyde or anyone else was but ingenious sophistication. But Prynne and a few more were for agreeing entirely with the Lords,—Prynne, in especial, standing up, with his obdurate ghastly face and the cowl over the spots where his ears had been, and

speaking for agreement. He had been for excepting all at first, he said, and was so still; such miscreants ought not to live; by sparing these men would not the nation itself incur the guilt of the Regicide? The wave of generous feeling overwhelmed Prynne, if it could not silence him; and Hyde had to be ready with another of his "expedients." It was propounded at the fourth conference, and was to the effect that the Commons should agree with the Lords as to all the Regicides, so that all might be tried for their lives, but that there should be a special clause in favour of stopping execution of the capital sentence in the cases of those who had "rendered themselves upon an opinion that they might safely do so." He professed not to know their names, and so had left a blank for them in the clause as it had been drafted. That same day (Aug. 25), the Lords having acquiesced in the decision of the Commons respecting Hasilrig and in their other desires, the Commons reluctantly agreed to Hyde's compromise about the Regicides, appointing a committee to ascertain which of them were entitled to the benefit of the saving clause, and at the same time to see to the verbal coherence of the whole Bill. This committee reported on the 28th. Then the House, transferring Sir John Bourchier to the list of the dead Regicides, and also distinctly reiterating their vote that the dead Lord Grey of Groby's name should be omitted from the Bill, so that his representatives might not suffer in property, agreed, on the other hand, to recant one of their own former resolutions of mercy. Though they had voted for condoning Adrian Scroope, so far as to take him out of the list of exceptions in the Bill altogether, and allow him to escape with a mulct of one year's value of his estates, there had been such reports to them of private discourses of Scroope since the King's return, and such remonstrances with them on their extraordinary charity to him, that they now flung him overboard. They would not even return him among those who had surrendered themselves, but, by omitting him, reduced the number of such to exactly twenty. Even these, it seems, were too many for the Lords; for, when the Bill was carried up to them that day by sergeant

Glynne, in the name of the Commons, as now complete, they requested yet another conference. At this conference they objected to two of the names. They objected to including Sir Hardress Waller among those to have the benefit of the saving clause, on the ground that he had "absented himself since his coming in." On explanation, they accepted *him;* but in the case of another of the twenty they were obstinate. This was John Carew. It was admitted that he had surrendered himself; but it was pointed out that he had done so *before* the Proclamation had gone out. The Commons could only return to their own House to vote on the subject. For insisting that Mr. Carew should have the benefit of the saving clause in his peculiarly hard circumstances there were 70 votes, against 80 for leaving him to his fate. This concluded the whole business. It was still the 28th of August, and Mr. Holles was instructed to carry the Bill up again to the Lords as absolutely finished this time, and to request their Lordships to move his Majesty to come to their House and give his assent to it next day. Mr. Holles brought back word immediately that it should be so[1].

On Wednesday the 29th of August his Majesty did appear in the Lords, and, the Commons having been summoned, did give his assent to the Bill, and then address the two Houses in a speech concerning it and other matters. From that day, all not excepted in the "Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion" might consider themselves safe and might breathe freely. It was even expressly provided in the Act that there should be penalties on any sheriff or other officer that should molest any person not excepted in the Act for anything pardoned or discharged in it, that for three years there should be penalties on the use of any words of reproach or disgrace "tending to revive the memory of the late differences," and that the construction of the Act in any dubious case should always be to the advantage of the accused. We may now, therefore, recapitulate the exceptions as expressed in the Act itself:—

[1] Commons and Lords Journals of dates, and Parl. Hist. IV. 97—111 (with abstract of speeches in the Commons from a MS. Diary).

I. Four Dead Regicides excepted in chief:—These were Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride, now enumerated in that order.

II. Twenty more Dead Regicides excepted:—They were Francis Allen, John Alured, Thomas Andrews, John Blakiston, Sir John Bourchier, Sir William Constable, Bart., Sir John Danvers, Richard Dean, Humphrey Edwards, Isaac Ewer, John Fry, Thomas Hammond, Thomas Horton, Sir Thomas Mauleverer, Bart., John Moore, Sir Gregory Norton, Bart., Peregrine Pelham, William Purefoy, Anthony Stapley, and John Venn. The "lands, tenements, goods, chattels, rights, trusts, and other the hereditaments" of these were to be subject to such "pains, penalties, and forfeitures" as should be expressed and declared by another Act of Parliament, which should also confirm the Attainder of the four already named.

III. Thirty Living Regicides, with two unnamed, absolutely excepted:—These comprised twenty-two of the Regicide Judges,—to wit, John Barkstead, Daniel Blagrave, John Carew, William Cawley, Thomas Challoner, Gregory Clements, Cornelius Holland, Miles Corbet, John Dixwell, William Goffe, Thomas Harrison, John Hewson, John Jones, John Lisle, Sir Michael Livesey, Nicholas Love, Edmund Ludlow, John Okey, William Say, Thomas Scott, Adrian Scroope, Valentine Walton, and Edward Whalley; together with Daniel Axtell, Francis Hacker, John Cook, Andrew Broughton, Edward Dendy, William Hewlet, Hugh Peters, and those two persons "who, being disguised by frocks and visors, did appear upon the scaffold erected before Whitehall." Hewlet and Peters, whether on their own account, or to stand for the two executioners in default of the real men, were huddled with the Regicides.

IV. Nineteen Living Regicides excepted with a Saving Clause:—They were John Downes, George Fleetwood, Augustine Garland, Edmund Harvey, William Heveningham, Robert Lilburne, Henry Marten, Simon Mayne, Gilbert Millington, Isaac Pennington, Vincent Potter, Owen Rowe, Henry Smith, James Temple, Peter Temple, Robert Tichbourne, Sir Hardress Waller, Thomas Wayte, and Thomas Wogan. The saving clause ran that, whereas these persons had surrendered on the King's Proclamation of June 6, wherein they had been named, and "do pretend thereby "to some favour, upon some conceived doubtful words in the said "Proclamation," it was part of the Act that, if they or any of them should be "legally attainted for the horrid treason and murther aforesaid," then nevertheless their execution should be "suspended "until his Majesty, by the advice and assent of the Lords and "Commons in Parliament, shall order the execution, by Act of "Parliament to be passed for that purpose."

V. Six more of the Living Regicides excepted, but not capitally:—These were the five judges deemed most culpable,

for the part they had taken in the trial, though not present at the sentence nor signers of the death-warrant—to wit: James Challoner, Sir James Harrington, Sir Henry Mildmay, Lord Monson, and Robert Wallop, with John Phelps, one of the clerks of the Court. They were "reserved to such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, not extending to life," as might be settled by another Act.

VI. Two Regicides excepted, but for Incapacitation only:—These were John Hutchinson and Francis Lassels, neither of whom was to hold thenceforth any office of trust, civil or military, in the kingdom, and the second of whom, moreover, was to pay to the king "one full year's value of his estate."

VII. Two Non-Regicides wholly excepted:—These were Lambert and Sir Henry Vane. The agreement of the two Houses to petition for their lives was understood, but does not appear in the Act.

VIII. One Non-Regicide excepted, but not capitally:—This was Sir Arthur Hasilrig, reserved for "such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, not extending to life," as might be settled by another Act.

IX. Eighteen Persons to be under perpetual brand of Incapacitation:—These were:—among the Republicans and Oliverians of military note, Charles Fleetwood, John Desborough, William Sydenham, Ralph Cobbet, and Richard Creed; with ex-Speaker Lenthall, Oliver St. John, Christopher Pack, Alderman John Ireton, William Burton, John Blackwell of Mortlake, Richard Keble, John Pyne, and Richard Dean, among civilians, and Thomas Lister and Sir Gilbert Pickering, transferred by grace from the list of Regicides; and with Philip Nye and John Goodwin to represent the prime offenders among the Oliverian and Republican clergy. If any of them should accept or exercise any office of trust in England, Wales, or Berwick-on-Tweed, he was to forfeit all benefit of the Act, and might suffer capitally.

X. A Definite number more incapacitated by description, but not by name:—These were all persons (Colonel Richard Ingoldsby and Colonel Matthew Tomlinson honourably excepted) by whose sentence or warrant in any pretended High Court of Justice since Dec. 5, 1648, any one had been capitally condemned or executed. They were to be excluded for ever from all public offices and from sitting in Parliament.

XI. Miscellaneous Exceptions:—There were to be excepted, moreover, all who had committed murders, piracies, or other great crimes, distinctly unconnected with the civil wars or politics; also all who had assisted "in the plotting, contriving, or designing of the great and heinous rebellion of Ireland"; also all offences committed "by any Jesuit, Seminary, or Romish priest whatsoever," contrary to the statute of Elizabeth against such; also all menial servants of his Majesty who had sold or betrayed his secrets. Also, though there was to be the most general confirmation of all

rights of property acquired by purchase, gift, or conveyance, through the troubles, this was not to apply to acquisition of lands of the king or queen, or of the lands of archbishops, bishops, deans, and deans and chapters. This last exception was in accordance with resolutions to which the Parliament had come independently while the Indemnity Bill was in progress. "Because, in the continued "distractions of so many years and so many great revolutions," the King had said in his Breda Declaration, "many grants and pur- "chases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, "and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be "liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing "that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, "sales, and purchases, shall be determined in Parliament." Accordingly, a "Bill of Sales" had been introduced into the Commons, which had occasioned stormy discussion (July 11), and was not yet perfected, but the purport of the proceedings in which, so far as they had gone, was that, while all Crown lands were to revert to the Crown without compensation, and arrangements would have to be made by the possessors of Church lands before they could retain them, other properties were to remain undisturbed[1].

Along with the great Indemnity Bill, his Majesty gave his assent to five other Bills. One was "An Act for a perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving to be observed and kept on the 29th of May," the day of his Majesty's entry into London; another was "An Act for the Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings," intended to prevent question of rights depending on decisions of law-courts under the late Governments; a third was "An Act for the restraining the taking of excessive Usury," i. e. for limiting interest on borrowed money to six per cent.; a fourth was a private Act for naturalising two foreigners; and the fifth was "An Act for the speedy provision of Money for disbanding and paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Land and Sea." This last represents the progress that had been made in one department of the greatest question, next to the Indemnity Bill, that had been occupying the Parliament hitherto, the question of Supply and Revenue.

[1] Statutes at Large: 12 *Caroli* II, Cap. XI. If the reader will refer to the two lists of the Regicide Judges already given—that of the Sentencers at p. 28, and that of those who had taken some other part in the Trial at pp. 35, 36—it will be found that every one in both lists is accounted for in the present abstract of the Bill, except John Dove in the second list. Though his case was kept under consideration in the Commons on June 9 (ante 37), he has now vanished altogether.

It had been resolved to disband the Army and reduce the Navy to a few ships, so as to save a vast cost monthly; but that could not be done without providing for payment of arrears. It was also intended that, whereas the revenue of the Crown in the time of Charles I. had been about £900,000 a year, about £250,000 of which came from illegal sources, or sources not now available, the present king's revenue should be £1,200,000 a year, and all valid; but how to carry this intention into effect was no easy financial problem, and all that had been actually voted for Charles since he came in was a subsidy for life of the customs of tonnage and poundage. Meanwhile, for disbanding the Army and Navy, Parliament had reverted to the rough old device of a poll-tax, —every Duke to pay £100, every Marquis £80, every Earl £60, and so down to Esquires at £10 each, and thence again downwards to a shilling from every labouring person over sixteen years, and sixpence from every one under that age, not a pauper. It was an Act embodying that proposal that had now been submitted to his Majesty along with the Indemnity Bill; and the spirit in which his Majesty, or Hyde for him, received the Act appears from one of the passages in his speech. "For your Poll Bill," he said, "I do "thank you as much as if the money were to come into my "own coffers, and wish with all my heart that it may amount "to as great a sum as you reckon upon. If the work be well "and orderly done to which it is designed, I am sure I shall "be the richer by it in the end; and, upon my word, if I had "wherewithal, I would myself help you. . . . I am so con- "fident of your affections that I will not move you in anything "that relates immediately to myself; and yet I must tell you "I am not richer,—that is, I have not so much money in my "purse as when I came to you. The truth is I have lived "principally ever since upon what I brought with me; which "was indeed your money, for you sent it to me, and I thank "you for it. The weekly expense of the Navy eats up all "you have given me by the Bill of tonnage and poundage. "Nor have I been able to give my brothers one shilling since "I came into England, nor to keep any table in my house,

"but what I eat at myself. And that which troubles me "most is to see many of you come to me at Whitehall and "to think that you must go somewhere else to seek your "dinner." If this was written for his Majesty by Hyde, it contrasts oddly with Hyde's own account of the same subject written for posterity. "And thus the King's house," writes Hyde, immediately after describing the formation of the Ministry of which he was the head, "quickly appeared in its "full lustre, the eating and drinking very grateful to all "men, and the charge and expense of it much exceeding the "precedents of the most luxurious times, and all this before "there was any provision of ready money or any assignation "of a future fund." He adds that tradesmen were ready to deliver their goods upon trust, and that Charles was plunging into his first year of debt most recklessly. The speech, however, may not have been written by Hyde [1].

Next to the Indemnity question, that of Supply and Revenue, we have said, was the most important that had yet occupied the Parliament. On a still more vast and momentous question they had touched once or twice, but with little or no effect. This was the question of the Church.

The most enormous blunder of the Presbyterians in their Restoration of Charles had been in letting him in absolutely without conditions. The intention at first had been to negotiate with him at Breda or the Hague on the basis of some such conditions as those offered to his father in the Treaty of Newport in the Isle of Wight in 1648, preventing a return to Prelacy and securing the permanence of a Presbyterian Church-establishment. There can be little doubt that Charles, in his anxiety to recover his kingdoms, would then have assented to almost any terms whatsoever, leaving it to chance whether he should feel himself bound by them or not afterwards. But the hurricane of popular impatience at home, and Monk's advice at last, had swept aside the proposals of definite negotiation made by Matthew Hale and others; and,

[1] Lords Journals of Aug. 29 and Commons Journals of Sept. 3; Phillips, 719—720 (Poll Bill); Parl. Hist. IV. 114—115; Clarendon, 1005—1006.

when Charles was in England, it was with no other pledge in Church-matters than was contained in one passage of his voluntary Declaration from Breda. "And, because the pas-"sion and uncharitableness of the times," said that document, "have produced several opinions in Religion, by which men "are engaged in parties and animosities against each other,— "which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of con-"versation, will be composed, or better understood,—We do "declare a Liberty to Tender Consciences, and that no man "shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of "opinion in matter of Religion which do not disturb the peace "of the Kingdom, and that We shall be ready to consent to "such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, "shall be offered to Us, for the full granting that In-"dulgence." It must have been a delight to Hyde to have been able to manage this difficulty of the Restoration in a manner so vague. Of all the King's counsellors, the exiled bishops included, not one had so firmly settled with himself as Hyde had done that the restoration of the King should involve the restoration also of Episcopacy and the Old Church of England in its fullest form. From this purpose he had never swerved, and it was a wonder to Lord Colepepper and others that he was so tenacious on a subject about which they were comparatively indifferent. As for Charles himself, there were reasons why he should view the matter differently from Hyde, even while taking Hyde's advice. Whether the Protestantism of the British Islands should be episcopal or non-episcopal can have been a question of small concern on its own intrinsic account to one who, for a year at least already, if not for six years, had been secretly a Roman Catholic. So far as Hyde was aware of this fact, it must have added to his difficulties; but it was a consolation that the King was not so much of a Papist after all, or of a religionist of any kind, as to go out of his senses for the Papacy, or for anything else that might be detrimental to his own interests. With such an easy crypto-Catholic on the throne, one might succeed in restoring that system of Anglican High Episcopacy, resting on the doctrine of the Apostolical Succes-

sion of Bishops, which the genuine Roman Catholics thought a worse abortion than Presbyterianism itself[1].

Charles having come in without conditions, and with a positive intimation of his personal preference for episcopal forms, all that the Presbyterians could expect was what they now called a COMPREHENSION, i. e. the settlement of the Church in such a way that any Episcopacy to be set up in it should be a very limited Episcopacy indeed, like that sketched by Usher in his famous "Model" of 1641, abandoning the theory of Episcopacy by divine right, and reducing bishops to mere presidents of the synods of presbyters (Vol. II. pp. 229, 230). In this way they hoped that the great body of the Presbyterian ministers in Cromwell's Established Church might be able to remain within the Establishment, not bound to use the Liturgy or other ceremonies contrary to their consciences, while room for the readmission of such of the surviving old Anglican and Liturgical clergy as it might be necessary and proper to restore to their livings would easily be obtained by the ejection of the most troublesome of those Baptists or other Independents the conjunction of whom with the Presbyterians in the Church-Establishment had been only by Cromwell's will. About such sectaries there was not much concern among the Presbyterians. They had been accepted into the Establishment as very questionable brethren, and their ejection might be a good riddance now; or, if any provision was to be made for their future, it was to come in the form of a TOLERATION out of the Establishment, whereas the present question was COMPREHENSION, or the amicable blending of Episcopalians and Presbyterians within the Establishment. Towards this end there had been much fresh studying of Usher's Model, which indeed had been again a good deal before the public since 1658, when there was some notion that Cromwell himself might give

[1] Parl. Hist. IV. 17; Clarendon, 779; Burnet, I. 126—127 and 158, II. 449—451 and 471; Neal, IV. 231—236; Hallam, II. 344. There had been efforts to convert Charles to Roman Catholicism from the time of his first residence in France after his escape from the Battle of Worcester; and as early as June 1653 Hyde in Paris had been very anxious to contradict the rumours that Charles had changed his religion (see Macray's Calendar of Clarendon Papers, under date June 6, 1653).

effect to it, so as to incorporate some of the most reasonable of the old Anglican clergy with the other elements of the Church of his Protectorate, and give the somewhat chaotic aggregate the benefit of a moderate episcopal organization. There had also been much private consultation among the leading Presbyterians as to the possibility of reverting to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and to the Liturgy with certain amendments, and as to the ceremonies that might be left optional in worship. All was uncertain, however, till Charles, or Hyde and the Council for him, or the Parliament, should open the subject practically. Of the old bishops of the reign of Charles I. there were still alive these nine—William Roberts, Bishop of Bangor; William Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Henry King, Bishop of Chichester; Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely; Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; William Juxon, Bishop of London; Robert Skinner, Bishop of Oxford; John Warner, Bishop of Rochester; and Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury. These, of course, had at once reassumed their titles, with claims to their sees; and it might be taken for granted that, if these claims were allowed, the remaining sixteen bishoprics, and the two archbishoprics, would soon be filled up, and that for these and other high ecclesiastical posts there would be a preference of eminent Anglicans who had been with the King abroad or had suffered for him at home. Dr. Henry Hammond had died April 25, 1660, the very day of the meeting of the Convention Parliament; but Sheldon, Sanderson, Morley, Earle, Hacket, Gunning, Brian Walton, and many others, had lived to see the Restoration, and were waiting for their rewards. It would be enough, or at least all within hope in the circumstances, if these men, taught by experience, would waive now any notion of Laudian Episcopacy, and be content with Usher's Model and a comprehension of the Presbyterians[1].

On the part of the King himself the first signs had been promising. Within a few weeks after his return, and chiefly by the management of the Presbyterian Earl of Manchester

[1] Baxter's Autobiography, Book I. 214—218.

in his office of Lord Chamberlain, ten Presbyterian divines had been sworn in among his Majesty's chaplains: viz. Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ashe, Mr. Richard Baxter, Dr. Spurstow, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Mr. Case, and Mr. Woodbridge. Though only three of them were ever asked to preach before the King, and that only once each, their access to his Majesty was something. Before the end of June they had had an interview with him in the Earl of Manchester's lodgings, Chancellor Hyde and the Earl of St. Alban's being also present. There Baxter had spoken very freely to his Majesty. "I presumed to tell him," says Baxter, "that the late usurpers that were over us so well "understood their own interest that, to promote it, they had "found the way of doing good to be the most effectual means, "and had placed and encouraged many thousand faithful "ministers in the Church, even such as detested their "usurpation . . .; wherefore I humbly craved his Majesty . . . "that he would never suffer himself to be tempted to undo "the good which Cromwell or any other had done because "they were usurpers that did it, or discountenance a faithful "ministry because his enemies had set them up." Others spoke to the like effect; and the requests made to his Majesty were specifically these,—that things not necessary should not be made terms of membership of the Established Church, that sound Church-discipline should be maintained, and that neither should faithful ministers be cast out nor unworthy ministers thrust in. The King's answer, says Baxter, was as gracious as possible. He was glad to hear of the inclination of the Presbyterians to an agreement with the Episcopalian clergy; and it should not be his fault if the two parties were not brought together, for he was resolved to draw them together himself,—which "must not be," he said, "by bring- "ing one party over to the other, but by abating somewhat "on both sides and meeting in the midway." On hearing this old Mr. Simeon Ashe was so much overcome with joy that he burst into tears. The English Presbyterian chiefs, it is evident, had been tamed into thankfulness for very small mercies. Actually two of the Presbyterian agents at this

conference, Calamy and Spurstow, were old Smectymnuans of 1641, and a third Smectymnuan, Matthew Newcomen, was in their confidence. Stephen Marshall and Thomas Young, the other two Smectymnuans, were both dead[1].

But what part had the Parliament taken? That the House of Lords, with but a minority of Presbyterians in it, desired the full re-establishment of the old Episcopal forms, was a matter of course, and had been made evident by an order, on the 31st of May, that the prayers used in the House should thenceforward be those of the Liturgy. It was from the Commons House that measures for the express protection of Presbyterianism were to be expected. One such measure, brought in as early as May 9, and committed May 16, had been "a bill for continuing of ministers in their parsonages and ecclesiastical livings." That Bill seems to have been smothered by the King's approach; for on the 26th of May we read of an order reported by Prynne "touching quieting possession of ministers, schoolmasters, and other ecclesiastical persons, in sequestered livings, until they are legally evicted," and of the reference even of this order to a committee for farther consideration. Then, on the 27th of June, there was the first reading of a bill "for the maintenance of the true Reformed Protestant Religion;" and on this bill, after it had been read a second time and thrown into a grand committee of the whole House, there were two most eager and protracted debates in grand committee (July 9 and 16). In these debates Presbyterianism was criticised as it had not been in that House for many a day. Prynne and others spoke for it manfully, and even the Covenant was cited as an oath still obligatory; but a moderate Episcopacy after Usher's Model was substantially the utmost prayer even of the Presbyterian speakers, Prynne included, while the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Liturgy, and High Episcopacy, found open advocates, and Finch hoped they were not to "cant after Cromwell" in this Bill, but to assume the good old Church of England as in uninterrupted legal possession at that moment. On the

[1] Baxter, I. 229—231.

suggestion of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, it was agreed at last to recommend to the House to abstain from the difficult subject altogether in the meantime, and to refer it to his Majesty, with the advice of such a Synod of Divines as he might call. Accordingly, on the 20th of July, it was resolved by the House—(1) "That this House doth agree with the "Grand Committee that the King's Majesty be humbly "desired to call such a number of Divines as his Majesty "shall think fit, to advise concerning matters of Religion, "and that the Grand Committee do forbear to sit until the "23rd of October next;" (2) "That the King's Majesty be "humbly moved that he will please, by his proclamation, to "quicken the execution of all laws in force against the break-"ing of the Lord's Day, drunkenness, swearing, and other "profaneness." Next day it was intimated by Mr. Holles that his Majesty had received the two votes, "liked them both very well," and wished the House to know, respecting the first especially, that "he was in hand with it, and did hope very speedily to do something therein to the good satisfaction of the kingdom." As Hyde had hoped and schemed, the whole question of the Church of the Restoration had been surrendered to his Majesty[1].

One part of the question was rapidly settling itself. From abroad, or from their obscurities at home, the sequestered old Anglican clergy were reappearing in scores, clamant for redress, and taking possession of their former livings. Thus, by mere act of law, which there was no means of resisting, many of the Puritan ministers, Presbyterian or Independent, who had been for years in the Establishment, were already adrift from their parsonages and parishes. The same process was in operation very conspicuously at the two University seats. Armed by an order of the House of Lords of June 4, and backed by the King and Council, the Chancellors of the two Universities were ejecting heads of colleges and fellows, and restoring old heads and fellows, as fast as

[1] Lords and Commons Journals of days named, save that the proceedings in Grand Committee of the Commons are from the extracts from a contemporary Diary given in Parl. Hist. IV. 79—84.

they could. At Oxford, where the Marquis of Hertford was Chancellor in succession to Richard Cromwell, nine heads and four professors were turned out in favour of the former holders of the posts; and at Cambridge the Presbyterian Earl of Manchester, as Chancellor, had the singular experience of ejecting seven heads, one of whom he had himself appointed in 1643, and restoring seven instead, of whom five had been turned out by himself at that date. Of the numbers of fellows restored and ejected in the colleges of the two Universities we cannot here take account. A remarkable accompanying phenomenon was the rush of new men at both Universities for graduation in all the faculties, and especially in Arts and Divinity. Quite a host of persons, one can see, were qualifying themselves for promotion to the places likely to be vacant[1].

The process here described, including appointments of Anglican divines to prebends and other cathedral posts, had begun in June 1660, had continued through July and to the passing of the Act of Indemnity on August 29, and was not even then at an end. Petitions from the ejected and distressed Puritan clergy had been sent in to the Commons; and that House, while still abstaining, as by their former vote, from the general question of the future constitution of the Church, had thought it right to bring in another bill on the precise subject of the ejections and restorations (July 27), and to refer the petitions to the Committee on the Bill. This bill was still in progress in the House at the date of the King's assent to the Indemnity Bill[2].

What meanwhile of the King's own progress in the more general question which had been left wholly in his hands? His promise had been that he would bring the Presbyterians and the Anglicans together by mutual concessions. This promise, the handsomeness of which had moved Mr. Ashe to tears, he had proceeded to carry out in a peculiar manner. He had asked his Presbyterian chaplains to draw out on paper a list of the concessions they would make on their side; and

[1] Lords Journals of date; Neal, IV. 261—265; Wood's Fasti for 1660.

[2] Commons Journals of July 27 and thence to Aug. 14.

these gentlemen, after consulting with such of their London brethren and country brethren as were at hand, and holding meetings on the subject at Sion College, had done as requested, and sent in an *Address and Proposals* to his Majesty. While disclaiming Prelacy as it had been repudiated in the Covenant, they were willing to accept "the true ancient and primitive Presidency" in the Church, "as it was balanced and managed by a due commixtion of presbyters;" and they tendered Usher's Model, exactly as it stood, as one that would suit the circumstances, venturing at the same time on some criticisms on the old Prelacy. They professed themselves satisfied with the lawfulness of a Liturgy, if not too rigidly imposed, so as to supersede oral prayer entirely; but they took exceptions to the old Liturgy, and desired a new one, or a careful revision of the old. They pleaded for moderation in ceremonies generally, for respect for the scruples of those who might object to kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and to holidays of human appointment, and for prohibition of the use of the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus. Requests made to the King at the same time were that he would not meanwhile impose tests or subscriptions on holders of benefices as conditions of their remaining in the Church, that he would stay the putting in of new men into livings the former holders of which were dead, and which might now therefore be held by their Puritan possessors without injury to old rights, and that he would provide some remedy against the return to livings of men notoriously insufficient or scandalous. Such were the demands of the Presbyterians, reduced to the utmost. Great was their surprise when, instead of receiving in return, as they had expected, a similar paper drawn up by the Episcopal divines on the same principle of conceding as much as possible on that side, they received only a paper of severe criticisms on their own, assuming High Episcopacy as indubitably in the right, and incapable of making concessions, unless it might be perhaps in the matter of some revision of the Liturgy, and some relaxation of ceremonies to tender consciences at his Majesty's

pleasure. A defence of their former proposals was offered by the Presbyterian ministers in reply; and so, about the time of the passing of the Act of Indemnity, the paper controversy came to a stop. His Majesty, it seems, had failed so far in his attempt to bring the two parties together[1].

From the date of the passing of the Indemnity Bill (August 29) Parliament was quickened in its proceedings on other subjects by an intimation from the King that, for his convenience and theirs, the two Houses would have to adjourn themselves for a recess or vacation within a fortnight. Their time being thus limited, they confined themselves to the business deemed most essential.

Due note had been taken of the King's hint, in his speech on passing the Indemnity Bill, that some more money at once for himself and his brothers would be very welcome. The Houses had already been considering the jointure of the Queen-mother, and had made her a present of £20,000; and now they voted £10,000 more to the Duke of York, £7000 more to the Duke of Gloucester, and £5000 for repairs of his Majesty's houses. The vaster business of providing securely a future annual revenue of £1,200,000 for the King occupied much of the attention of the Commons; but, as it involved some difficult questions, and especially that of the proper mode of raising so much of the sum as had hitherto come from unconstitutional prerogatives which his Majesty was now expected to resign, it was found impossible to perfect arrangements before the recess, and the Houses had to content themselves with a Bill providing an immediate supply of £100,000 on account. The provision of means for disbanding the army and reducing the navy had, however, been thoroughly managed. The poll-tax formerly imposed for this purpose not having been sufficiently productive, a bill for otherwise raising £140,000 towards the sum required was pushed through the two Houses. Another Act of importance now completed was "An Act for the encouraging and

[1] Baxter, I. 231—259 (where the papers are given).

increasing of Shipping and Navigation": in other words, a new edition, with modifications, of the famous Navigation Act of the Commonwealth (see Vol. IV. p. 305). Finally, the Houses did at length shape "An Act for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers." It enacted, on the one hand, that every holder of a benefice that had been "ordained by any ecclesiastical persons" before Dec. 25, 1659, and had not renounced his ordination, should remain in possession of his benefice, provided there were no "formerly ejected or sequestered" minister still alive with a legal title to that benefice; but it enacted, on the other hand, that all such "formerly ejected or sequestered" ministers still surviving, unless found scandalous or insufficient, should re-enter in the possession of their benefices, a division of the profits of the last year of each benefice to be made between the outgoing minister and the restored one. There were, however, some important exceptions and provisos. One was that any presentations to benefices by his Majesty himself under the great seal between May 1 and September 9, 1660, should hold good on their own account, whoever might be in possession, or have title otherwise; and another was that no minister should be confirmed in possession or restored to possession who had subscribed any petition to bring the late King to trial, or had, by writing, preaching, printing, or otherwise, advocated or justified his trial, or who had, by writing, preaching, or practice, "declared his judgment to be against Infant Baptism." Though made applicable nominally on both sides, these exceptions, it will be seen, affected really only one side. Not only were all ministers of the Establishment standing in the places of old incumbents still living to be thrown out of their benefices, but the Establishment was to be cleared of all Anabaptists, and also of such Independents as had been very prominently Republican[1].

With these and one or two smaller bills ready, the Lords and Commons again met his Majesty on Thursday, the 13th of September. He then gave his assent to the bills,

[1] Commons and Lords Journals of date; Statutes at large (for the Navigation Act and Ministers' Act).

and, after addressing the two Houses briefly himself, called upon Chancellor Hyde to address them more at large. Hyde's speech on the occasion was thought one of his masterpieces.—He dwelt first on that approaching disbandment of the army which one of the money bills had provided for, and took the opportunity of paying the most splendid compliments to the Army. "No other prince in Europe," he said, "would be "willing to disband such an army,—an army to which victory "is entailed, and which, humanly speaking, could hardly fail "of conquest wheresoever he should lead it; . . . an army "whose order and discipline, whose sobriety and manners, "whose courage and success, hath made it famous over the "world; an army of which the King and his two royal "brothers may say, as the noble Grecian said of Æneas,—

> 'Stetimus tela aspera contra,
> Contulimusque manus: experto credite quantus
> In clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.'"

Knowing that this army, whose valour his Majesty had observed with such admiration, even when it was exerted against himself, was now thoroughly loyal, and thinking what wonders he and his brothers might themselves perform at its head, how could his Majesty disband it without reluctance? How could he part with such soldiers? "No, my "lords and gentlemen, he will never part with them; and the "only sure way never to part with them is to disband them." —After this rhetorical audacity, the Chancellor went back upon the Indemnity Bill, as, though passed a fortnight before, still in all men's minds. He reminded them of the clause of that Bill making it penal to use even words of reproach or mutual invective tending to revive the memory of the late differences; and he made this the text of a discourse on the moral significance of the Bill, over and above the mere securities it decreed for life and property. "As any name or "names, or other words of reproach, are expressly against the "*letter*, and punishable accordingly, so evil and envious looks, "murmuring and discontented hearts, are as directly against "the *equity* of this statute, a direct breach of the Act of "Indemnity, and ought to be punished too; and I believe "they may be so. You know kings are in some sense called

"gods, and so they may in some degree look into men's "hearts; and God hath given us a King who can look as far "into men's hearts as any prince alive. And he hath great "skill in physiognomy too; you would wonder what calcula- "tions he hath made from thence; and, no doubt, if he be "provoked by evil looks to make a further inquiry into men's "hearts, he will never choose those hearts to trust and rely "upon. He hath given us a noble and princely example, by "opening and stretching his arms to all who are worthy to be "his subjects, worthy to be thought Englishmen,—by ex- "tending his heart with a pious and grateful joy to find all "his subjects at once in his arms and himself in theirs; and "shall *we* fold our arms towards one another, and contract "our hearts with envy and malice to each other, by any sharp "memory of what hath been unneighbourly or unkindly done "heretofore? What is this but to rebel against the person "of the King, against the excellent example and virtue of "the King, against the known law of the land, this blessed "Act of Oblivion? My lords and gentlemen, the King is a "suitor to you, makes it his suit very heartily, that you will "join with him in restoring the whole nation to its primi- "tive temper and integrity, to its old good manners, its old "good humour, and its old good nature."—Having dilated somewhat further on this theme, and expressed his hope that in the merry England now beginning again piety would no longer consist in sour looks, morose manners, affected gestures, or sighs and sad tones, and having touched on some of the other Bills of that day, Hyde concluded his long speech. The two Houses then adjourned themselves, by his Majesty's desire, to the 6th of November. At the moment of the adjournment the young Duke of Gloucester was lying ill of small-pox in Whitehall. He was not thought to be in danger, but before the day was over he was dead[1].

Through the eight weeks of the recess (Sept. 13—Nov. 6) we see Charles in the first full practice and enjoyment of his Royalty.

[1] Lords and Commons Journals, Sept. 13, and Parl. Hist. IV. 122—130 (the King's speech and Hyde's given in full in all these places); Pepys, under date.

The Duke of York was now the nearest supporter of the throne; but, when the widowed Princess of Orange came from the Hague to live with her two brothers (Sept. 25) and Prince Rupert followed (Sept. 29), and still more when the queen-mother, Henrietta Maria, arrived from Paris, "a very little plain old woman," on her first visit to England since she had left her husband to his fate there in Feb. 1641–2, and when there came with her the pretty young Princess Henrietta, and Prince Edward, the younger brother of Prince Rupert (Nov. 2), there might be said to be about the King something of a Royal Family. In domestic respects, it is true, it was not a Royal Family above criticism, if one were a very severe moralist. The King had already had five acknowledged natural children, borne to him abroad by three different mothers; and the eldest of these, born at Rotterdam in 1649, the son of Lucy Waters or Barlow, was now at home in Whitehall, a handsome and spirited boy of eleven, much petted by his father and all the rest, and bearing for the present the name of James Crofts, though afterwards to shine out as James Fitzroy, Duke of Monmouth. Then, no legitimate wife having yet been provided for Charles, the chief substitute meanwhile was Mrs. Palmer, originally Barbara Villiers, daughter of William, Viscount Grandison, of the Irish peerage, but married to a Roger Palmer, Esq., an Irish gentleman, who was, conveniently or inconveniently, still alive; and this Mrs. Palmer, reputed "the most beautiful woman in all England," was openly and constantly about Charles in Whitehall, amid bishops and chaplains there, and might even be seen flirting most unbashfully with the Duke of York in the royal chapel itself through the hangings that separated the royal pew from that of the ladies. Nor was the Duke of York immaculate. Not to go too far back in his life, he was now, by secret marriage in England, the husband of one of Chancellor Hyde's daughters, after having been her virtual husband for some time abroad; and, the secret having just come out, the question everywhere was whether he would acknowledge Miss Hyde or prefer novelty. Farther, the little dark-faced Queen-mother herself was supposed to be

not without a secret husband either,—the Henry Jermyn, now Earl of St. Alban's, who constantly accompanied her, and by whom it was said ("how true, God knows!" adds Pepys charitably) she had had a daughter in France at some unknown date. Rumour maintained, moreover, that a younger Henry Jermyn, the nephew of this Earl of St. Alban's, and master of horse to the Duke of York, was secretly married or engaged to the Princess of Orange, the eldest of the royal sisters, then in her twenty-ninth year, and the mother already of the Dutch boy who was to be famous as William III. Positively, the only one of the Royal Family about whom there was no scandal was the pretty young Princess Henrietta, sixteen years old, for whom her mother was providing a match in France. Altogether, the surviving representatives of Charles I. could not be called models of the special virtue of domestic propriety. But what then? The age of Puritanism was past; if all were known, how much of the vaunted domestic propriety of that age, and that even in the highest quarters, might be exposed now as mere hypocrisy and concealment; in all lands and times there had been a little liberty, more than the strictly canonical, for royal personages; and what was a little indecorum at the centre, if such there must be, in comparison with the universal blessings of a restored monarchy and restored Church of England, the deliverance of the whole nation from a reign of cant and rigidity, and the chance of that free flow once more, which Hyde had so eloquently invoked, of all the native old English humours, all the old English joviality?

So reasoning or not, Charles and those about him were setting the example. What an easy and mirthful Court, with all its state and magnificence! What banqueting and abundance of wine, what dancing, what delightful mixing of the sexes, what flashing of wit and jest between ladies and gentlemen, or among the gentlemen by themselves on stronger topics; what visiting and receiving of visits; what walks in the parks and suburban parties of pleasure; what fine regularity of alternation from chapel and sermon on sundays, properly conducted and with good music, to one or other of

the re-opened theatres on week-day afternoons! These were managed in a style far excelling anything Davenant had ventured on in Cromwell's time; for they were re-producing regular old plays, by Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Ben Jonson, and were actually beginning to bring women on the stage, instead of boys, for the female parts[1].

Besides the stationary courtiers of the household, always round Charles, there was the whole restored peerage of England, to be at his beck when he held full Court or would make a choice of guests for his greater entertainments. That body had been counted on the 31st of July and had been found then to consist of 139 persons, spiritual peers not yet included. Six of them were Dukes, one a minor; six were Marquises; fifty-nine were Earls, five of them minors; seven were Viscounts; and the rest were Barons. Then, of the existing House of Commons as originally returned, all that were still members on the 11th of June, to the number of no fewer than 454, had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and were available for attendance at Court, so far as his Majesty might countenance commoners. Add the baronets and knights of England, whether in the House of Commons or not, forming a large class intermediate between the peers and the mere commons; and remember how many of these knights and baronets, as of recent creation by Charles himself, were bound in an especial manner to be courtiers. Monk's brother-in-law Clarges, knighted at Breda, had been but the first of a long series of Restoration knights. A large number of knighthoods had been conferred at the Hague among those that had gone thither to salute Charles

[1] Peerage Books; Pepys, *passim* from May to December 1660, with some subsequent passages; Note of Lord Dartmouth to Burnet, I. 292—293; Evelyn's Diary, at contemporary dates, and also under Aug. 18, 1649 and July 15, 1685. Under the former date Evelyn, recording one of the incidents of his stay in France after the execution of Charles I, writes, "I went to St. Germains to kiss "his Majesty's hand: in the coach, "which was my Lord Wilmot's, went "Mrs. Barlow, the King's mistress and "mother of the Duke of Monmouth, a "brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid "creature." Under the second date, speaking of Monmouth, he says, "His "mother, whose name was Barlow, "daughter of some very mean creatures, "was a beautiful strumpet, whom I had "often seen at Paris; she died miser-"ably, without anything to bury her." Charles, we are elsewhere told, found, after his return to the continent on his escape from Worcester, that she had been "behaving loosely" in his absence, and threw her off.

and be of his convoy back in Montague's fleet; and two of these Hague knighthoods had fallen to the two meanest of the recreant Oliverians, Morland and Downing, in reward for their perfidy. Of the baronetcies and knighthoods that had been conferred by Charles since his arrival in England a reckoning is hardly possible. At Canterbury, besides Secretary Morrice, there had been knighted Major-General Massey, Alderman Robinson, and five others; and in London hardly a week had passed without additions. Naturally, among those thought worthy of knighthood or baronetcy were the lawyers that had been put into the chief judicial or ministerial offices at the beginning of the new reign; and so such of these as had not been titled already now wore titles. The *Chief Baron of the Exchequer* was Sir Orlando Bridgman; the *Judges of the Common Pleas* were Sir Robert Foster and Sir Henry Hyde; a *Judge of the King's Bench* was Sir Thomas Mallet; the *Attorney General* was Sir Geoffrey Palmer, and the *Solicitor General* Sir Heneage Finch. Beyond the circle of these official persons, and of the courtiers of all other ranks and denominations, was the great community of London and Westminster, related to the Court more distantly, but still sufficiently, by the honour of being butchers, bakers, tailors, and what not, to his Majesty or others of the Royal Family, or to the household and courtiers, or merely by the pride of having real Royalty and a real Royal Court once more in the midst of them, and the privilege of watching in the streets or in the parks for a sight of the royal faces, the dresses, and the equipages.

A selected portion of the general community did have closer access to his Majesty. One of the unspeakable blessings of the Restoration was the re-introduction into England of the sovereign cure for scrofula or the king's evil. Hundreds and thousands, it seems, not only in London, but all over the country, were deeply interested in the fact; for on Monday the 2nd of July there had been the solemnity at Whitehall of the first of those touchings for the king's evil which were thenceforth to be one of the institutions of the reign. "The kingdom having for a long time, by reason of

"his Majesty's absence," says a London newspaper of that week, "been troubled with the evil, great numbers have "lately flocked for cure. His Sacred Majesty on Monday "last touched 250 in the Banqueting House; amongst whom, "when his Majesty was delivering the gold, one shuffled him- "self in, out of an hope of profit, which was not stroked,—but "his Majesty presently discovered him, saying '*This man hath "not yet been touched.*' His Majesty hath, for the future, "appointed every Friday for the cure; at which time 200 and "no more are to be presented to him: who are first to repair "to Mr. Knight, his Majesty's chirurgeon (living at the Cross "Guns in Russell Street, Covent Garden, over against the "Rose Garden), for their tickets." Evelyn, who was present at the second touching, on Friday the 6th of July, describes the ceremony in detail. "His Majesty sitting under the "state in the Banqueting House," says Evelyn, "the chirur- "geons cause the sick to be brought or led up to the throne, "where, they kneeling, the King strokes their faces or cheeks "with both his hands at once; at which instant a chaplain "in his formalities says '*He put his hands upon them, and he "healed them.*' This is said to every one in particular. When "they have been all touched, they come up again in the same "order; and the other chaplain, kneeling and having gold "angels strung on white ribbon on his arm, delivers them "one by one to his Majesty, who puts them about the necks "of the touched as they pass, whilst the first chaplain repeats, "'*This is the true Light who came into the world.*' Then "follows an epistle (as at first a gospel), with the liturgy "prayers for the sick with some alteration, lastly the bless- "ing; and the Lord Chamberlain and Comptroller of the "Household bring a basin, ewer, and towel, for his Majesty "to wash." Friday after Friday, unless there had been notice to the contrary, his Majesty had undergone this trouble for the good of his subjects, the chaplains assisting; and the practice was continued during the recess of the Parliament[1].

[1] Lords Journals of July 31 (where ninety-three peers are entered as present that day and the names of forty-six absent peers are noted); Commons Journals of June 11 (when there was a report from Prynne of the number that

One important business of the recess was the disbanding of the Army. The business, which was managed by commissioners of the two Houses, was necessarily a gradual one; but on the 8th of October Secretary Nicholas could write, "The Army is almost wholly disbanded, everywhere expressing much affection for the King." We learn independently that fifteen regiments of foot and four regiments of horse in England, with one horse-regiment and two foot-regiments in Scotland, besides garrisons in both countries, and six ships of war, *were* paid off about this time, leaving only a remnant of regiments and garrisons, but as many as nineteen ships, to be similarly treated when more money should be in hand. Actually, we may say, it was during this recess of the Convention Parliament that the great Puritan Army of the English Revolution, about 40,000 strong to the last, was dissolved and disappeared. With all the changes in its substance in the course of eighteen years, including Monk's recent discharges from it of discontented Anabaptists and Republicans by scores and hundreds, there must have still been in it not a few veterans of Marston Moor, Naseby, Preston, Dunbar, and Worcester, with grim thoughts and recollections in their hearts as they now left their colours finally, and carrying these thoughts and recollections, with their old swords, to many families and firesides over England. Their quiet and gradual dispersion was a relief. Thenceforth the only authorized nucleus of a standing army to be left in England was to consist of three regiments of horse—Monk's own Coldstream regiment and two others—kept up, out of the King's own revenue, under the name of Guards[1].

While the disbanding of the Army was in progress, London was in commotion with the Trials of the Regicides. The Court for the purpose consisted of thirty-four Commissioners

had taken the oaths); Pepys's Diary, May 13 and 22, 1660 (knighthoods of Morland and Downing); Phillips, 711; *Public Intelligencer* for July 2—9, 1660; Evelyn's Diary under date.

[1] A summary account of the disbanding is given by Phillips (728) and Hallam (II. 314—315); but details will be found in the Commons Journals—especially under dates Sept. 13, Nov. 6, and Nov. 23. The process, though far advanced in the recess, was not complete till Feb. 1660—1.

under the great seal. Among these were Lord Chancellor Hyde, the Dukes of Albemarle and Somerset, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Southampton, Lindsey, Manchester, Dorset, Berkshire, and Sandwich, Viscount Say and Sele, Lord Roberts, Lord Finch, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Mr. Denzil Holles, Mr. Arthur Annesley, Secretaries Nicholas and Morrice, and the Lord Mayor of London; but the managing portion of the Court consisted of Chief Baron Sir Orlando Bridgman, and ten other judges and lawyers, among whom was Mr. Sergeant Hale. Attorney General Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Solicitor General Sir Heneage Finch, and Sir Edward Turner, Attorney to the Duke of York, were the chief prosecuting counsel. The mode of procedure had been carefully arranged, and rules made for every emergency. Especially it had been agreed that the proceedings should be founded on a famous Statute of Edward III, defining treasons, and making one of them to consist in "compassing or imagining the death of our Lord the King" (*"quant homme fait compasser ou imaginer la mort nostre Seignur le Roi"*).

First, on Tuesday, October 9, came *The Indictment*. The place was Hick's Hall, Clerkenwell, the sessions house of the County of Middlesex. There Chief Baron Bridgman delivered his charge to a grand jury of twenty-one persons, expounding to them the Law of Treason. "By the statute "of the 25th of Edward III," he said, "it is made high "treason to compass and imagine the death of the King. It "was the ancient law of the nation. In no case else was "imagination or compassing, without an actual effect of "it, punishable by our law; . . . but, in the case of the King, "his life was so precious that the intent was treason by the "common law, and declared treason by this statute. . . . "This compassing and imagining the cutting off the head of "the King is known by some overt act. Treason is in the "wicked imagination, though not treason apparent; but, "when this poison swells out of the heart, and breaks forth "into action, in that case it is High Treason. Then what is "an overt act of an imagination or compassing of the King's

"death? Truly, it is anything which shows what the imagina-
"tion is. Words, in many cases, are evidences of this imagina-
"tion; they are evidences of the heart. . . . So, if a man,
"if two men, do conspire to levy war against the King, . . .
"then, I say, in case not only of words, but if they conspire
"to levy war against the King, there is another branch of
"this statute: the levying of war is Treason. But, if men
"shall go and consult together, and this to kill the King,
"to put him to death, this consultation is clearly an overt act
"to prove imagination or compassing of the King's death.
"But what will you say then if men do not only go about to
"conspire and consult, but take upon them to judge, condemn,
"nay put to death, the King? Certainly, this is so much
"beyond the imagination and compassing, as it is not only
"laying the cockatrice's egg, but brooding upon it till it hath
"brought forth a serpent. I must deliver to you, for plain
"and true law, that no authority, no single person, no com-
"munity of persons, not the people collectively or representa-
"tively, have any coercive power over the King of England."
Whether this was law or not, some of Chief Baron Bridgman's colleagues on the bench must have felt that he was going unnecessarily far for the occasion and uncomfortably far for them: e. g. Monk, the Earl of Manchester, Holles, and Annesley, all of whom might deny having ever "compassed or imagined the death of the King," but none of whom could deny having been engaged, as Parliamentarians, in "coercing" him and "levying war" against him. But Bridgman had now the opportunity of laying down his own notion of the law, and he would not miss it. He went on, by citations of cases and statutes, to argue that the absolute authority of kings and the passive obedience of subjects in all cases was the ultimate doctrine of the Law of England. "God forbid," he exclaimed at the end of this part of his charge, "I should "intend any Absolute Government by this. It is one thing "to have an Absolute Monarchy: another thing to have "government absolutely without laws as to any coercive "power over the person of the King." The distinction is not very obvious; but the phrase "*God forbid!*" was charac-

teristic of Bridgman whenever he was in the difficulty of having to make an admission and nullify it at the same time. It was to come from his lips often enough in the course of the trials. Meanwhile his charge was convincing in the main. The grand jury found the Bill of Indictment to be a true bill against the twenty-eight persons named in it.

The next day, Wednesday, Oct. 10, came *The Arraignment*. It was in the sessions house in the Old Bailey at Newgate. The prisoners had been conveyed thither from the Tower that morning in coaches, with a strong guard of horse and foot. The whole day was spent in bringing the prisoners into Court in successive batches, and compelling them individually to plead Guilty or Not Guilty. *Compelling*, we say; for, naturally, the prisoners, having no counsel, and having various pleas in bar of judgment, wished to state their pleas at the outset, whereas the Court insisted peremptorily that all such pleas should be postponed and that every one of the prisoners should begin with a simple *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*.—The difficulty was greatest with the first batch brought in, consisting of Sir Hardress Waller, Thomas Harrison, and William Heveningham. It had been arranged to take Sir Hardress Waller first, as the likeliest to yield. Being one of those, however, who had come in on the Proclamation, he tried hard for some time to obtain a hearing on that and other points; but, being constantly interrupted by the Court and held to the inevitable alternative, he sank gradually, through a kind of experimental *Not Guilty*, and then an intermediate "I dare not say *Not Guilty*," into "I must say *Guilty*." He was therefore registered as confessing. Next came Harrison, magnanimous Harrison, for whom there was no hope whatever. "My lords, have I liberty to speak?" he said at once; and then, against the interruption of the Court, repeated and repeated as he tried to go on, he battled bravely. He had been in prison nearly three months, he said, seeing nobody; he had not known that his trial was coming on till nine o'clock last night, and had been brought from the Tower at six o'clock in the morning; he had various things to urge, such as counsel might have urged for him; would not the Court itself

advise him in the circumstances? Told at last that, if he did not plead, he would be entered as standing mute, which was the same thing as judgment against him, "Then I do plead *Not Guilty*" he said with some passion. According to the formality then in use, the next question to him was "How will you be tried?" On this Harrison fought again. Instead of answering "By God and my Country," which alone could be accepted, he answered first, "I will be tried according to the laws of the Lord." Informed that the phrase would not do, he altered it to "I put myself upon what you please to put me upon." Then, on being told that he would still be entered as standing mute unless he followed up his plea of *Not Guilty* with the exact phrase prescribed, he offered the modification "I will be tried according to the ordinary course." The Clerk then said decisively "Whether by God and the Country?: you must speak the words." "They are vain words," said Harrison, and was going on to explain why; but, the Court being resolute, and the question "How will you be tried?" having been put for the fourth time by the Clerk, there came for final answer "I do offer myself to be tried in your own way, *by God and my Country*." That was sufficient; and, the Clerk having pronounced the customary "God send you a good deliverance!", Harrison's turn was over. Heveningham, who had seen what had happened with Waller and Harrison, gave no trouble. He pleaded *Not Guilty* at once, added the proper formula, and had the usual "God send you a good deliverance!" from the mouth of the Clerk.—The next batch arraigned consisted of Isaac Pennington, Henry Marten, Gilbert Millington, Robert Tichbourne, Owen Rowe, and Robert Lilburne; the next of Adrian Scroope, John Carew, John Jones, Thomas Scott, Gregory Clements, and John Cook; the next of Edmund Harvey, Henry Smith, John Downes, Vincent Potter, and Augustine Garland; and the last and fifth of George Fleetwood, Simon Mayne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Thomas Wayte, Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker, and Daniel Axtell. Some of these tried to speak and made delays, as Waller and Harrison had done; but the majority obeyed the Court at once, or after a mere word or

two. The only incidents of peculiar note were when Henry Marten and Hugh Peters were severally arraigned. "I desire the benefit of the Act of Oblivion," said Marten, to the surprise of the Court. When told he was totally excepted out of that Act, he declared that his name was not in the Act at all. The Act was produced, and he was shown his name in it among the rest. He acknowledged that he saw a "Henry Martyn" named there, but said he was not that person, for his name was "Harry Marten," spelt with an *e*. The objection was overruled, and the wittiest of the Regicides had to trust to his other chance, in being one of those that had come in on the Proclamation. There was no such chance for Hugh Peters, who had avoided capture till about a month before; and his appearance seems to have been a signal for mirth. When asked to plead *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*, his answer was, "I would not for ten thousand worlds say I am guilty: I am *Not Guilty*;" and then, when he was asked the next question, "How will you be tried?" and answered "By the Word of God," the people laughed. But he rectified his answer submissively when the legal formula was given him.—Altogether, of the twenty-eight who had been arraigned, twenty-six had pleaded *Not Guilty*. Only George Fleetwood, in addition to Waller, had pleaded *Guilty*. In both these cases the plea had been first entered as *Not Guilty*, but that plea had been withdrawn by permission of the Court.

So far, therefore, there were twenty-six Regicides to be tried. The number, however, was raised to twenty-seven by the addition of William Hewlet, the man supposed to have been one of the two executioners. He was separately indicted on the 12th, and was arraigned on the 15th, when he pleaded *Not Guilty*. The trials had then already begun. They extended over five days in all,—Thursday, Oct. 11, Friday, Oct. 12, Saturday, Oct. 13, Monday, Oct. 15, and Tuesday, Oct. 16, 1660.

On the first of these days, Harrison, Scroope, Carew, Jones, Clements, and Scott, were brought to the bar together, but only Harrison was tried. After he had challenged jurymen to the full number allowed him, a jury of twelve was formed.

The charge was propounded more especially by Solicitor General Sir Heneage Finch. In his speech, after due exposition of the hideousness of the crime of regicide, especially in the case of so "blessed and beloved a prince" as Charles I., he proceeded to say that, of the actors in this crime, many were dead, a few were penitent and had been guaranteed their lives, about eighteen or nineteen had fled, "with the mark of Cain upon them," and twenty-nine remained to abide justice. Among these, Harrison, he said, on all accounts, deserved pre-eminence; for, if any one still alive might be "styled the conductor, leader, and captain, of all this work," Harrison was the man. Witnesses were then called. There was no difficulty whatever in the proof. It was proved that Harrison had commanded the party that brought the King from Hurst Castle to Windsor, that he had brought him from Windsor to Westminster for his trial, that he had been one of the most constant at the trial and one of the sentencing judges, and that he had signed the death-warrant. The only interest lies in Harrison's own demeanour after the evidence had been given. "My lords," he said, "the matter that hath been "offered to you, as it was touched, was not a thing done in "a corner. I believe the sound of it hath been in most "nations. I believe the hearts of some have felt the terrors "of that presence of God that was with His servants in those "days, howsoever it seemeth good to Him to suffer this turn "to come on us. . . . I have desired, as in the sight of Him "that searcheth all hearts, whilst this hath been done, to "wait, and receive from Him convictions upon my own con-"science; and, though I have sought it with tears many "a time, and prayers over and above to that God to whom "you and all nations are less than a drop of water, to this "moment I have received rather assurance of it, and that in "the things that have been done, as astonishing on the one "hand, I do believe ere long it will be made known from "Heaven there was more from God than men are aware "of. I do profess that I would not offer of myself the least "injury to the poorest man or woman that goes upon earth. "That I have humbly to offer is this to your lordships:—

"You know what a contest hath been in these nations for "many years. Divers of those that sit upon the bench were "formerly as active ——." Here the Court interrupted, forbidding that vein of remark. Harrison, not insisting on it, resumed. "I followed not my own judgment," he said; "I did what I did as out of conscience to the Lord. For, "when I found those that were as the apple of mine eye to "turn aside, I did loathe them, and suffered imprisonment "many years, rather than to turn as many did that did put "their hands to this plough. I chose rather to be separated "from wife and family than to have compliance with them, "though it was said, 'Sit at my right hand,' and such-kind "expressions. Thus I have given a little poor testimony that "I have not been doing things in a corner, or from myself. "May be I might be a little mistaken; but I did it all according "to the best of my understanding, desiring to make the re-"vealed will of God in His holy scriptures as a guide to me. "I humbly conceive that what was done was done in the name "of the Parliament of England, that what was done was done "by their power and authority; and I do humbly conceive "it is my duty to offer unto you in the beginning that this "court, or any court below the High Court of Parliament, "hath no jurisdiction of their actions. Here are many learned "in the law; and, to shorten the work, I desire I may have "the help of counsel learned in the laws, that may in this "matter give me a little assistance to offer those grounds "that the law of the land doth offer." He reiterated this demand in a sentence or two, and was proceeding, "Whereas "it hath been said we did assume and usurp authority, I say "this was done rather in the fear of the Lord," when Chief Baron Bridgman broke in, "Away with him! Know where "you are, Sir: you are in the assembly of Christians; will "you make God the author of your treasons and murders?" Then ensued a conversation on the prisoner's demand for counsel, Harrison repeating it, but judges and counsel unanimously agreeing that it could not be granted, and Annesley and Holles in particular reminding the Court at some length that the Parliament whose authority Harrison pleaded had not been a

complete Parliament, but only one House, and that reduced to a fragment of itself by the violent exclusion of many of the members. It having been intimated to Harrison that his demand for counsel was overruled, the scene was as follows: —"*Harrison.* Notwithstanding the judgment of so many "learned ones that the kings of England are noways ac- "countable to the Parliament, the Lords and Commons in the "beginning of this War having declared the King's beginning "war upon them, the God of Gods ——. *Court.* Do you "render yourself so desperate that you care not what language "you let fall? It must not be suffered.—— *Harrison.* I would "not speak willingly to offend any man; but God is no re- "specter of persons. His setting up his standard against the "people ——. *Court.* Truly, Mr. Harrison, this must not be "suffered: this doth not at all belong to you.—— *Harrison.* "Under favour, this doth belong to me. I would have ab- "horred to have brought him to account, had not the blood of "Englishmen that had been shed ——. *Counsel.* Methinks "he should be sent to Bedlam, till he come to the gallows to "render an account of this".—— There was a farther struggle, Harrison anxious especially to repudiate a charge of one of the witnesses that he had said in the committee where they were preparing the indictment against the King, "Let us blacken him," and also the accusation of having been harsh to the King when he was in his custody. Neither was true, he said; such things he abhorred. With evident hurry at last, the Chief Baron wound up the trial by addressing the jury. Without withdrawing, and with hardly an instant of delay, they returned a unanimous verdict of *Guilty.* The Chief Baron then pronounced sentence as follows:—"The "judgment of this Court is, and the Court doth award, That "you be led back to the place from whence you came, and "from thence be drawn upon an hurdle to the place of execu- "tion; and there you shall be hanged by the neck, and, being "alive, shall be cut down, and . . . [here a portion of the "sentence which cannot be printed]: your entrails to be "taken out of your body, and, you living, the same to be "burnt before your eyes, and your head to be cut off, your

"body to be divided into four quarters, and head and quarters "to be disposed of at the pleasure of the King's Majesty; and "the Lord have mercy upon your soul!"

Harrison having been thus disposed of on the 11th, the next day, Friday the 12th, sufficed for the five that had been brought to the bar along with him,—Scroope, Carew, Clements, Jones, and Scott. With the exception of Clements, who tried the vain chance of succumbing at once and acknowledging himself guilty, all stood very firm, wrestling with the Court respectfully, and defending themselves as well as they could. Next to Harrison, the one most exulting in the style of his courage was Carew. When asked, at the end, why sentence should not be pronounced, he would only say, "I commit my cause unto the Lord," while the others did avail themselves then of the humbler verbal form of "submitting to his Majesty's mercy." Sentence was pronounced on all the five that day, the same sentence as on Harrison. It was thought by many at the time, and has been generally acknowledged since, that the condemnation of Scroope in particular was an "inexcusable breach of faith." He had surrendered on the Proclamation; it had been arranged that his punishment should be only the forfeit of one year's value of his lands; and the Commons had let him be transferred to the list of the unpardonable at the last moment only because the Government wanted another victim of his social rank, and made the most of some evidence to his damage since the Restoration itself. That evidence was produced on his trial, when Major-General Browne, the Lord Mayor elect of London, stepped into the witness-box, and swore to some conversation he had had with Scroope in the Speaker's chamber, in which, in reply to a remark of his own about the King's murder, Scroope had said there were different opinions on that subject, and declined to express his own. Altogether, Scroope did not make any special complaint of the injustice done him, but accepted his fate very bravely.

Saturday the 13th was entirely occupied with the trials of Cook and Hugh Peters. That of Cook was protracted to greater length than any that had preceded, by the exertions

of Cook himself in arguing with the Court, with all his lawyerly subtlety, whether it was not a sufficient exoneration that his part in the King's business had been that of a person employed as professional counsel merely. The trial of Peters, though not so long, was more interesting. The points against him were that he had conspired with Cromwell and others at various times and places to bring the King to trial, that he had been a most conspicuous figure in the active crowd round the trial, that he had preached several sermons rousing the soldiers and others to the final act of regicide, and that he had himself been present on the scaffold. Peters, who spoke in a low voice and in a dispirited manner, but with no meanness or abjectness, could not set aside the evidence of his having been seen about the trial, and having preached rousing sermons in connexion with it, though he challenged the veracity of the witnesses in some particulars. He declared solemnly that he had "never had any near converse with Oliver Cromwell about such things." On the point of his alleged presence on the scaffold he positively broke down the adverse testimony. A certain Richard Nunnelly, once door-keeper to the Committee of the Army, had sworn that, on the morning of the King's execution, he had met Peters in the gallery of Whitehall, had gone with him from the gallery into the Banqueting Room, had there heard him give some indistinct directions to one Tench, a joiner of Houndsditch, who was employed about the scaffold, had afterwards seen him go out himself on the scaffold about an hour before the execution, as if to observe that his directions had been attended to, and finally, when the execution was over, had encountered him again, coming "in his black cloak and broad hat," and in the hangman's company, out of the chamber into which the two men in vizards had retired. In contradiction of this witness, Peters called a Cornelius Glover, who had been his servant at the fatal date, and who now testified, as circumstantially, that on the day of the execution his master was "melancholy sick, as he used to be," and had not left his chamber either before the execution or during the execution. This evidence seems to have had some effect upon the Court; for, after Peters had

given a short sketch of his life from his arrival from America in the beginning of the troubles, admitting that he had been "active" in the midst of the "strange and several kinds of providence" in which he had found himself, "but not to stir in a way that was not honourable," the Chief Baron in his summing up, while mentioning Nunnelly's evidence, said the Court would lay no great stress on that. The jury returned a verdict of guilty on Peters, as well as on Cook; and the same sentence as on Harrison was pronounced on both.

Axtell, Hacker, and Hewlet, were tried on Monday the 15th. Axtell made a very able defence, reasoning more energetically on some parts of the main subject than any other of the Regicides, maintaining that his action throughout had been but that of a soldier under Parliamentary orders, and contending boldly that he was no more guilty than the Earl of Essex, Lord Fairfax, the Earl of Manchester, Monk himself, or any other military Parliamentarian. Hacker was no speaker and had little to say for himself, but adopted Axtell's plea of having been a soldier merely and under command. In the case of Hewlet, the specific inquiry was whether he had been one of the two masked executioners. On this subject the Court had already been thrown into great ambiguity by certain portions of the evidence during the trials of Axtell and Hacker.—One of the witnesses there had been Mr. Hercules Huncks, the "Colonel Huncks" of Jan. 1648–9 to whom, in conjunction with Colonels Hacker and Phayre, the death-warrant, signed by Bradshaw, Cromwell, and fifty-seven others of the judges, had been addressed. Having been imprisoned in the Tower, and not yet feeling himself safe, Huncks was willing to purchase security by telling all he could to convict Hacker and Axtell; and there had been some sensation in Court when Huncks and Axtell were confronted, Huncks as the dogged renegade and informer, and Axtell as the prisoner eyeing his former comrade with scorn. Huncks's story was that there had been some difficulty on the execution day, from the fact that, in addition to the death-warrant from the judges, addressed to Hacker, Phayre, and himself, it was deemed necessary that there

should be a sub-warrant, or order to the executioner. Naturally it was for Hacker, Phayre, and Huncks, or one or other of them, on the faith of the main warrant, to write this sub-warrant. Accordingly, in Ireton's room in Whitehall, where Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, Hacker, Phayre, and Huncks were met, just before the execution, with Axtell standing at the door, Cromwell had turned to Huncks (so Huncks now said) and asked *him* to write or sign the document. Huncks had positively refused, he said; whereupon Cromwell had called him "a froward, peevish fellow," and Axtell from the door had exclaimed: "Colonel Huncks, I am ashamed of "you; the ship is now coming into the harbour, and will you "strike sail before we come to anchor?" Not to lose time, continued Huncks, Cromwell had gone to a little table that stood by the door, with paper, pens, and ink on it, and, having written the order himself, had handed the pen to Hacker, who stooped and wrote—Huncks would not swear what or how much, but had little doubt it was his name and that only. If this story were true, the inference was that the executioner-in-chief was already provided, and was waiting for the warrant for himself and his assistant, and that the name of the chief, or the names of both, must have been known to all the seven persons in the room, or at all events to Hacker, the signer of the warrant after Cromwell had drawn it up. But Axtell, who treated Huncks's story as pure invention, protested he had nothing to do with the choice of the executioners, and even now did not know their names; and, later in the trial, when another witness, Lieutenant-Colonel Nelson, stated that, about five or six years ago, he had been told by Axtell in Dublin that, though "several persons came and offered themselves out of a kind of zeal," all such had been set aside, and Hewlet and Walker, two soldiers known for their stoutness, had been chosen, Axtell still adhered to his denial, declaring particularly that it was impossible he should have ever named Hewlet, because he could have spoken by guess only, and "by common fame up and down the city it was said to be another person." Hacker also, though admitting that he had signed the warrant to the

executioner, and that he might have heard the name at the time, could not or would not now reveal it. This was attested by Secretary Morrice and Mr. Annesley, who had examined Hacker in the Tower.—Such was the uncertainty of the Court on the question on which they were to try Hewlet when Hewlet himself was brought to the bar. He was an oldish grey-haired man; and, though he had recently held captain's rank in Ireland, and was styled in the indictment "William Hewlet, *alias* Houlet, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, gent.," he seems to have been a rough, uneducated person, though not unsagacious, and with much presence of mind in his terrible situation. Seven witnesses, examined in succession, seemed, with more or less of precision, to fasten the guilt on him, though with a difference among them as to whether he had been the man who cut the head off, or only the man who had held it up afterwards. The first, Richard Gittens, swore that he and Hewlet had been sergeants in the same regiment; that, a day or two before the execution, a number of picked men of that regiment had been brought before Colonel Hewson, who offered any of them that would undertake the work £100 down and preferment in the army; that all had refused, Hewlet included; but that he was confident Hewlet had afterwards consented, for he had seen the executioner on the scaffold, and recognised him to be Hewlet by his voice and his grey beard,—more by token that Hewlet had ever since been known in the army as "Father Greybeard." Then one Stammers, a Captain Toogood, and a Walter Davis, swore that, in conversations with Hewlet in Ireland, he had admitted, or all but admitted, the fact. Then Lieutenant-Colonel Nelson repeated the evidence he had given on Axtell's trial, but more circumstantially, to the effect that Axtell had told him in Dublin that Walker and Hewlet, both sergeants, were the men, and that "poor Walker" (now dead apparently) struck the blow, leaving the rest to Hewlet. Then Colonel Tomlinson testified that, to the best of his remembrance, one of the executioners was grey-haired and the other flaxen-haired, and that the grey-haired one struck the

blow, adding that he had some recollection now of having been told since, by Colonel Pretty in Ireland, that this grey-haired one was Hewlet. Finally, a Benjamin Francis remembered the two executioners, both dressed alike, "in butchers' habits of woollen," but one with a black hat and a black beard, and the other with "a grey grizzled periwig hung down very low," and swore that the prisoner at the bar resembled this latter in stature and in the colour of his beard. Through these examinations, Hewlet had sat gravely, now and then putting a brief but effective question, disconcerting to the chief witnesses, but on the whole seeming to reserve himself. At last, nearly all the witnesses for the prosecution having been examined, he did bring out his reserve, and rather startlingly. He should be able to prove, he said, that he and about nine other sergeants of different regiments had been in confinement at Whitehall all the day of the execution precisely because they had refused to go on the scaffold; nay, though he had known this only recently himself, he should be able to settle for the Court the question which was so perplexing them, by proving, by "forty and forty witnesses" if necessary, who the man was that did cut off the King's head. The Court must have stared at this, though the old report does not mention that or any other exhibition of surprise. And Hewlet made good his word, or almost so. Though, like all the other prisoners, he had hardly known with precision the nature of the charge to be made against him, and had in his durance had no time or means allowed him of seeking out evidence for his defence, he had managed to do something, or people in London, believing him innocent, had been stirring in his behalf independently. And so, though he would have liked more time, as he said, to get together the "forty and forty witnesses" he believed might be forthcoming, yet, as the Court ruled that he had had time enough, he did avail himself of evidence then fortunately at hand. This was not any evidence in support of his own alleged *alibi* on the execution day; it was all for the identification of the chief executioner. First, there were certain examinations that had been taken before the Lord Mayor; of

which examinations Hewlet tendered to the Court a written copy, signed by "Mary Brandon and divers others." The Court seem to have paid small attention to this paper; but they allowed some volunteer witnesses present (seemingly some of those who had been already before the Lord Mayor) to be examined *vira voce*, though without being sworn,—the law being, as the Court explained, that there could be no oath against the King in such a trial. The first of these witnesses, a sheriff's officer, stated that "one of our fellows," John Rooten by name, had told him that he had been in Rosemary Lane, Whitechapel, a little after the execution of the King, "drinking with the hangman",—i. e. with Richard Brandon, the common executioner of that time, and that, on being urged on the subject, the hangman had owned that he cut off the King's head. Another, an Abraham Smith, who had been a waterman on the Thames, remembered that the hangman had been brought to his boat just after the execution by a file of musketeers, that he had put off with him very unwillingly by order of the musketeers, but that, when a little way out in the river, he had said, "Who the devil have I got in my boat?", and had made such an uproar that the hangman "shook every joint of him," and protested he had not done the deed, though sent for to do it, and that his "instruments" had been used by others. Apparently this witness meant to intimate that he believed at the time, and now believed, that the hangman had lied in this denial. The next witness, at all events, put that complexion on the affair immediately and decidedly. His name was William Cox; and his evidence is reported thus: "When my lord Capel, "Duke of Hamilton, and the Earl of Holland, were beheaded "in Palace Yard, Westminster [i. e. on March 9, 1648–9, "little more than a month after the execution of Charles], "my lord Capel asked the common hangman: said he, 'Did "'*you* cut off my master's head?' 'Yes,' saith he. 'Where is "'the instrument that did it?' He then brought the axe. "'This is the same axe, are you sure?' said my lord. 'Yes, "'my lord,' saith the hangman, 'I am very sure it is the "'same.' My lord Capel took the axe, and kissed it, and

"gave him five pieces of gold. I heard him say 'Sirrah, "'wert thou not afraid?' Saith the hangman, 'They made "'me cut it off, and I had thirty pounds for my pains.'" After this supremely interesting witness, came a Richard Abell, who testified that, in the house of one Bramston, he had heard "Gregory himself" (i. e. the hangman) confess that he had done the deed. Yet one more witness stepped out, named "a stranger" in the report, as if he had been moved by charity at the moment, and they did not take the trouble to inquire who he was. He said, "My lord, I was "with my master in the company of Brandon the hangman, "and my master asked Brandon whether he cut off the King's "head or no. He confessed in my presence that he was the "man that did cut off the King's head." So stood the case for Hewlet when Chief Baron Bridgman summed up. He recapitulated the evidence, saying in one place "God forbid I should omit anything that may be as well for advantage as against the prisoner," but on the whole putting most stress on the evidence against Hewlet, and also reminding the jury that the witnesses for him had not been on oath, and that, if he had been only the assistant executioner, he must be brought in guilty. The jury, "after a more than ordinary time of consultation," returned to their places; and their verdict was *Guilty*.

It remained now to try those of the Regicides, not entered as guilty by their own confession on their arraignment, for whom there was the saving clause in the Bill of Indemnity, providing that, if they should be found guilty and condemned, the execution of the sentence in each case should be suspended till ordered by the King after Act of Parliament. These, sixteen in all, were brought to the bar on Tuesday, Oct. 16. In the predicament in which they were, the benefit of the saving clause depending much on their behaviour or on the opinion the Court might form of them, anything like contumacy was obviously unadvisable. Accordingly, they were all studious to save the Court trouble by withdrawing their previous pleas of Not Guilty and thus practicably submitting, though one or two did urge some point which required the production of a witness or an argument by the prosecuting

counsel. Still there were degrees in their submissiveness. Harvey professed himself penitent, said he had exerted himself to stop the trial of the King, and reminded the Court of his wife and thirteen children. Pennington avowed that he had acted in ignorance. Henry Marten had recourse to some subtle pleading, not declining confession as to the matter of fact, but desiring to set aside the words "maliciously, murderously, and traitorously" in the indictment. Making nothing of that, and perceiving, on the contrary, that the plea was only eliciting evidence of his activity and levity of behaviour at the King's trial, he ended thus:—"I had then, "and have now, a peaceable inclination, a resolution to submit "to the government that God hath placed over me. I think "his Majesty that now is is king upon the best title under "Heaven, for he was called in by the representative body of "England. I shall, during my life, long or short, pay "obedience to him: besides, my lords, I do owe my life to "him, if I am acquitted of this. I do confess I did adhere "to the Parliament's party heartily: my life is at his mercy; "if his grace be pleased to grant it, I have a double obliga-"tion to him." After Marten came Millington, who submitted, pleaded guilty, and petitioned for mercy. Tichbourne also professed penitence. Owen Rowe did the same, and said he was a man of no ability, who ought to have kept to his proper business as a tradesman. Lilburne said he had acted ignorantly, and submitted. Smith said the same, and that he could now pray for the King. Downes was penitent, and explained that, though he had been among the sentencing judges and had signed the death-warrant, he had strained his conscience in these very acts, having made strong exertions for the King at the time. Potter, a large man, with "a fit of the stone upon him" as he stood in court, said, "I will deny nothing; I confess the fact, but did not contrive it; I am full of pain." Garland submitted, only denying a charge that he had insulted the King in a special manner. Mayne confessed, but said he had acted under compulsion. The two Temples confessed and craved mercy. Wayte did the same, and said he had been "trepanned" into his share in the

regicide. Heveningham, who was brought up last, could not deny the fact that he had been one of the sentencing judges, but referred to some "after actions" in extenuation, which the Court said would be "considered." And so, the formality of a verdict of *Guilty* against each of the sixteen having been gone through, and Sir Hardress Waller and George Fleetwood, the two who had pleaded guilty on their arraignment, having been brought into Court, and Axtell, Hacker, and Hewlet, who had been found guilty on the previous day, having also been brought in, the Chief Baron made his closing speech, and pronounced sentence upon all the twenty-six, save Heveningham, whose sentence for some reason was reserved to the 19th. The sentence on all was the same sentence of hanging, drawing, quartering, &c., that had already been pronounced on the eight regicides first tried. For the sixteen who could plead the saving clause there was to be a respite of the execution till farther order; and the Chief Baron was also pleased to intimate to Hewlet his belief, though not positive certainty, that, in consideration of the conflict of evidence in his case, there would be a respite for him too till his Majesty's pleasure should be farther known. Axtell and Hacker knew their doom[1].

[1] My account of the Indictment, Arraignment, and Trials of the Regicides is derived from Vol. IV. of *Howell's State-Trials*, pp. 947—1230.—One of the *nineteen* Regicides named in the Bill of Indemnity for the benefit of the saving clause as having surrendered on the proclamation (ante p. 54) remains unaccounted for. He is Thomas Wogan. Having had an opportunity of escaping abroad since the passing of the Bill, he had preferred exile at all risks to trial with the benefit of the saving clause.—In addition to the six persons hitherto named in these pages as having been suspected or accused in one way or another of the actual decapitation of Charles—viz. one Matthew, Colonel George Joyce, Hugh Peters, Hewlet, Walker, and the common executioner Brandon—one hears of others and still others. Thus a Phineas Payne, who was "one of the three doorkeepers of the court" during the King's trial, had been accused before the Council by an Elizabeth Parsons, to the effect that, she and another woman being in a chandler's shop two or three hours after the execution, "both weeping," Payne came in "rejoicingly, said his hands had done "the work, and asked a countrywoman "to drink a quart of sack with him in a "tavern" (Mrs. Green's *Calendar of State-Papers* under date June 26, 1660). Payne, if he had made the boast, had already cleared himself of the fact before the Council, and explained that he "was not on the scaffold till an hour and a half after the execution, when most of the boards were removed" (*Ibid.* June 25). A Christopher Alured of Yorkshire had been informed against as having "declared himself to be the man" and boasted of it (*Ibid.* July 19). There seems, indeed, to have been a competition among bragging and crazed people for the reputation of the tremendous deed. After all, despite Lilly's very circumstantial statement about Joyce (which seems to have been entirely disregarded before the trials), and despite any worth that may seem to

Before the trials were ended, the hangings and quarterings had begun. Harrison was the first example. On Saturday, October 13, he was brought from Newgate, where he had taken his last leave of his wife, and of other friends, all in a state of marvel at the ecstasy or heroic rapture of his demeanour. Conveyed on a hurdle or sledge, tied and with the rope about his neck, through the crowded streets, "his countenance never changing all the way," but appearing "mighty cheerful to the astonishment of many," he came in sight of the gallows at Charing Cross. Before he left the hurdle, the hangman, in the customary way, solicited a fee by the pretence of asking forgiveness. Harrison gave him the forgiveness, and "all the money he had." Then, mounting the ladder, still "with an undaunted countenance," he addressed the people in the strain of a fervid fifth-monarchy Puritan

linger even yet in the evidence respecting the dead Walker, or even respecting Hewlet, the decided preponderance of the evidence is in favour of the conclusion that the real executioner was the common hangman, Brandon. On such an occasion an expert would be in request; and the fact seems to have been, as brought out by Hewlet's witnesses, that Brandon made no secret of the matter so long as he lived, but told any of his neighbours in Rosemary Lane who chose to inquire, and always with the addition that he got £30 for the work. He died June 20, 1649, not five months after the beheading of the King, and less than four after the beheading of Lord Capel, the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earl of Holland; and opposite to the entry of his burial in the register of St. Mary's parish, Whitechapel,—"*June 21, Rich. Brandon, a man out of Rosemary Lane,*"—some one afterwards wrote, "This R. Brandon is supposed to have cut off the head of Charles the First" (Cunningham's *Hand-Book of London*, p. 427). In a tract of the time, called *The Confession of the Hangman*, besides details of the story of the King's execution, as told by Brandon himself,—e. g. an account of what he did with "an orange stuck full of cloves and a handkerchief" which he took from the King's pocket,—there is a description of the proceedings at the burial of Brandon. Whitechapel was in riot, and it was with difficulty that the body escaped being torn to pieces by the mob. See Chambers's *Book of Days*, I. 798—799; where there is also a quotation from a broadside called *A Dialogue between the Hangman and Death*. In reply to Death, who comes exultingly to carry off Brandon at last, and calls him "the bloodiest actor in this present age," Brandon is made to say, among other things,

"I gave the blow caused thousands' hearts to ache;
Nay, more than that, it made three kingdoms quake."

Brandon had succeeded his father Gregory Brandon in his dreadful business; and the name of this "Gregory," remembered as the executioner of Strafford and others, seems to have been used for "Richard" by one of Hewlet's witnesses. It seems strange that, with all the publicity of the tradition respecting Brandon, and with his wife or daughter, "Mary Brandon," apparently still alive to add her testimony to that of so many others, the government should have ignored Brandon for the chance of finding some one living to convict. How perseveringly they tracked out every one connected in any way with the Regicide appears from the fact that the carpenter, Tench of Houndsditch, who had erected the scaffold, was still sought for. He was arrested some weeks after our present date (*Public Intelligencer* of Nov. 26—Dec. 3). Whatever he had done, he ought to have been safe then by the Bill of Indemnity.

and man of the Commonwealth. "Take notice," he said, "that, for being instrumental in that cause and interest of "the Son of God which hath been pleaded amongst us, and "which God hath witnessed to by appeals and wonderful "victories, I am brought to this place to suffer death this day; "and, if I had ten thousand lives, I could freely and cheerfully "lay down them all to witness to this matter." Again:— "I do not lay down my life by constraint, but willingly; for, "if I had been minded to have run away, I might have had "many opportunities; but, being so clear in the thing, "I durst not turn my back nor step a foot out of the way, "by reason I had been engaged in the service of so glorious "and great a God. However men presume to call it by hard "names, yet I believe, ere it be long, the Lord will make it "known from Heaven that there was more of God in it than "men are now aware of." There was more to the like effect, his demeanour continuing to astonish the spectators, and, among them, Pepys, who, having seen the execution of Charles and approved of it, had come to witness this first expiation for it. Though there were requests from the sheriff to be short, and the executioner was bustling to begin his work, Harrison went on till he had said all he meant to say. His last words were: "He hath covered my head "many times in the day of battle. By God I have leaped "over a wall; by God I have run through a troop; and by "my God I will go through this death, and He will make it "easy to me. Now into Thy hands, O Lord Jesus, I commit "my spirit." The sentence was then executed to the letter. He was flung off, hanged a moment or two, but cut down still alive, for the opening of his body. As the hangman was at this savagery, nerve and muscle worked strongly in the half-dead man, and he struck the hangman a blow in the face. The head and heart were shown to the people, and there were great shouts of joy.—At the same place, on Monday the 15th, Carew was executed in the same manner. He also went out of the world dauntlessly, a dull, pious man, with prayers and words of triumph.—Cook, Hugh Peters, Scott, Clements, Scroope, and Jones, were executed, all at Charing Cross likewise,

the two first on the 16th, the others on the 17th. All died bravely,—even Peters, who had had depressing doubts in prison whether he should be able to "go through his sufferings with courage," and whom the hangman tried to break down, when his turn came, by ostentatiously rubbing his hands before him, bloody from the disembowelling of Cook, and saying, "How do you like this work, Mr. Peters?" None of the condemned went out of the world with less pity. The execution of Peters, said the newspapers of the day, "was the delight "of the people, which they expressed by several shouts and "acclamations when they saw him go up the ladder, and also "when the halter was putting about his neck."—One does not know whether his Majesty had been present at the executions of Harrison, Carew, Cook, and Peters; but Evelyn tells us that he was present at that of Scott, Clements, Scroope, and Jones. The amiable Evelyn missed the main sight himself, but remarks on the fact that the place was Charing Cross, close to Whitehall, where Charles had been beheaded. "I saw not "their execution," he says, "but met their quarters, mangled "and cut and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows "in baskets on the hurdle. O the marvellous providence of "God!" Axtell and Hacker were executed together on the 19th, not at Charing Cross, but at Tyburn, near the present Marble Arch. Axtell, being a man of speech, could show his courage in that way as well as by his demeanour. In Newgate, since his condemnation, he had been speaking with some soreness of "that poor wretch Lieutenant-Colonel Huncks," and also of Colonel Tomlinson; but at the gibbet he made all the proper professions of a Puritan and Republican Christian. Hacker, a man of no words, had prepared a little paper, beginning "Friends and Countrymen, all that have known me in my best estate have not known me to be a man of oratory," and containing two or three plain sentences more, soldierly and pious[1].

[1] Accounts of the Executions and the Last Speeches and Prayers of the Regicides, published in 1663 from notes taken at the time, and reprinted in Howell's State-Trials, IV. 1230—1302; Pepys's Diary and Evelyn's of dates; *Mercurius Publicus*, Oct. 11—18, 1660.

Ten had been hanged, drawn, and quartered; and the prison-walls closed round the remaining nineteen that had been condemned, as also round the six Regicides of less criminal grade that were in custody, but had not been tried for their lives. Little more was to be heard of any of the twenty-five in this world, save when it was thought proper to cart one or two of them for exhibition through the streets of London with halters round their necks. After the twenty yet living Regicides who had escaped out of England, and were still fugitive, there was to be a hue and cry to the last. Lambert and Vane, not classed with the Regicides, were in prison, as capital exceptions from the Indemnity on other grounds, and with only a petition of the two Houses to his Majesty between them and the scaffold. Hasilrig, not excepted for life, but for everything else, was also in prison for general guilt, as a man never to see the sun again. For one of the two Regicides, Lassels and Hutchinson, who had been sentenced to civil incapacitation only, the escape was to be but nominal. For some of the eighteen more severely incapacitated culprits, two of them ranked as minor Regicides, disgrace was not to be the sole punishment after all. The absolutely condoned Matthew Tomlinson was to disappear into obscurity; and only Dick Ingoldsby, of all the Regicides, could hold up his head. The four-and-twenty Regicides that were dead before the Act of Indemnity lay in their graves, coffined corpses, and undisturbed as yet[1].

[1] In the enumeration in this paragraph the reader will find all the 102 persons excepted by name from the Bill of Indemnity (ante pp. 54—56) accounted for in a general way. I have made no special investigation of the fates of the nineteen Regicides condemned capitally in Oct. 1660 but not executed; and the following is only roughly from Noble and other authorities at hand:—*Died in prison, mostly in the Tower, time unascertained*—Downes, Garland (presumably), Harvey, Heveningham (presumably), Millington, Potter, Smith, James Temple, Peter Temple, Tichbourne (presumably), Wayte (presumably), Sir Hardress Waller. *Died in the Tower at known dates*—Mayne (April 1661, ætat. 49), Pennington (Dec. 17, 1661), Rowe (Dec. 1661). *Transferred to other prisons with some indulgence, and died there*—Lilburne (in Jersey, Aug. 1665, ætat. 52); Henry Marten (at Chepstow Castle, as late as 1681, ætat. 77). *Ultimately released, and died in America*—George Fleetwood. I know nothing of Hewlet: but even he may have been traced to his end by some one.—Of the six minor Regicides in custody, James Challoner, Sir James Harrington, and Phelps, appear to have died in prison soon. Hutchinson, though nominally condoned, was to die a prisoner in Deal Castle, Sept. 11, 1664. Hasilrig died in the Tower, of a fever, within the year. Lambert, after several

Just after the hanging and quartering of the ten Regicides there came forth a *Declaration of his Majesty concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs* (Oct. 25, 1660). It was his Majesty's attempt in that business of a reconstitution of the Church of England which had been referred to him by Parliament.

The first draft of the document, which seems to have been substantially Hyde's, had been ready for more than a month, and had been put into the hands of Reynolds, Calamy, Baxter, and the rest of the small committee of representative Presbyterian divines for the benefit of their private criticisms. Such criticisms had been freely tendered, both in conferences with Hyde and in papers sent in to him. Baxter had been the boldest in his censures of the document, but had been tempered down by Reynolds, Calamy, and the rest. At length, some alterations having been made in the document, there had been a special conference over it in the King's presence, Oct. 22. The conference was held in Worcester House, in the Strand, then Chancellor Hyde's residence; and besides the King and Hyde, the laymen present were the Duke of Albemarle, Ormond, the Earl of Manchester, Mr. Annesley, and Mr. Holles. Hyde read over the document, paragraph by paragraph, and it was commented on by Sheldon, Morley, Henchman, Hacket, Gunning, Dr. Barwick, and others on the Episcopal side, while Baxter, Reynolds, Calamy, Spurstow, Manton, and others argued on what was still called the Presbyterian side. Baxter is most emphatic, however, in explaining that this phrase was now a misnomer, purposely kept up among the courtiers to discredit himself and his friends. None of them now, he says, spoke for Presbytery, or thought of bringing any of the essential differences between the Presbyterian system and the Episcopal into the discussion. They had, all of them, practically ceased to be Presbyterians, and had consented to accept Episcopacy and a Liturgy; what they now spoke for was simply an abatement of the excesses of Episcopacy and the excesses of Ritual. It was a strange pass for

removes, died in Guernsey, as late as 1694, ætat. about 74.—Of the fates of the Regicides that were fugitive on the continent or in America, about twenty in all, a perfect account is, I believe, still a desideratum.

the great body of the English Presbyterians to have come to in the persons of their chief representatives. But the fact was as Baxter states it. Those who had been Presbyterians hitherto, in a stricter sense than Baxter himself had ever been, were now at one with him in thinking Usher's Model of Episcopacy satisfactory, and in the resolution to confine themselves to such negotiation with the King and Hyde in behalf of that model, or of something like it, as should effect the great end of a comprehension of the Old Anglicans and the *ci-devant* Presbyterians in the established National Church, achieving at the same time the other desirable end of turning out the Independents, the Baptists, *et hoc genus omne*. This intention as regards the Independents and Sectaries was implied in the present conference and in the whole treaty, and was indeed one of the operating forces on both sides. At the end of the conference, however, it seemed as if Baxter and his friends must give up all hope of seeing his Majesty's *Declaration* issue in such a shape as they desired. Some important modifications which they wanted were declined, or set aside by the Anglican reasoners; and, when his Majesty gave his decision how the *Declaration* should finally stand, and intrusted it to Morley and Henchman on the one side, and Reynolds and Calamy on the other, for verbal perfection in that form, with Annesley and Holles as umpires in case of difference, Baxter was much dejected. He attributed a good deal of his disappointment to Annesley, who, though called a Presbyterian, and acting on that side, had "spoken more for prelacy" in the conference than had been expected; and he could not refrain from saying to Annesley, as he left the room, that he would not have done what Annesley had done that day against the peace and welfare of the Church for much more than Annesley was ever likely to get by it. Mr. Baxter could be thus sharp even to a Privy Councillor [1].

What was Baxter's surprise, what his joy, when, on buying a copy of the Printed Declaration, as it was cried about the streets on the 25th, he found that his rebuke to Annesley had

[1] Baxter, I. 259—278; where there is the first draft of the *Declaration*, with details of the discussion and conference.

had excellent effect! The wording of the Declaration, as thus authoritatively issued, promised a constitution of the Church, he says, "though not such as we desired, yet such as any "sober honest ministers might submit to; and I was pre- "sently resolved to do my best to persuade all, according to "my interest and opportunity, to conform." What was the purport of the document which thus convinced Baxter and so many others that they need not leave the Establishment after all, but might remain in it with a good conscience? We must turn to the document itself:—In the preamble his Majesty expresses his belief that his long residence abroad, his acquaintance with the forms of all the different Reformed Churches there, and his frequent conversations in particular with eminent divines in Holland, "looked upon as the most able and principal asserters of the Presbyterian opinions," had qualified him peculiarly for the task of framing such a constitution for the Church of England as was now sorely needed. His intention at first had been to call a Synod of Divines to aid him; and, with that intention, he had meanwhile contented himself with using the Liturgy in his own chapel and seeing the voluntary use of it by many others. He had not pressed it upon his subjects generally, or done anything against that general liberty of conscience which he had promised from Breda. But men of restless and malicious spirits had been at work. They had "very unseasonably caused to "be printed, published, and dispersed throughout the king- "dom, a Declaration heretofore printed in Our name during "the time of Our being in Scotland, of which We shall say "no more than that the circumstances by which We were "enforced to sign that Declaration are enough known to the "world." No wonder that his Majesty, or Hyde for him, thought the resuscitation of that document unseasonable. It embodied the oaths which Charles, as a Covenanted King, had sworn again and again in Scotland in 1650 and 1651, to maintain Presbyterial Government, with the two Covenants, and the Westminster Assembly's directory, confession, and catechisms, in Scotland for ever, to observe them in his own practice and family, and to promote their establishment in

the rest of his dominions. But other pamphlets, his Majesty added, were equally inopportune and perturbing. Hence his Majesty had seen fit "to invert the method" he had first proposed, and, instead of calling a Synod at once, to make a good beginning himself, which Parliament and a Synod might perfect in due time. He was encouraged in this by the present harmonious temper of those leading representatives both of English Episcopalianism and of English Presbyterianism with whom he had been conferring. "We must, for the "honour of all those of either persuasion with whom we have "conferred, declare that the professions and desires of all for the "advancement of piety and true godliness are the same; their "professions of zeal for the peace of the Church the same, of "affection and duty to us the same: they all approve Epis-"copacy; they all approve a set form of Liturgy; and they "all disapprove and dislike the sin of sacrilege, and the alien-"ation of the revenue of the Church. And, if upon these "excellent foundations, in submission to which there is such "a harmony of affections, any superstructure should be raised "to the shaking of these foundations,"—then truly his Majesty would be most unfortunate. He hoped, however, that the superstructure he had devised would suit the foundations. It was this:—(1) Studious promotion of Religion and Godliness, and of the observation of the Lord's Day "without unnecessary divertisement," and this more immediately by a retention of the surviving old bishops, the appointment of suitable colleagues for them, and care that all bishops henceforth should be working and preaching bishops; (2) Suffragan bishops in every diocese, and especially in the large ones, to assist the bishops; (3) No bishop in any diocese to ordain, or exercise jurisdiction involving church-censure, without "the advice and assistance of the presbyters;" no chancellor, commissary, or other lay-official in a diocese to exercise spiritual jurisdiction; and no archdeacon to exercise jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six ministers of his archdeaconry, three to be nominated by the bishop and three by vote among the presbyters in the archdeaconry. (4) Preferments to deaneries and other cathedral offices to be from

among "the most pious and learned ministers of the diocese;" and the dean and chapter of each cathedral to have associated with them in all their spiritual functions an equal number of presbyters elected by the presbyters of the diocese, the junior presbyters so elected always to withdraw at any meeting of the Dean and Chapter where the presbyters present out-numbered those present of the Dean and Chapter. (5) Church-discipline to be efficiently maintained in every diocese; and, for this purpose, every rural dean to have three or four ministers, elected by the ministers of the deanery, associated with him in a monthly church-court for admonishing offenders, composing differences, making representations to the bishop, &c. (6) No bishop to exercise arbitrary power. (7) The old Liturgy, though his Majesty himself prefers it to anything else of the kind he has seen, to be revised by a committee of an equal number of divines of both persuasions to be appointed by his Majesty, but meanwhile to be optional in whole or in part. (8) The ritual of the Church to be determined by a future National Synod; and meanwhile kneeling at the sacrament, the sign of the cross at baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, and the use of the surplice (save in the Royal Chapel, Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, and the Universities) not to be imperative. Indeed ceremonies generally to be as little compulsory as possible; liberality and comprehensiveness to be studied in all ways; and ministers to be admitted to ordination and benefices without oaths or subscriptions other than the ordinary oaths of allegiance and supremacy [1].

Such was the King's Declaration of October 25, 1660, reconstituting the Church of England. It sent a glow of pleasure through thousands of hearts. For such of the Independents and Baptists, indeed, as had been retained within Cromwell's Church-Establishment, and had no objection of principle against remaining within a State-Church still, if only it were a State-Church to suit, the document meant absolute exclusion from the State-Church as actually

[1] Baxter, I. 278—279; and the Declaration, as given in Parl. Hist. IV. 131—141.

reconstituted. They had expected nothing else; and most of them, if not all, were already out of the Establishment, huddled in the same mass with that miscellany of Independent and Baptist Voluntaries, Quakers and other Sectaries, and Roman Catholics, whose interest personally was not in the constitution of the State-Church, but in the postponed question of the amount of Toleration to be allowed out of the State-Church. There were still also rigid Presbyterians to whom an Episcopal State-Church in any form, with a Liturgy and other such accompaniments, was as repugnant as it had been in the days of the Westminster Assembly and the adoption of the strict Scottish model. But the majority of the *ci-devant* Presbyterians and Covenanters were satisfied. The Episcopacy to be set up by the King's Declaration was a limited Episcopacy, an Episcopacy of expediency only, a Presbyterianized Episcopacy, very nearly, if not quite, after Usher's scheme of reduction back to the Episcopacy of the Primitive Church just after the age of the Apostles. There were addresses of thanks to the King by Presbyterian ministers; the King or Hyde seemed to have performed a feat of real statesmanship; and England lay in repose[1].

No time like that for filling up the Episcopate, and so letting the nation behold in distinct vision the actual fabric of the restored Church of England. With this view, Hyde and the King had been making arrangements. Several of the nine surviving pre-Restoration Bishops had been promoted already to higher sees; on the 26th of October, the very day after the King's Declaration appeared, a number of new bishops were consecrated; and before the 6th of November, when the Parliament was to re-assemble after the recess, this was the state of the Episcopate:—

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

ARCHBISHOPRIC: William Juxon, translated from his former see of London, Sept. 13.
B. of St. Asaph: George Griffith, consecrated Oct. 28.
B. of Bangor: William Roberts, holding since 1637.
B. of Bath and Wells: William Pierce, holding since 1632.

[1] Baxter, I. 284—288; Neal, IV. 304—309.

B. of Bristol : *left vacant.*
B. of Chichester : Henry King, holding since 1642.
B. of St. David's : William Lucy, elected Oct. 11.
B. of Ely : Matthew Wren, holding since 1638.
B. of Exeter : John Gauden, elected Nov. 3.
B. of Gloucester : *left vacant.*
B. of Hereford : *left vacant.*
B. of Lichfield and Coventry : *left vacant.*
B. of Lincoln : Robert Sanderson, elected Oct. 17.
B. of Llandaff : Hugh Lloyd, elected Oct. 17.
B. of London : Gilbert Sheldon, elected Oct. 23.
B. of Norwich : *left vacant.*
B. of Oxford : Robert Skinner, holding since 1641.
B. of Peterborough : *left vacant.*
B. of Rochester : John Warner, holding since 1637.
B. of Salisbury : Humphrey Henchman, elected Oct. 4.
B. of Winchester : Brian Duppa, transferred from the Bishopric of Salisbury Sept. 10.
B. of Worcester : George Morley, elected Oct. 9.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

ARCHBISHOPRIC : Accepted Frewen, transferred from his former see of Lichfield and Coventry Sept. 22.
B. of Carlisle : *left vacant.*
B. of Chester : *left vacant.*
B. of Durham : *left vacant.*
B. of Sodor and Man : *left vacant.*

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There was a meaning in the ten bishopries left vacant for the present. For most of these Hyde and the King had meritorious old Anglicans in readiness; but it was thought highly desirable that three or four of them should be given to the most eminent among the *ci-devant* Presbyterians, and the Bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield had been offered to Calamy, that of Hereford to Baxter, and that of Norwich to Reynolds. It was a subtle temptation, and there was a Babel of remark. For Baxter and Reynolds to take bishopries might not be so shocking, as both of them had in past years inclined to moderate Episcopacy; but, if Mr. Calamy, the old Smectymnuan, were seen in a bishopric, what faith could there be in man any more? Baxter, on the whole, thought it best to decline; for the other two, and for some Presbyterian divines who had been offered deaneries, the policy was to wait to see whether, when the Parliament met after the recess, the

King's Declaration would be confirmed by an Act. Then they might all accept[1].

One other incident of the recess deserves to be noted. It concerned Hyde himself, the prime minister and bishop-maker, and it made him reel in his place.

It seems to have been about the beginning of October, just when the trials of the Regicides were coming on, that there was first divulged the scandal of the strange relations between the Chancellor's eldest daughter, Anne Hyde, and the Duke of York. The facts, not then fully known, were these:—While the girl was in the household of the Princess of Orange at Breda, the duke had made love to her. There had been a secret contract of marriage, it is believed, on the 24th of November 1659; and, on the faith of this contract, they had been living as if married for about six months, when the Restoration brought them both to London. As she was then with child, concealment was impossible much longer; and on the 3rd of September 1660, late at night, there had been contrived her hurried marriage to the duke in her father's house, before witnesses, and according to the rites of the English Church. The Chancellor's own account conveys the idea that not even then was *he* cognisant of the affair. It was first broken to him, he says, by his friends Ormond and Southampton, considerately deputed to do so by the King, to whom the Duke of York had confessed it, with urgent entreaties that he would recognise the marriage. His Majesty, acquitting the Chancellor of all connivance, was anxious to know how the news might affect him. The Chancellor, as he himself tells us, behaved at first like a madman. He swore at his daughter before his friends, called her by the most opprobrious of names, said he would turn her out of his house. When, to pacify him, they suggested that his daughter was perhaps legally married to the duke, he declared that the case was then much worse. He would rather that she should have dishonoured herself without marriage; there was no course, in such a high state-offence

[1] Baxter, I. 281—284.

in the beginning of the King's reign, but to move his Majesty to "cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast "into a dungeon, under so strict a guard that no person living "should be admitted to come to her, and then that an Act "of Parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting "off her head." If their lordships would concur, he would move this himself. The King coming in at this point, and the Chancellor again exploding, and repeating his advice for imprisonment and decapitation, all his Majesty could do was to adjourn the matter till the Chancellor should recover his reason.—As days passed he did grow calmer. He had taken pains to ascertain that his daughter really was married; and, though he did not then know, he says, that his servants were all the while admitting the duke to Worcester House whenever he liked, he knew that the duke was passionately fond of her and very importunate with the King for the recognition of the marriage. And so, though the Chancellor still resisted and argued that the marriage must be disallowed, this would have been the speedy conclusion of the affair, but for the interference of the ladies of the Royal Family.—It had been this affair of the Duke of York's marriage, among others, that had brought the Princess of Orange from Holland on the 25th of September; messages on the subject had been dispatched to the Queen-mother at Paris, leading to communications from that lady; and, when she herself should arrive in London, everybody knew what *she* would do. She had all along been the Chancellor's greatest enemy; to have Hyde's daughter thrust into the Royal Family was a degradation to which she would never submit; she would turn this incident in the Chancellor's domestic life into his public ruin.—Nor were methods wanting. For, meanwhile, on the 22nd of October, the very day of the great conference of divines in Worcester House over his Majesty's *Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs*, the poor girl about whom there was all the excitement had given birth in that house to a son,—his Majesty manfully using his good fortune in being then on the spot to cause the Marchioness of Ormond and other great court-ladies to be sent for to attend the *accouche-*

ment. The act appeared the more manful to Hyde because there was already a vile conspiracy among the courtiers of the Queen-mother's party, though she herself had not yet arrived, to break off the marriage by inducing the Duke of York to think the child not his. Sir Charles Berkeley, the Comptroller of the Household, was at the centre of the conspiracy, and had given the duke such assurances of the possibility of another paternity that the duke was now as anxious to repudiate the marriage as he had been to have it acknowledged.

Through all the multifarious business of the recess, including the trials of the Regicides and the reconstitution of the Church of England, Hyde had been carrying this private trouble in his mind. More than once, he says, he had offered to resign his posts and retire from public life. And now, the *accouchement* over, and the recess at an end, and the Duke of York still giving credence to Berkeley's calumny and refusing to see his wife and the baby, and the Queen-mother being herself on the spot to manage matters farther, what was he to do? His sole comfort, he says, was in the generous steadiness of the King. His Majesty had called Berkeley a blackguard, whose word was not to be trusted; through his Majesty's influence, the court-ladies who had attended the *accouchement* were doing all they could to contradict Berkeley's story; and, though his Majesty did not see how the affair might end for Anne Hyde, and cared little about that, he was resolved that nothing should separate him from his Chancellor. He took the opportunity, indeed, to insist that Hyde should at last allow himself to be made a peer. Another honour which came to Hyde at the same time was his election, October 27, to be Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in succession to the Duke of Somerset, who had just died. And so, whatever might betide Anne Hyde and her child, it was as Baron Hindon, still Lord Chancellor and Prime Minister, and with other added honours, that Hyde, on the 6th of November 1660, faced the reassembled Parliament[1].

[1] Clarendon, 1008—1012 (*Continuation of Life*); Burnet, I. 286—287; Pepys and Evelyn, both under date Oct. 7, 1660; Cunningham's Handbook of London, Art. *Worcester House*; Wood's Ath. III. 1022; Hallam, II. 361—363, *footnote*. Hallam characterises Clarendon's account of the affair of his

Among the first acts of the two Houses on the day of their reassembling were a vote to congratulate the Queen-mother on her arrival, a vote of a gift of £10,000 to the Princess Henrietta, and a unanimous vote in the Commons of their hearty thanks to the King for his gracious *Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs*. In this last vote it was implied that a Bill would be brought in for adopting his Majesty's reconstitution of the Church of England and making it effectual.

On the 7th of November there was introduced into the Commons by Solicitor-General Sir Heneage Finch, and read the first and second times, a Bill for Attainting Oliver Cromwell and other dead or living Regicides, and the Bill was referred to a large committee, including Mr. Prynne. A Lord's Day Bill, a Militia Bill, debates on the public debt and on the best means of raising the revenue of £1,200,000 a year that had been promised to his Majesty, and debates respecting a dangerous political pamphlet by a Mr. William Drake, occupied the House pretty closely to Nov. 22. On that day the Commons, meeting the Lords by request, were informed that the Lord Chancellor had brought an intimation from the King that he intended to dissolve the present Parliament in about a month. This may have been a surprise to the Commons; but it was very natural in the circumstances. The Convention Parliament had effected the Restoration, had disposed of the Regicides, had disbanded the old Republican Army, had decreed a splendid revenue for the King, and made his path easy. But there were reasons why

daughter's marriage as "overacted hypocrisy," a deliberate attempt "to mislead," and thinks that, as his conduct must be called atrocious if the account is taken as true, "the most favourable hypothesis for him is to give up his veracity." I should be loth to adopt such a hypothesis in the case of such a man as Clarendon; and it is a hypothesis always to be used sparingly. But I have never read, even in Clarendon himself, whose regardlessness of dates is always a torture, a passage in which dates are so ingeniously jumbled, by being half-suggested and then retracted or suppressed, as in this account of the divulging of his daughter's secret and of his own behaviour on the occasion. You cannot tell *when* he first knew the fact himself, whether before the private marriage in his own house or after; you see the Queen-mother there before she is there, and you see her come after that; you have no idea of the extent of time with which you are dealing. And yet the story is most flowing and graphic, and you cannot positively convict the writer of false dating at any one point. Hallam, in reconsidering his note, reluctantly admits this.

it should sit no longer. For one thing, it had not come into being in the regular way and under the King's own authority, but by powers acting while he was in exile; and, though everything possible had been done to amend the defect, there were still whispers among the more violent courtiers that it was not a legitimate Parliament, and that its acts might be challenged. But, farther, the material of the present House of Commons was not in accordance with his Majesty's notions. He and his brother, and the majority of the courtiers, wanted to see England turned into an absolute monarchy, like that of France; and, though there was a remnant in Hyde's mind of old English constitutionalism, and there had been serious conversations between him and the Earl of Southampton respecting the tendency to Absolutism among the courtiers, yet Hyde too was tired of the present House of Commons. There was too much of the Puritan tradition in it for his ecclesiastical tastes; and he looked forward, with the King, to such a thoroughly Cavalier Parliament as the country was sure to return when the present should be dissolved [1].

To make the most of the time remaining, the two Houses confined themselves chiefly to the bill for giving effect to his Majesty's *Ecclesiastical Declaration*, the bill of Attainder on the Regicides, and the question of methods for providing his Majesty's revenue.

The Bill for confirming his Majesty's *Ecclesiastical Declaration* came to a sudden and mysterious collapse in the Commons. It was read the first time on the 27th of November; and, though the House had unanimously and enthusiastically thanked the King for the *Declaration* only three weeks before, there was the strangest conflict of opinion now. Some speakers, among whom was Prynne, were earnest for proceeding with the bill; but others, including Secretary Morrice and his ministerial associate Finch, were significantly cool on the subject. In substance, they were for throwing out the bill, and leaving his Majesty to manage the Church as he pleased, whether in accordance with his excellent *Decla-*

[1] Commons Journals and Parl. Hist. of dates; Hallam, II. 323; Echard, as quoted in a note to Parl. Hist. IV. 177—178; Clarendon, 1034.

ration or not. The debate was brought to a point by Sergeant Maynard, who moved the question whether the Bill should be read a second time. On a division there were 183 *Noes* to 157 *Yeas*, so that the Bill was thrown out, and the nation and his Majesty were left, on the ecclesiastical question, with only a bit of paper signed "Charles R." between them. There can be no doubt, in fact, that the King's *Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs* had been, on the part of Hyde and others, a mere concoction to answer the purposes of the moment, and never meant to be binding, and that the hint had been given to the Ministerialists in the Commons to stop the confirming Bill. "When the Parliament came together again "after the adjournment," writes Hyde himself, "they gave "the King public thanks for his *Declaration*, and never "proceeded further in the matter of Religion; *of which* "*the King was very glad.*" One gets accustomed to the prostitutions in this reign, as in the last, of the formula "On the word of a King, C. R.;" but the present instance passes ordinary bounds. That Charles, the Scottish Covenanter, sworn in Scotland in 1650 to strict and life-long Presbytery, should now, in the year 1660 and in England, be restoring Prelacy and suppressing Presbytery, is nothing astonishing. He had sworn in 1650 by compulsion, and ten whole years, and a mass of events incalculable beforehand, lay between the oath and the abjuration in that case. But to have voluntarily issued a Declaration for Limited or Presbyterianized Episcopacy throughout England on the 25th of October, 1660, to have let himself be thanked for that Declaration by the Commons within less than a fortnight, and then, within another three weeks, to have taken steps for invalidating the Declaration and reducing it to a dead letter, is a too startling example of swiftness between promise and preparation to falsify promise. Few now but will feel some sympathy with Baxter's indignation on the theme. Not a single promise of the *Declaration*, Baxter explains, was ever redeemed, not one atom of any clause of it put into effect; and, foreseeing that this would be the case from the moment that the Confirming Bill was dropped in Parliament, he could then sum up the gains of the

treaty in which he and others had been so much exercised. They consisted (1) in the fact that the *Declaration*, though abortive, was actually in print and might be referred to by posterity, (2) in the fact that there must be a short breathing-time for the Presbyterians within the Establishment, till there should be new laws to their injury, and (3) in the fact that there had been an opportunity for argumentation[1].

The Bill of Attainder on the Regicides fared better than the Ecclesiastical Bill. When it was reported from the Committee with amendments on the 4th of December there was no difference of opinion on the main proposition, but only some difference on the question whether there should be some allowance for the families and creditors of the Attainted. Prynne, of course, was for no such proviso; but Prynne was outgone in ferocity on this occasion by a gentleman who deserves to be now specially introduced.—He was a Captain Silas Titus, or more properly Silius Titus, born about 1622 at Bushy in Herts, the son of a person of the same name, who traced his descent from Italy, where the family-name had been Tito. Educated at Oxford, the young Hertfordshire native, with Italian blood in him, had become a Parliamentarian captain and "a forward man" in the beginning of the Civil War, but had tended to the King. After the King's execution he had attached himself to Charles II. abroad, and, as groom of the bedchamber, had accompanied Charles into Scotland and been with him at the Battle of Worcester. And now, back in England as groom of the bedchamber still, but with the reputation also of being the author of the famous tract *Killing no Murder*, which had appeared in 1657, recommending the assassination of Cromwell, Captain Titus was reaping his rewards. He had a grant of the Keepership of Bushy Park, and he had been returned to the Convention Parliament in place of some original member whose seat had been vacated.—At the close of this day's debate on the Attainder Bill up stood Captain Silas Titus. He observed "that execution "did not leave traitors at their graves, but followed them beyond

[1] Commons Journals and Parl. Hist. of date; Clarendon, 1035; Baxter, I. 286—287, Neal, IV. 309—310.

"it, and that, since the heads and limbs of some were already "put upon the gates, he hoped the House would order that "the carcases of those devils who were buried at Westminster, "—Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride,—might be torn "out of their graves, dragged to Tyburn, there to hang for "some time, and afterwards be buried under the gallows." Whether Titus made the suggestion entirely on his own responsibility, or whether he spoke for the Court, it was instantly and unanimously adopted. "*Resolved*," say the Journals, "that the carcases of Oliver Cromwell, Henry "Ireton, John Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride, whether buried "in Westminster Abbey or elsewhere, be, with all expedition, "taken up, and drawn upon a hurdle to Tyburn, and there "hanged up in their coffins for some time, and after that "buried under the said gallows, and that James Norfolke, Esq., "sergeant-at-arms attending the House of Commons, do "take care that this order be put in effectual execution;" also "*Ordered*, That the Lords' concurrence herein be desired, "and Mr. Titus is to carry it to the Lords." The Lords, we may add, concurred at once on the 7th, only making the order more full by a clause or two, which the Commons adopted, requiring the Dean of Westminster, the Sheriff of Middlesex, and the common executioner, to assist in their several capacities.—Viscount Falconbridge, Cromwell's son-in-law, I note, was *not* in his place in the Lords that day. Having, at the Restoration, obtained a special certificate of pardon, signed by Hyde, he had resumed his place among the old nobility, and had been attending in the Lords very regularly hitherto. He was present in the Lords on the 4th of December, when the Commons passed their order about his father-in-law's corpse; but from that day I do not find him again in the Lords till the 17th. At that very moment there was lying in the Council Office a paper, still to be seen, with the endorsement in the hand of Secretary Nicholas, "*Old Mrs. Cromwell, Noll's wife's, Petition;*" of which this is an abstract: "Among "her many sorrows, she is deeply sensible of the unjust im- "putation of detaining jewels, &c., belonging to the King, "which, besides the disrepute, exposes her to loss and violence,

"on pretence of searching for them; is willing to swear that "she knows of none such, and can prove that she never inter- "meddled with any of those public transactions which have "been prejudicial to his late or present Majesty, and is ready "to yield humble and faithful obedience to his government; "prays therefore for a protection, without which she cannot "expect, in her old age, a safe retirement in any place of his "Majesty's dominions." The petition had been sent in just before the hideous disinterring order of the Houses[1].

The disinterring order was an accompaniment of the Attainder Bill, not a formal part of it. The Bill itself passed the Commons on the 7th of December, Prynne moving "that some others of the regicides who had surrendered "themselves should be put into this bill and now executed." He named more particularly the lawyers among them, and most particularly Garland; and Captain Titus, seconding the motion, named Sir Hardress Waller. But the bill went up to the Lords without any such call in it for more blood. The Lords returned it on the 14th, with some small amendments, which were then adopted by the Commons. As thus ready for the royal assent, it was entitled "*An Act for the Attainder of several persons guilty of the horrid Murder of his late Sacred Majesty King Charles I.*" It enacted, first of all, that the 30th of January, the anniversary of the day of the King's death, or the 31st if that day should be a sunday, should be observed for ever in all his Majesty's dominions as a day of solemn fast and humiliation, with prayers in all the churches that the guilt might not be visited on posterity; and then it enumerated the persons attainted, all whose goods and possessions, legally their property at the date of March 25, 1646, were to be absolutely forfeited to the King. Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, were named first, in that order; the twenty other regicides dead before the passing of the Indemnity Bill were omitted as not worth attainting

[1] Commons and Lords Journals of dates and of Dec. 8; Parl. Hist. IV. 155—156, where there is an account of the debate in the Commons on the 4th from a contemporary MS; Wood's Ath. IV. 623—625 (about Titus); Mrs. Green's Calendar of State Papers, 1660—1, pp. 137, 174, 598 (about Titus), pp. 34, 500 (about Falconbridge), and p. 392 (Elizabeth Cromwell's Petition).

now; but all the remaining unpardoned regicides, recently executed or left alive, in custody or fugitive, to the number of forty-eight, were attainted individually. Distributed into groups, they were as follows:—*The ten recently executed*, viz. Harrison, Carew, Cook, Peters, Scott, Clements, Scroope, Jones, Axtell, and Hacker; *The nineteen condemned to death, but under respite*, viz. Downes, Fleetwood, Garland, Harvey, Heveningham, Hewlet, Lilburne, Marten, Mayne, Millington, Pennington, Potter, Rowe, Smith, James Temple, Peter Temple, Tichbourne, Waller, and Wayte; *Nineteen fugitive*, viz. Barkstead, Blagrave, Broughton, Cawley, Thomas Challoner, Corbet, Dendy, Dixwell, Goffe, Hewson, Holland, Lisle, Livesey, Love, Ludlow, Okey, Say, Walton, and Whalley. There were some provisos in the Act respecting property of the attainted that had passed into other hands by legal conveyance[1].

In the matter of a settlement of ways for raising the King's annual revenue of £1,200,000, and other moneys needed, the Convention Parliament wound up as well as it could. The poll-bill and the assessments previously voted not having sufficed for the expense of disbanding the army and paying off the navy, estimated now at a total of £670,868, other bills had been framed for supplying the deficiency. There were bills also for raising sums for minor purposes. In the main business of the King's revenue the chief difficulty was in providing a substitute for that part of

[1] Lords and Commons Journals of dates; Parl. Hist. IV. 158; and Act of Attainder itself in Statutes at Large. It is curious that, though *Thomas Wogan* is named in the general enumeration of fifty-three regicides promiscuously with which the Act sets out, he is not repeated in any of the subsequent groups. He had been among those who had surrendered (ante, p. 44 and p. 49), and he had been among the nineteen excepted in the bill with the benefit of the saving clause (p. 54).—This may be the place for such vague information as is at hand, in Noble and elsewhere, about the subsequent fates of the nineteen fugitives. Barkstead, Corbet, and Okey, who had fled to Germany at first, were to be captured in Holland ere long. Blagrave, Challoner, Hewson, Livesey, Say, and Walton had escaped to Holland or other parts of the north of the Continent, and little more seems to be known of them than that Challoner died at Middleburg in 1661, Hewson at Amsterdam in 1662, and Walton in Flanders in 1661. Dixwell, Goffe, and Whalley ended their days in America. The most fortunate of the fugitives were those who found an asylum in Switzerland. Lisle, it is true, was assassinated at Lausanne, by instigation, it was believed, of the Queen-mother; but Ludlow, Love, Broughton, Cawley, and Holland were protected by the Swiss, and the first three of them treated with much respect, more particularly by the Council of Bern. Ludlow, after writing his memoirs, died at Vevai in 1693, ætat. 73, and his monument is there to be seen.

the former royal revenue which had been derived, by what was now considered unconstitutional or undesirable prerogative, from "the court of wards and liveries, tenures *in capite*," &c. The King had consented to resort no more to those old feudal sources, if an equivalent could be provided otherwise. Two schemes had been suggested in the Commons: "one a permanent tax on lands held in chivalry "(which, as distinguished from those in soccage, were alone "liable to the feudal burthens); the other, an excise on beer "and some other liquors." The description is Hallam's, who adds, "It is evident that the former was founded on a "just principle, while the latter transferred a particular "burthen to the community. But the self-interest which "so unhappily predominates even in representative assemblies, "with the aid of the courtiers, who knew that an excise in- "creasing with the riches of the country was far more desir- "able for the Crown than a fixed land-tax, caused the former "to be carried, though by the very small majority of two "voices." This had been on the 21st of November, save that Mr. Hallam's account of what passed then is not quite correct. The question then propounded to the House consisted of two parts, (1) "That the moiety of the excise of beer, ale, cider, "perry, and strong waters, at the rates it is now levied, "shall be settled on the King's Majesty, his heirs and suc- "cessors, in full recompense and satisfaction of all tenures "*in capite* and by knight's service, and of the court of "wards and liveries and all emoluments and profits thereby "accruing, and in full satisfaction of all purveyance;" (2) "That the other moiety of the revenue of the excise "of beer, &c., be settled upon the King's Majesty in "further part of the £1,200,000 per annum resolved to be "settled on his Majesty." The division was only on the second part, voting the present King one moiety of the Excise for his life, in addition to the other moiety settled on the Crown for ever; and in this division it was the *Noes* that carried by a majority of two voices, i.e. by 151 to 149. Annesley, who was opposed to the Excise scheme, was one of the tellers for the majority. Very soon, however, the vote

was reversed; and so there went through the Commons, and then through the Lords, with various debates and conferences, two connected bills. One was "An Act for taking away the court of wards and liveries, and tenures *in capite* and by knight's service, and purveyance, and for settling a revenue on his Majesty in lieu thereof." This Act vested in the Crown for ever 15*d.* from every barrel of superior beer, 4*d.* from every barrel of inferior beer, 15*d.* from every hogshead of cider or perry, ½*d.* from every gallon of metheglin or mead, 6*d.* from every barrel of so-called "vinegar-beer," 1*d.* from every gallon of aquavitæ or strong water, 4*d.* from every gallon of coffee, and 8*d.* from every gallon of chocolate, sherbet, or tea, besides higher duties proportionally from imported ales, cider or perry, or strong waters. The other Act was "A grant of certain impositions upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for the increase of his Majesty's revenue during his life;" and it assigned him the other 15*d.* from every barrel of superior beer, the other 4*d.* from every barrel of inferior, and so on through the rest of the liquors,—the entire duty on each being, of course, the sum of the moieties distributed between the two bills. Not till the 24th of December were there two bills, with all their intricacies, ready for the King's assent. It was given that day in the Lords' House, the Commons attending. His Majesty's revenue of £1,200,000 a year having thus been tolerably well secured, his Majesty was in haste for the dissolution. There were still, however, odds and ends of business, including a special vote of £70,000 to his Majesty for the expenses of his approaching coronation and new jewels for his crown; and not till Saturday the 29th of December were the two Houses ready [1].

On that day his Majesty, having passed the Attainder Bill on the Regicides, and thirty-one Bills besides, most of them private, dissolved the Convention Parliament. In a short speech, he magnified the services of that Parliament and expressed his sense of his obligations to it. "Many former

[1] Lords and Commons Journals of dates; Hallam, II. 312—314; and the text of the two Revenue Bills in *Statutes at Large*.

"Parliaments," he said, "have had particular denominations "from what they have done; they have been styled Learned "and Unlearned, and sometimes have had worse epithets: "I pray let us all resolve that this be for ever called *The* "*Healing and Blessed Parliament*." Hyde followed his master, as usual, with a more diffuse speech[1].

Before the dissolution eight of the ten bishoprics left vacant on Nov. 6 had been filled up by the King, leaving only the two sees of Lichfield and Coventry and Sodor and Man still vacant in the total Episcopate of England and Wales. The bishops additional to those of our previous list (ante pp. 104–105) were now as follows:—

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

B. of Bristol: Gilbert Ironside, elected Dec. 14.
B. of Gloucester: William Nicholson, elected Nov. 26.
B. of Hereford: Nicholas Monk (brother of the Duke of Albemarle), elected Dec. 1, instead of Richard Baxter, who had declined.
B. of Norwich: Edward Reynolds, elected Nov. 28; the only former Presbyterian who took a bishopric.
B. of Peterborough: Benjamin Laney, elected Nov. 20.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

B. of Carlisle: Richard Sterne (great-grandfather of Sterne, the novelist), consecrated Dec. 2.
B. of Chester: Brian Walton (of the *Polyglott Bible*), consecrated Dec. 2.
B. of Durham: John Cosins, consecrated Dec. 2.

Just before the dissolution there had happened also the death of the King's eldest sister, the Princess of Orange. She died on the 24th of December, of the same disease of small-pox which had carried off the Duke of Gloucester. While she yet lived, however, the Royal Family had consented to the accession to it of Chancellor Hyde's daughter as the legitimate wife of the Duke of York. The Duke had come round at last, Berkeley having confessed that he had invented his calumny against the Chancellor's daughter only to afford the Duke the means of escape from an inconvenient marriage; and, though the Queen-mother had held out for a time, declaring publicly that, "whenever that woman should

[1] Lords Journals and Parl. Hist. of date (for speeches).

"be brought into Whitehall by one door," she herself "would "go out of it by another door, and never come into it again," effective means had been used to conciliate her too. Hyde himself says that the chief influence was that of Cardinal Mazarin, who had written over to the Queen-mother that her reception back in France would not be very cordial unless she desisted from her opposition to the Chancellor. Certain it is that the reconciliation of the Duke of York to his wife and the public acknowledgment of their marriage date from about the middle of December 1660. And so, on Jan. 1, 1660–1, three days after the dissolution of the Parliament, there was a ceremonious christening of their baby by the name of Charles, and with the title of Duke of Cambridge, in Worcester House, the King and the Duke of Albemarle standing godfathers, and the Queen-mother and the Marchioness of Ormond godmothers. The very day after that ceremony, the Queen-mother was to leave London, to embark at Portsmouth, on her return to France. No one regretted her; and Hyde's sarcastic observation with reference to her unexpectedly civil parting with him is that thenceforth "there did never appear any want of kindness" on her part towards him, "whilst he stood in no need of it, nor until it might have done him some good." He is here looking forward to the eclipse of his fortunes some years hence. For the present, who did not envy him? Established in his premiership more firmly than ever, he saw his daughter, whom he wanted to behead three months ago, the acknowledged Duchess of York. She was, to Pepys's taste, "a plain woman, and like her mother, my Lady Chancellor," though Burnet, who knew her well afterwards, found her "a very extraordinary woman," with "great knowledge" and "great spirit." Should Charles never marry, or should he have no legitimate issue, she might be Queen of England one day, and the crown her husband's[1].

While the King was away from London, to see his mother embark at Portsmouth, there broke out the mad little riot

[1] Evelyn's Diary, Dec. 24; Pepys's of Dec. 10, 1660, and April 20, 1661; Mrs Green's Calendar for 1660—1, pp. 412, 466, 470; Clarendon, 1013—1015; Burnet, I. 286—291.

known as the insurrection of Venner and his Fifth-Monarchy men. Venner, the stout wine-cooper who had tried a similar outbreak in Cromwell's time, and had only been imprisoned for a while in consequence (Vol. V. p. 134), fared worse this time. It was in the evening of Sunday, Jan. 6, 1660–1, that he and a number more, issuing from their conventicle in Coleman Street, where they had been rousing themselves to phrenzy with apocalyptic readings and discourses, marched into the streets about St. Paul's, to begin that work of the destruction of Babylon and human monarchy, and the institution of the reign of King Jesus, which had been delayed too long. Being fifty or sixty in number, and armed and desperate, they discomfited easily the force of city trained-bands that mustered to put them down. After more promenading in the city and about the city gates, they took themselves off to Caen Wood between Highgate and Hampstead, where they bivouacked that night. There they were attacked next day by a party of horse and foot sent against them by Monk; but, though some were taken, most escaped from the wood, to rally again in the city. They did rally again there, with some reinforcements, early on Wednesday morning. Dividing themselves into two parties, they fought against all odds till they could fight no more. Venner's own party, whose object was to catch the Lord Mayor, was the last to be overpowered. Not till some had been killed, refusing quarter, and Venner himself had been knocked down and severely wounded, was the riot at an end. About twenty soldiers or citizens altogether had been slain, and as many of the rioters. Of those apprehended, to the number of sixty-six in all, twenty were tried at the Old Bailey within ten days, of whom sixteen were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. On Thomas Venner and Roger Hodgkins, as the two chiefs, the sentence was fully executed in Coleman Street, close to the meeting-place of the sect, on the 19th of January. Eleven more were hanged at other places; and three seem to have been reprieved[1].

[1] Phillips, 735; Parl. Hist. IV. 186—188, note; *The Kingdom's Intelligencer* for Jan. 14—21, 1660–1.

Two not unimportant consequences followed Venner's crazy attempt. One was the reconsideration in Council of the policy of an entire disbandment of the army, and the retention, under the name of Guards, of two or three of the yet undisbanded regiments, to form, as has been already mentioned, the nucleus still of a standing army. The other appeared on the 10th of January, the day after the suppression of the outbreak, when, the King being then back in town, there was issued a proclamation from Whitehall "for re-"straining all seditious meetings and conventicles under "pretence of religious worship, and forbidding any meetings "for worship except in parochial churches or chapels." This was a dreadful blow to the sectaries of all sorts, but especially to the Baptists and the Quakers, the two sects immediately aimed at after the Fifth-Monarchy men, and the only sects expressly named along with the Fifth-Monarchy men in the proclamation. The Baptists were still a very numerous and growing body; the Quakers had of late been recruited largely, or even enormously, by the melting into their ranks of former sectaries of all varieties, and even of former Independents and Presbyterians, finding in Quakerism at last the extreme of spiritual rest. Since the Restoration, though subject to that popular fury against "fanatics" which had become but a form of loyalty, and troubled also by officious magistrates, persecuting and imprisoning on their own responsibility, both sects had been able, in virtue of the King's Breda Declaration, to keep up their own meetings for worship and preaching. And now, by Venner's outbreak, though Venner himself had protested that Baptists and Quakers were no associates of his, they were to lose the right of meeting. But the prohibition affected others besides the Quakers and the Baptists. The Independents generally, though not named in the proclamation, knew themselves to be involved; nor could even those stricter Presbyterians be safe who had begun to avoid liturgical worship in the parish churches. In short, there was wide consternation. The London Independents hastened to publish a collective manifesto, signed by twenty-five of their ministers, among whom were Thomas Goodwin, Philip

Nye, Joseph Caryl, and John Oxenbridge, declaring their abhorrence of Venner's rebellion, and of Fifth-Monarchy principles, and their loyalty to the King and his government; the Baptists put forth a similar document, signed by about thirty-five of their chief ministers; and George Fox and others, besides publishing "A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers against all sedition, plotters, and fighters in the world," presented a direct address to his Majesty, in which they told him that, even as it was, there were 400 men and women of their persuasion then in prison in London, and above 1000 more in country jails, and implored him not to stop their meetings. The benefit was to be little or nothing. From the date of Venner's insurrection, what small respect there had been for the promise of liberty of conscience and worship in the King's Breda Declaration ceased altogether, and it became evident that not only was there to be no comprehension for Presbyterians within the established Church, but also no toleration for any religionists whatsoever out of that Church. The passion for suppressing conventicles and hunting down itinerant or unordained preachers of all denominations spread from the central authority to all local authorities; and soon the silenced or imprisoned Baptist preachers, in addition to the Quakers, were to be counted by scores. John Bunyan, however, was not one of the victims of Venner's insurrection. His turn had come already. He had been arrested, by warrant of a Bedfordshire justice, in November 1660, and had been lying in Bedford jail for two months before Venner's exploit[1].

And now, in the midst of the consequences of the Venner riot, there came round the anniversary of King Charles the Martyr. The 30th of January that year fell on a Wednesday. The sermons and prayers on the day, the humiliations and the exultations, may be imagined. But the grandest ceremony was in London. The order of the two Houses for disinterring

[1] Mrs. Green's Calendar of State Papers for 1660—1, pp. 470—471 et seq.; Neal, IV. 320—325; Philip's Life of Bunyan, 273 (where there is Bunyan's own account of his arrest).

the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, had been procured with a view to this day especially. Save that the body of Pride, which had not been buried in Westminster Abbey, but in a country churchyard, was left undisturbed at the request of Monk, the order was executed most punctually. It is best to quote the contemporary newspaper account. "This day, Jan. 30 (we need say no more, but name the day "of the month), was doubly observed,—not only by a solemn "fast, sermons, and prayers, in every parish church, for the "precious blood of our late pious sovereign King Charles the "First, of ever glorious memory, but also by publicly dragging "those odious carcases of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, and "John Bradshaw, to Tyburn. On Monday night Cromwell "and Ireton, in two several carts, were drawn to Holborn from "Westminster, where they were digged up on Saturday last; "and the next morning Bradshaw. To-day they were drawn "upon sledges to Tyburn. All the way (as before from "Westminster), the universal outcry and curses of the people "went along with them. When the three carcases were at "Tyburn, they were pulled out of their coffins, and hanged at "the several angles of that triple tree,—where they hung till "the sun was set; after which they were taken down, and "their heads cut off, and their loathsome trunks thrown into "a deep hole under the gallows." Pepys was not one of the multitude that went to see the sight,—of which indeed he rather disapproved; but he went to Lady Batten's in the evening to meet his young wife and her ladyship after they had returned from the pleasure [1].

The heads of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were at once set up, by the common hangman, on poles on the top of Westminster Hall, that of Bradshaw in the middle [2]. There they were to remain for years and years, people looking up at them for a while with whatever thoughts might be convenient, and soon with no thoughts at all, and the heads themselves looking down, with their empty eye-sockets, on

[1] *Mercurius Publicus* of Jan. 24—31, 1660—1; Noble's Regicides (Article, *Pride*); Pepys and Evelyn of date, with Pepys of Dec. 4, 1660.

[2] *Mercurius Publicus* of Jan. 31—Feb. 7, 1660–1.

what was passing underneath. As there was to be little of much importance in London till the coronation of his Majesty, we shall change the scene till then for Ireland and Scotland.

At the Restoration the Lord-Lieutenancy of IRELAND was one of the honours that had been heaped on Monk. It was nominal merely; and the actual administration of Ireland remained in the hands of such resident officials, formerly serving under the Lord-Lieutenancy of Henry Cromwell, as had accommodated themselves to the change of times. Of these the two chief were Lord Broghill, President of Munster, and Sir Charles Coote, President of Connaught. No sooner had the King's Breda letters been read in the Convention Parliament, and the Restoration made certain, than the opinion of these and of other official persons in Ireland as to what would be best for that country in the new state of things was made known to the Convention Parliament by commissioners sent over for the purpose. It was hoped that the two Houses would concur in a request to his Majesty to revert to the old practice, and let Ireland have a Protestant Parliament of her own. To this the two Houses agreed on the 12th of May.—Thus, before his Majesty had set foot in England, it had been resolved that England and Ireland should no longer be tied together, as during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, but that Ireland should rebound into her old condition as a separate dependency of the Crown. Accordingly, from that date there is hardly a mention of Ireland in the journals of the English Convention Parliament[1].

There was no danger of revolt in Ireland, if there were any ordinary good management. The Cromwellian rule had expelled all that was most furious and formidable of the relics of the native Roman Catholic confederacy, had enclosed the most considerable part of the remaining Roman Catholic population within the single province of Connaught, and had poured into the island such numbers of soldierly and civilian colonists of English or Scottish birth, Presbyterians, Inde-

[1] Clarendon, 1005 and 1025; Lords and Commons Journals of May 8—12, 1660.

pendents, Anabaptists, or sectaries of rarer sorts, that these, with the older English settlers, and the Ulster Presbyterian Scots, formed one vast land-owning garrison, overwhelming the native Irish element in three of the provinces, and watching and governing it in the fourth. Now that the Ludlows, the Axtells, and other Regicide Republicans, were out of the island, the difficulty for Charles was not in having to reduce any part of the country or any class of its inhabitants to allegiance. His difficulty was in settling in any tolerable manner the claims that the various portions of the population might have upon him respectively. These claims conflicted so among themselves as to be utterly irreconcilable. There were, first, the Roman Catholics, and especially those of them that had fought for his father and himself, and been true to their cause. Were such of these "innocent Roman Catholics" as had been deprived by the Commonwealth and Cromwell of their lands in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, and forced to accept a pitiful equivalent in Connaught, to be denied the restoration of their lands? Yet how could these be now restored? They were in possession of English and Scottish colonists who had paid for them or purchased them by military service. Could these, or the persons to whom these had conveyed their lands, be turned out? That would have been a revolution ruinous in itself. "Within little more "than two years," says Clarendon, speaking of Cromwell's rule in Ireland, the country had been settled "to that degree "of perfection that there were many buildings raised for "beauty as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of "trees, and raising fences and enclosures throughout the "kingdom, purchases made by one from the other at very "valuable rates, and jointures made upon marriages, and all "other conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom "at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of "the validity of titles." Even had it been possible, no king, no statesman, could seriously disturb such a state of things. But it was *not* possible. It was the possession of these lands, and the hope that they would possess them still, that had turned so many that were Presbyterians, or former Common-

wealth's men and Oliverians, into loyal King's men now; and let their possession be disturbed, let there be but a sign that it might be disturbed, and thousands now ranking as King's men in Ireland would drop that character and start up as fighting ironsides. In the main, Oliver's settlement of Ireland must be ratified, whatever devices of partial redress might be invented for the dispossessed old Royalists and Roman Catholics. There was yet, however, a farther complication of the problem. Among the adventurers for Irish lands there were a good many who had adventured as Royalists, had paid a moiety of their subscriptions while Charles I. was still sovereign of Ireland, but had voluntarily lost the benefit of their investment by refusing to pay more when the Independents and Republicans came into the ascendant. Were these, whose money in part had gone to help Charles, to have no consideration or allowance? Altogether, the calculation was that, if the whole of Ireland, with its 7,500,000 of Irish acres of good land, and 3,000,000 Irish acres of bog, moor, and lake, were sold three or four times over at fair market price, the proceeds would not satisfy all the claims upon it among the million and a-half or two millions of mixed Roman Catholics and Protestants that formed the population [1].

With this vast problem looming upon Charles, it was thought best to be in no hurry to call an Irish Parliament. In fact, no such Parliament did meet till May 8, 1661; and in the interim Ireland was left very much to herself. Monk's nominal Lord-Lieutenancy was rather inconvenient, inasmuch as it prevented the reinstalment in that office of its former holder, the Marquis of Ormond, the supreme and fittest Irishman. As Monk clung to the dignity, however, on account of interests of his own in Ireland, the arrangement had been that Lord Roberts, a Cornishman, of "more than ordinary parts," though of "sullen and morose" temper and Presbyterian opinions, should be Lord Deputy under him. It was intended that Roberts should go to Ireland for the actual exercise of his office; but, until he should do so, he

[1] Clarendon, 1025—1029; Hallam, III. 394—397.

was virtually the minister for Irish affairs in his Majesty's Council at Whitehall. Hyde did not interfere in any direct manner in the Irish department, leaving Roberts, with advice from Ormond and Annesley, to receive and study the applications that continued to pour in from all the Irish parties and interests. So much progress had been made in this work before November 1660 that his Majesty was able to issue a Declaration on the 30th of that month, indicating generally his will respecting Ireland. The adventurers and Cromwellian soldiers were substantially to be confirmed in their estates; but there were to be various measures of compensation for the "innocent Roman Catholics," after farther investigation of claims; and a number of persons of signal merit mentioned by name, among whom were thirty-five of the old Irish nobility and gentry, were to be restored at once to their estates without farther trouble of proof. Then, in December 1660, Lord Broghill, now raised to the dignity of Earl of Orrery in the Irish peerage, and Sir Charles Coote, created at the same time Earl of Mountrath, were conjoined as Lords Justices of Ireland with Sir Maurice Eustace, an old and valued friend of Ormond's, who had been appointed to the Irish Chancellorship two months before. It was to be their business to enforce the oaths of allegiance and supremacy throughout Ireland, to mature questions of claims for the consideration of the coming Irish Parliament, and meanwhile to carry out his Majesty's Declaration[1].

The ecclesiastical settlement of Ireland was easier than the civil. It had been decided, of course, to restore the Irish Episcopal Church. Of the old Irish bishops there were still alive John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, Thomas Fulwar, Bishop of Ardfert, Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory, Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down and Connor, Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore, and William Bayly, Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh. These seven, most of them of English or Scottish birth, were regarded as still in legal possession of their sees; but there were the four Irish archbishoprics

[1] Clarendon, 1030—1031; Carte's Life of Ormond, II. 200—221. The dates are from Carte; Clarendon never gives any.

and twelve other Irish bishoprics to be filled up. As early as August 1660 the designations for these had been made, including that of Bramhall, for his merits and sufferings, to the Irish primacy or archbishopric of Armagh, vacant since Usher's death in 1655. As it was thought unseemly, however, that the formal reconstitution of the Irish Episcopate should precede that of the English, it was not till January 1661, when the English Episcopate was nearly complete, that the composition of the Irish was fully made public. On the 27th of that month there was a great consecration of new prelates in St. Patrick's, Dublin, by Bramhall and the other survivors; and, an addition or two having been made immediately afterwards, with re-arrangements of one or two of the sees, the Irish Episcopate then stood as follows:—

Province of Ulster:—1. *Archbishop of Armagh:* John Bramhall, translated from Derry (Yorkshireman). 2. *B. of Clogher:* Henry Jones, holding since 1645 (Irish). 3. *B. of Meath:* Henry Leslie, appointed Jan. 18, 1660–1 (Scotch). 4. *B. of Kilmore and Ardagh:* Robert Maxwell, holding from 1643 (Scotch). 5. *B. of Down and Connor:* Jeremy Taylor, appointed Jan. 19, 1660–1 (English). He was already Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin, under Ormond's Chancellorship; and both in that office and in his Bishopric he distinguished himself by his activity. Carte, describing the diocese of Down and Connor as the most infested of all with Scottish Covenanters and other "virulent and clamorous" sectaries, speaks of Taylor's wise and patient dealings with such; but in Scotland the rumour was how "one Taylor, made a bishop, did tyrannize over honest ministers, so that he deposed all the Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland, the most part whereof were Scotsmen." We may suppose that Taylor, though mild, was resolute. 6. *B. of Dromore:* Robert Leslie, appointed Jan. 19, 1660–1 (Scotch). 7. *B. of Derry:* George Wylde, appointed Jan. 22, 1660–1 (English). 8. *B. of Raphoe:* John Leslie, holding since 1633 (Scotch).

Province of Leinster:—1. *Archbishop of Dublin:* James Margetson, appointed Jan. 25, 1660–1 (English). 2. *B. of Kildare:* Thomas Price, appointed March 6, 1660–1 (Welsh). 3. *B. of Ossory:* Griffith Williams, holding since 1641 (Welsh). 4. *B. of Ferns and Leighlin:* Robert Price, appointed Jan. 25, 1660–1 (Welsh).

Province of Munster:—1. *Archbishop of Cashel:* Thomas Fulwar, translated from Ardfert, Feb. 1, 1660–1 (English). 2. *B. of Waterford and Lismore:* George Baker, appointed Jan. 19, 1660–1

(Irish). 3. *B. of Cork and Ross:* Michael Boyle, appointed Jan. 22, 1660–1 (Irish). 4. *B. of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe:* Edward Synge, appointed Jan. 19, 1660–1 (English). 5. *B. of Killaloe:* Edward Worth, appointed Jan. 19, 1660–1 (Irish). 6. *B. of Kilfenora:* now annexed, *in commendam*, to the Archbishopric of Tuam.

Province of Connaught:—1. *Archbishop of Tuam:* Samuel Pulleyn, appointed Jan. 19, 1660–1, with the Bishopric of Kilfenora *in commendam* (English). 2. *B. of Killala and Achonry:* Henry Hall, appointed Jan. 19, 1660–1 (English). 3. *B. of Elphin:* John Parker, appointed Jan. 19, 1660–1 (Irish). 4. *B. of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh:* William Bayly, holding since 1644 (Scotch)[1].

For Scotland also the Restoration was a dissolution of her recent political connexion with England. Indeed, among the various causes of rejoicing in Scotland over the Restoration, not the least was the hope among the Scottish aristocracy and clergy of getting back their ancient little nationality, and their old Scottish laws, and of having Parliaments, and all the other apparatus of independent government, once more in Edinburgh.

Whether all the Scots shared this feeling may be doubted. Clarendon, after describing the "prodigious mutation and transformation" in Scotland that had been effected by the introduction there of English law and equity by Cromwell's English judges, says that the submission to the same by the Scots had been most profound, and that "it might well be a question whether the generality of the nation was not better contented" with the system of things established by Cromwell than with the prospect of a "return to the old road of subjection." Nor was the union of Scotland and England one of those achievements of Cromwell which Hyde himself wanted to see undone. "But the King," he says, "would not build according "to Cromwell's models, and had many reasons to continue "Scotland within its own limits and bounds and sole de- "pendence upon himself, rather than unite it to England." In short, the re-severance of Scotland from England was a necessity of the Restoration, which Hyde had to accept[2].

[1] Compiled from Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*, with references (for Jeremy Taylor) to Carte, II. 208—9, and *Life of Robert Blair* (Wodrow Society), p. 384.

[2] Clarendon, 1020—1021.

The preliminary arrangements for the future of Scotland, however, were made in London. Naturally it was between the King himself and such of the Scottish nobility as were now gathered round him that those arrangements were first contrived. The Earl of Lauderdale was there, radiant and boisterous in the glory of his recent release from his long imprisonment since the Battle of Worcester, a kind of stubborn Scottish Presbyterian still, but so demonstrative in his Royalism that he could never refer to the former Presbyterian parts of his career, from his membership of the Westminster Assembly onwards to 1648, without abasing himself to the ground and using the phrases "when I was a traitor," "when I was in rebellion." The Earl of Crawford was there, "still a zealous Presbyterian," whose chief recommendation to the King was that, like Lauderdale, he had been at Worcester and had suffered in consequence. Crawford's son-in-law, the Earl of Rothes, was there, the son of that Earl of Rothes who had been the leader of the opposition to Charles I. and Laud in Scotland from 1633 to 1640, and the foremost of the original Scottish Covenanters. Despite that parentage, the present Earl, though "very agreeable to the King", not without ability, and with the credit also of having been one of the captives from Worcester, was notorious chiefly, says Burnet, for having "freed himself from all impressions of virtue or religion, of honour or good nature," and for being able to see "two or three sets of drunkards" dead drunk under the table one after another, any number of nights in succession, without being visibly disordered himself. The Earl of Tweeddale was there, rather ashamed of having been of late a Cromwellian, but educated by that connexion into carelessness of ecclesiastical forms. The Earl of Selkirk was there, a younger son of the Roman Catholic Marquis of Douglas, but no longer a Roman Catholic himself, having married the heiress of James, Duke of Hamilton, now Duchess of Hamilton in her own right, and having thus, by Scottish custom, entitled himself to be called Duke of Hamilton. Among the others, two may be mentioned together as the most strenuously opposed to that policy of indulgence for Presbyterianism in

Scotland which was advocated by Lauderdale and Crawford. These were William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, who had kept alive the King's cause so boldly in the Highlands after the disaster of Worcester, and his more soldierly associate for a while in that enterprise, General John Middleton, now made Earl of Middleton, in reward for his long services and exile. Both were of the Cavalier order of politicians, caring nothing for Presbytery, and desiring rather to see Scotland forced into Episcopacy, if such should be the King's will.— From among so many eminent Scots in London there was no difficulty in forming the beginnings of a Scottish Ministry and Privy Council. Middleton, as the supreme man, was designated as the King's High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament when it should meet; Glencairn was made Chancellor of Scotland; the Earl of Crawford became Scottish Lord Treasurer; Lauderdale was made Scottish Secretary of State; and Sir Archibald Primrose, an astute lawyer, who had been Clerk of the Scottish Privy Council in the days of Charles I., and had adjusted himself carefully to all turns of fortune since, was made Lord Clerk-Register or Keeper of the Rolls. These five were the Scottish junto of chiefs, round whom the other Scots at hand were grouped in London. It was agreed, however, that the Council should have an English ingredient; and, accordingly, Hyde, the Earl of Southampton, Monk, Ormond, Manchester, and Secretary Nicholas, were associated with the Scottish councillors, and might be present at their meetings with the King. Such meetings had begun in June 1660, and in July they seem to have been pretty frequent.

While they are meeting in Whitehall, English and Scots together, for the consideration of Scottish affairs, who is this that comes knocking at the door? Actually the Marquis of Argyle. He had come all the way from Scotland in consequence of some hint from his son Lord Lorne, then already in London and much about his Majesty, that his Majesty would not object to receiving him among the rest. Better had he blown himself up in his castle at Inverary, or tried to escape across the Atlantic in the craziest

boat from Campbellton beach. Yet his appearance might well put them in a flutter. Though now sixty-two years of age, and wearing still that grim-favoured visage in which, "by the ill-placing of his eyes, he did not appear with any great advantage at first sight," he was worth, for depth of brain, more than Lauderdale, Glencairn, and Middleton put together; and, had he been granted a place at the Council Board, who knows what service to Scotland it was in the heart and in the power of the much-experienced, much-dejected man to render even yet? But not even for half an hour would Charles put himself again under the influence of that cool and strong intellect, that subtle tongue, and those many other spells, "gay and pleasant humour" not wanting on occasion, which had made Argyle rather his master than his mere minister in the time of his Covenanted Kingship in Scotland ten years ago. It needed little, therefore, to instruct Charles as to the reception to be given to his old friend. It was on Sunday the 8th of July that Argyle waited, in the presence-chamber at Whitehall, for the King's answer to his request for an interview. The answer sent out was an order for carrying him straight to the Tower.

Argyle thus disposed of, the Whitehall consultations about Scottish affairs went on without him. Orders were sent to Major-General Morgan, deputy for Monk in Scotland, and meanwhile keeping the peace there with some of Monk's old regiments, for the arrest of Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, Sir John Chiesly, and Sir James Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh. There was also to be arrested in Scotland a Captain William Govan, rumoured to have been on the scaffold at Whitehall when Charles was beheaded. Another Scottish victim was found in London itself. This was Sir John Swinton of Swinton, Cromwell's favourite Scot next to Lockhart, and one of the chiefs of the Scottish government during the Protectorate. He had recently embraced Quakerism, and he was captured in a Quaker's house in King Street, Westminster, on the 20th of July. On the 2nd of August a royal proclamation was sent to Edinburgh, to be published at the market-cross, convoking those that survived of the old

Committee of Estates which had been nominated by Charles and his last Scottish Parliament in 1651, and entrusting to that body in Edinburgh the management of affairs till there should be a regular meeting of Parliament [1].

The revived Committee of Estates met in Edinburgh on the 23rd of August. The Earl of Glencairn, who had come from London for the purpose, presided as Chancellor, and there were present nine other nobles, ten lairds or lesser barons, and ten burgesses. It was from the proceedings of this body that the people of Scotland were to gather their first ideas of what had been resolved in London respecting them and their affairs.

The arrests of Argyle and Swinton in London, and of Chiesly, Stewart, and Govan in Edinburgh, after Warriston had contrived to escape to Hamburg, had made it evident that, whatever grace and indemnity for past offences there might be for the Scots generally, there were to be some exceptions. It might have been easily guessed from what class of the community these would chiefly be. They were the *Protesters* or *Remonstrants*. Whoever, in 1650 or since, had been a conspicuous Protester, and especially whoever had passed beyond the ranks of the Protesters to accept office in Scotland or in England under Cromwell, might expect to be called to account. Accordingly, on the very first day of the meeting of the Committee of Estates, the Protesters had this lesson sharply read to them. Most inopportunely, Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, the chief of the Protesters, had arranged a meeting that day with nine other ministers from various parts of Scotland, and two elders, in a private house in Edinburgh, for the purpose of expressing their views in a humble address and supplication to the King. The document, which had been already drafted, was full of congratulations to the King and professions of loyalty to him, but, for the rest, was a remonstrance, in the name of the Covenant, and in a dull and stupid ultra-Presbyterian strain, not only against any restoration of Prelacy or Liturgy any-

[1] Clarendon, 1021—1025; Burnet, I. 173—191; Wodrow's *History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* (1721), I. 3—6 and 42.

where in his Majesty's dominions, but also against the toleration of any non-Presbyterian sects whatever. The twelve Protesters, with this supplication before them, were in a room near the meeting-place of the Committee of Estates, and were drafting letters to be sent to their Protester brethren over the country, inviting them to a general meeting in Glasgow to adopt the Supplication, when officers from the Committee of Estates broke in among them and took them and their papers into custody. They were committed to Edinburgh Castle the same day (Aug. 23), and there was much excitement in the town[1].

Through September, October, and November, the chief activity of the Committee of Estates was still in summoning, imprisoning, or otherwise disabling, selected offenders throughout the country. The provost of Glasgow, the town-clerk of Glasgow, and Mr. Patrick Gillespie, the Cromwellian principal of the University of Glasgow, were among the first arrested; after whom were Mr. William Wishart, minister of Kinneil, Mr. Robert Row, minister of Abercorn, the Cromwellian Provost Jaffray of Aberdeen, Mr. John Dickson, minister of Rutherglen, Mr. James Naismith, minister of Hamilton, Mr. James Simpson, minister of Airth, and many more. On the 19th of September there was a proclamation for the suppression of all copies of Mr. James Guthrie's Protesting manifesto of 1651 called *The Causes of God's Wrath*, and of all copies of Samuel Rutherford's political treatise of 1644 called *Lex Rex;* and in the following month copies of both books were burnt in Edinburgh by the hangman. On the 20th of September there was a proclamation against the Protesters and their principles collectively, forbidding all meetings in that interest, and all speech, preaching, or writing in memory or justification of the "seditious and treasonable" sentiments of the *Remonstrance* of 1650. On the 10th of October there was a decree of fugitation or outlawry against Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, Colonel Gilbert Ker, Colonel David Barclay, John Hume, Robert Andrew, and

[1] Wodrow, I. 7—9, and Appendix, Nos. II. and III.

William Dundas, all in the class of Protesters double-dyed into Cromwellians[1].

Johnstone of Warriston was the fugitive whose escape was most vexing to the authorities. He and Argyle were to have been doomed in chief together. From among the rest it was difficult to say yet with whom it would fare hardest; but the odds were greatly against Swinton of Swinton, and the two clerical arch-Protesters, Guthrie and Gillespie. But, indeed, no one knew how many here and there over the country, besides those already imprisoned, might yet be put in jeopardy. Not only had Rutherford's book been burnt, both in Edinburgh and St. Andrews, but, having been deprived of his St. Andrews principalship, he had been summoned to Edinburgh personally; and, though he had been excused meanwhile, on certificates that he was too ill to move, and indeed a dying man, he might expect farther trouble till he did die. So with Andrew Cant of Aberdeen and others[2].

While it was abundantly evident that the Protester variety of Presbyterianism was to be put down in Scotland, there was no sign as yet but that Scotland might still enjoy a moderate Presbyterianism, with the Westminster Assembly's standards, and perhaps even the Covenants. This, at all events, was the hope of the great body of the Resolutioner clergy. They had been observing the proceedings against the Protesters without much displeasure, though certainly with no desire of extreme or very severe punishment for Argyle, Warriston, Guthrie, Gillespie, or any other of the prisoners, unless it might perhaps be Quaker Swinton, for whom, as an avowed sectary of the worst sort, no proper Presbyterian could have much pity. But O that it could be made positively certain that, however it might be thought necessary to deal with the Protesters and other culprits, the national Presbyterian Church was to be preserved entire and intact! Our friend Baillie will here again be the best representative of the Resolutioners.

Baillie had been dreadfully shocked at first by the news from London that Episcopacy was to be fully restored in

[1] Wodrow, I. 10—12, and Appendix Nos. V. and VI.

[2] Baillie, III. 447; Life of Robert Blair, 365—366; Wodrow, I. 77—78.

England. On the 16th of June he had expressed himself on the subject in a letter to his old associate the Earl of Lauderdale, the first he had written to that nobleman since two or three he had addressed to him in the Tower in 1653 and 1654. "Is the service-book read in the King's chapel?" Baillie had there asked. "Has the Bishop of Ely—I hear "Dr. Wren, the worst bishop of our age after Dr. Laud— "preached there? Has the House of Lords passed an order "for the service-book? Oh! where are we so soon? Is our 'Covenant with England turned to Harry Marten's almanack? "Is the solemn oath of the Lords and Commons, assembled "in Parliament, subscribed so oft by their hands, to eradicate "bishops, turned all to wind?" The letter is in the same strain throughout. He could never have dreamed, he says, that the English Presbyterians and Covenanters, especially those of London and Lancashire, would so easily have re-admitted liturgy and episcopacy; and the wrath of God, he was sure, would follow "so hideous a breach" of the Covenant.—It is clear that, at the date of this letter, Baillie regarded the cause of Presbytery as wholly gone in England, but that, in the midst of his grief over that calamity, he could not believe that there would be any attempt to deprive Scotland of *her* Presbyterianism, or such virtue as she might still find, for her particular purposes, in the Scottish Covenant of 1638, or even in the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, if that were treated no longer as an international bond. And this is exactly the view of the case which Mr. James Sharp had been inculcating on the Resolutioners in his letters from Breda and the Hague, and now from London, where he remained about the King as the agent for the Kirk. He had talked with his Majesty again and again on the subject; and not only had his Majesty surprised him by the freshness of his memory "as to all things in Scotland," proved by his inquiries about this person and that by name, but there had been repeated assurances from his Majesty of his desire to preserve Scottish Presbytery. Thus, on the 12th of June, Sharp could write, "He was pleased last week to say to me, before General Monk, that he would preserve our Religion, as it was

settled in Scotland, entirely to us;" and again, on the 14th of June, reporting a conversation of that very day, "He was "pleased again to profess that he was resolved to preserve to us "the discipline and government of our Church, as it is settled "among us." To Mr. Douglas and the other Resolutioner ministers in Edinburgh these reports from Sharp were consoling. Like Baillie in Glasgow, they were grieved with the account of affairs in England, and they seem to have thought that Sharp might have exerted himself more in behalf of English Presbytery, if only by way of due exoneration of his own conscience and theirs in a matter practically hopeless; but they were very thankful that all was to be so well in Scotland. "He is gifted to his people in return of their prayers" five of them say of his Majesty in a joint letter to Sharp, intended for his Majesty's eye; "and their "expectations are fixed on him as the man of God's right hand, "who will refresh the hearts of all lovers of Zion." Not even yet, it will be seen, had the best and most conscientious of the Resolutioner clergy recovered aught of the old Presbyterian manliness of Knox, Melville, and Henderson, or risen above sycophancy and cant[1].

There was confirmation of the hopes of the Resolutioners when, on the 31st of August 1660, Mr. Sharp arrived from London in person, bringing with him a letter from his Majesty addressed to Mr. Douglas, to be communicated by him to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and by that Presbytery to all the other Presbyteries of the kingdom. The letter, which was dated Aug. 10 and countersigned by Secretary Lauderdale, was probably of Sharp's penning. It acknowledged his Majesty's satisfaction with the information he had received as to the behaviour and dispositions of the Edinburgh clergy and "the generality of the ministers of Scotland" in the present time of trial. "And," it proceeded, "because

[1] Baillie, III. 405—407; Wodrow, Introduction, xxv.—xlix (dated extracts from Sharp's Letters). It is curious to observe how, not only in Baillie's notion at the time (p. 447), but also in Wodrow's as late as 1721 (p. 6), the Quakerism of Swinton seems to have put him justly beyond forgiveness. "Quakerism," says Wodrow, commenting on Swinton's case, "is but a small remove from Popery and Jesuitism."

"such who, by the countenance of usurpers, have disturbed "the peace of that our Church, may also labour to create "jealousies in the minds of well-meaning people, We have "thought fit by this to assure you that, by the grace of God, "We resolve to discountenance profanity, and all contemners "and opposers of the ordinances of the Gospel. We do also "resolve to protect and preserve the government of the "Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without viola-"tion, and to countenance in the due exercise of their "functions all such ministers who shall behave themselves "dutifully and peacefully, as becomes men of their calling." It was also promised that the Acts of the General Assembly of 1651 at St. Andrews and Dundee, acknowledged by the Resolutioners but held invalid by the Protesters, should be "owned and stand in force meanwhile," and that another General Assembly should be called soon, in preparation for which his Majesty would send for Mr. Douglas and some other ministers to give him their best advice[1].

His Majesty's letter of August 10, 1660, to the presbyteries and people of Scotland, was a deliberate equivocation. Our authority for so strong a statement is Clarendon. There is a very elaborate passage in his *Continuation of his Life* in which he gives an account of a debate there had been in the Scottish Privy Council in Whitehall, the King, Hyde himself, Monk, and others of the English lords of that Council being present, on the question whether it should be part of Middleton's instructions, in his capacity of High Commissioner for the King in the coming Scottish Parliament, to move at once for the abolition of Presbytery and the setting up of Episcopacy. The story is as follows:— Middleton moved earnestly in the meeting that he might begin at once in Parliament with an Act rescinding the Covenant and all other Presbyterian Acts and institutions in Scotland, "and then proceed to the erecting of bishops in that kingdom." Glencairn, Rothes, and "all the rest" of the Scots present, concurred, with the single exception of Lauderdale. For himself, Lauderdale professed now to abominate

[1] Wodrow, I. 13.

the Covenant, to have contracted the highest reverence for Episcopacy, and to desire to see it established in Scotland very soon; but he thought it would be fatal to make the attempt in the first session of the Parliament. The Covenant was the idol of Scotland; his Majesty himself, from his experience of the temper of the Scots and the power of their kirkmen, must know how cautiously the ecclesiastical question ought to be approached among them, and how desirable it was that Presbytery should be left intact in that part of his dominions till Episcopacy should be in full operation in the rest. He moved, therefore, that Middleton should not only receive no such instructions as he wanted, but should be restrained by express direction from stirring the Episcopacy question till farther order. "Many particulars in this discourse, confidently urged," says Clarendon, "and with more advantage of elocution than the fatness of his tongue, that ever filled his mouth, usually was attended with, seemed reasonable to many." Charles himself hesitated, and Monk inclined to Lauderdale's opinion. But Middleton and the other Scottish lords were firm to their point. Privately they knew that Lauderdale, though now disclaiming the Covenant and Presbytery, was at heart as Presbyterian, as anti-Episcopal, as ever; but, without divulging that, they argued that Lauderdale had been so long out of Scotland that his knowledge of the state of feeling in that country was nothing in comparison with theirs. They undertook that Episcopacy could be established in Scotland without difficulty; and they hoped his Majesty "would not choose to do his business by halves." And so, Hyde and the other English counsellors agreeing with this view, no restraint was put upon Middleton, and the conduct of the Kirk-question in the Parliament was to be left to his own prudence and discretion.—Actually this secret decision and the King's public letter to the contrary were contemporaneous. But *was* the King's letter to the contrary? "We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland *as it is settled by law*," was the phrase in the letter; and did not the last words save all? As law might be now interpreted, was not

Episcopacy still the legal establishment in Scotland, and was not Presbytery but an illegal interposition of two-and-twenty years? True, there were other phrases in the letter which seemed to certify to the Scots that only Presbyterianism could be meant. What then? Was not the equivocal wording of public documents a part of legitimate state-craft all over the world? Middleton by no means liked this view of things. He was a soldier, and wanted to be straightforward. "For "his share," he said, "he did not love that way which made "his Majesty's first appearance in Scotland to be in a cheat." The equivocation which Middleton disliked must have been the invention of Sharp and Lauderdale. It has to be said for Lauderdale, however, that he hoped yet to trip up Middleton and the Episcopal party in the Scottish Council by some ingenuity or other, and so, by saving Scottish Presbyterianism, to save perhaps the King's word along with it. He had enormous faith in his own red head, or, as Buckingham called it, his "blundering understanding." The traitor Sharp, on the other hand, walked softly in decent black, knowing all, but not bound to explain himself[1].

Through the months of September, October, and November, the King's letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh was in circulation through Scotland. Passive waiting and hoping for the best was all that was then left. It was something to know, from proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 1st of November, that Parliament was to meet on the 12th of December, superseding the temporary Committee of Estates. On the 10th of December, by farther proclamation, the day was postponed to Jan. 1. Early in December the Marquis of Argyle and Swinton of Swinton were brought from London by sea, to be tried by this Parliament. Argyle was conveyed through the streets to Edinburgh castle, and Swinton, with his hat taken off, to the tolbooth.

[1] Clarendon, 1023—1025; Wodrow, I. 14; Burnet, I. 173—175, 184—185, and 189—191. Burnet, who knew Lauderdale well, and gives him the character of "the coldest friend and violentest enemy" he ever knew, vouches that "he was in his principles much against Popery and arbitrary government," a zealot for Scottish independence, and so much of a Presbyterian that he "retained his aversion to King Charles I. and his party to his death."

A peculiarly unfortunate incident of the same time, remarked as ominous, was the loss of that mass of the old records of the Scottish kingdom which had been taken to London in 1651, after the conquest of the kingdom by Cromwell and Monk. These, packed in "107 hogsheads, 12 chests, 5 trunks, and 4 barrels," had been lying in the Tower, and had been made over to Sir Archibald Primrose, the Scottish clerk-register, for re-transportation to Scotland. Hyde having suggested that they should be first examined, in order to the abstraction of any papers unpleasantly commemorating the King's Presbyterian professions in Scotland in 1650–1, the despatch of them had been delayed till winter. Then, very carelessly, they were sent by sea, on board a frigate called *The Eagle*, commanded by a Major Fletcher. A storm coming on, the frigate could not manage such a cargo; and, as the only alternative that occurred to Major Fletcher was to throw the greater part of the records overboard or transfer a quantity of them to another vessel, eighty-five of the hogsheads were transferred from the frigate, in Yarmouth Roads, to a wretched ship of Burntisland, called *The Elizabeth*, the master of which, a John Wemyss, was compelled to receive them against his will. On her voyage north, still in the storm, this ship sprang a leak; partly because of the unusual nature of the cargo, the place of the leak could not be discovered; the ship went down, somewhere off Berwick, on the 18th of December; and there, under the water to this day, reduced to pulp or nothing, lie eighty-five hogsheads of old Scottish history.

Mr. James Sharp, who ought to have been interested in Scottish history, and especially in means of oblivion for it, must have heard of the foundering of the ship. Since his return to Scotland in August, he had been hovering between Fifeshire and Edinburgh, everywhere with the assurance that, but for mismanagement, Scottish Presbytery was safe. The demeanour of the man and his words had by this time roused suspicions among his best friends. "James, God help you!" writes Baillie significantly to him, in a letter of Dec. 17. No bishopric or archbishopric could have tempted honest Baillie; but he did not object to the principalship of

Glasgow University, in succession to his bitterest personal enemy, the Protester and Cromwellian Gillespie, now removed. Lauderdale, with Sharp assisting, had obtained the King's promise of that place for Baillie some months ago [1].

"By letters from Edinburgh we understand that, since the "Marquis of Argyle was close prisoner and Laird Swinton in "the Tolbooth, a general face of joy and delight is all over that "place. So many coaches and persons appear in Edinburgh "since his Majesty's happy return and these Lords' commit-"ment as have not in many years been seen in that city; "and the Parliament, no question, is as free as the city, the "members thereof being such as the people chose for their "good affection to their king and country [2]." Such was the announcement in the London newspapers of the ceremonious opening of the Scottish Parliament by Lord High Commissioner Middleton on Tuesday, the 1st of January 1661 [3]. It may be doubted whether it conveyed to any English mind the least idea of what the actual Scottish Parliament was.

Under the name of The Three Estates, it comprehended the body of the Scottish nobility, together with representative

[1] Life of Robert Blair, 361—369; Wodrow, I. 18; Burnet, I. 188—189; Mrs. Green's Calendar of State Papers, 1660—1, pp. 260, 402, and 419; Baillie, III. 411—413 and 417—418; Acts of Exoneration to Major Fletcher and Skipper Wemyss for the loss of the Scottish Records, in the printed Acts of the Scottish Parliament of 1661.—There *had* been a very careful examination of the hogsheads of Scottish records before shipping them back to Scotland, and this chiefly in order to abstract and detain that copy of the Covenant which Charles had signed in Scotland, and other papers verifying his or his father's concessions to Scottish Presbytery. The person on whom the trouble of the search was imposed was William Ryley, Clerk of the Records in the Tower (ante Vol. V. p. 287). In a letter of his, of date Sept. 7, 1660, he speaks of having had his accounts checked by Sir John Robinson, Keeper of the Tower, and the two Scottish Lords, Middleton and Newburgh. He had been "highly commended" by them "*for finding the Covenant*," and told that it should be "burnt by the hangman." On his saying that Lord Lauderdale would be displeased, "they said it mattered not if "it were hanged about his neck, if he "favoured it, and that the Book of "Common Prayer would soon be settled "in Scotland." On the same day there was a warrant to Ryley "to deliver to Secretary Nicholas *four volumes of papers and records at present in his custody relating to the transactions of the Parliaments of Scotland from May* 15, 1639 to *March* 8, 1651." Ryley had then received nothing for his labour of search; for on the 19th of December he is found petitioning the King for "such a reward, out of the excise office or elsewhere, as he thinks fitting for the extraordinary pains and charge of examining, as ordered, 107 hogsheads, 12 chests," &c. (*Mrs. Green's Calendar, of dates*). The day before Ryley's petition for his reward the Records were at the bottom of the sea.

[2] *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, Dec. 31, 1660—Jan. 7, 1660–1.

[3] The Scotch then reckoned New Year's Day as we do still; in England the dating would have been Jan. 1, 1660, or Jan. 1, 1660–1.

lairds or lesser barons at the rate of two sent in by the lairds of each shire, and representative burgesses elected by the various Town Councils. Altogether, there were present 77 Nobles, 56 Lairds, and 61 Commissioners of Burghs. Great care had been taken that among the elected lairds and burgesses there should be none but King's men. But, still farther to form this Parliament for the work required from it, there was a revival, at Middleton's instance, of that old device of an inner committee, or deliberating core of the Parliament, under the name of *The Lords of the Articles*, which had been found so convenient by James I., and also by Charles I. till the reforming spirit of his later Parliaments swept it away. To this committee of 12 selected nobles, 12 selected lairds, and 12 selected burgesses, was entrusted the preparation of all bills, and in fact the decision what the House should do or should not do: for the House itself all that remained was to receive the bills, and, after such brief debate as there might be, pass or reject them. The alternative of rejection in the present Parliament was merely nominal. Day after day, as bill after bill came in, they were passed almost as fast as Middleton, or Chancellor Glencairn, chose to push them through. And what bills they were! No English Parliament, certainly not the Convention Parliament, though it had settled England for Charles submissively enough, would have endured such bills for a moment. Hyde could not have tried any such course in England if he would, and would have thought himself dishonoured as an Englishman and lawyer by any thought of trying it if he could. But he had no objection to the establishment of absolute despotism in Scotland, if it could be done by native agency; and there might be a convenience from his point of view in seeing Scotland reduced to a state of subjection incredibly below anything possible in England. At all events the soldier-earl and his rout in the Edinburgh Parliament, with Primrose as the draftsman of their chief bills, were free to plunge on, legislating in their own way, as if in iron boots, and with iron flails, tramping and thrashing a space clear for the erection of Nebuchadnezzar's image. They did not care for

consistency even in their own measures. If one bill did what had already been done by another, so much the better for security; if one bill conflicted with another, a third could be applied as a patch of reconciliation; if Acts passed by former Scottish Parliaments by authority and in the interest of Charles I., or of Charles II. during his brief Scottish kingship in 1650–1, were conjoined in any repealing bill with Acts of a different character, all might go together, and the remedy might be found in Acts *de novo* on the King's behalf. Men implicated in this Middletonian phrenzy of 1661 were to look back afterwards with wonder at what they had then done and consented to. Primrose, the draftsman of the worst Acts, is one instance. "He often confessed to me," says Burnet, "that he thought he was as one bewitched while he "drew them; for, not considering the ill use might be made "of them afterwards, he drew them with preambles full of "extravagant rhetoric, reflecting severely on the proceedings "of the late times, and swelled them up with the highest "phrases and fullest clauses he could invent." In one case Primrose had so worded an Act that, but for the interposition of another lawyer, the effect would have been stupendous beyond even Middleton's calculations. For all this mad haste and recklessness in the *manner* of Middleton's discharge of his office (his *matter* having been predetermined coolly enough) Burnet can account only in one way. "It was a mad roaring "time," says Burnet, "full of extravagance; and no wonder "it was so when the men of affairs were almost perpetually "drunk." Middleton's style of living in his Commissionership was the most splendid the nation had yet seen. There was revel in his house all night and every night; and, when they went to Parliament in the morning, not one of them had a clear head but the insatiable Rothes[1].

[1] Acts of the Parliament as printed in the Scottish Acts; Burnet, I. 194—207; Wodrow, I. 20–31.—I ought to say of Burnet, whom it has been the fashion to discredit, that I have found his information about Scotland at this time verified in all essential particulars by contemporary records of the existence of which he cannot have been aware. At the same time, I ought to say that, if the chief legislators in the Scottish Parliament of 1661 were constantly drunk, there is no evidence of drunkenness in the *form* and *wording* of the preserved and printed Acts of that Parliament. They are very numerous; and there must have been enormous industry in preparing and drafting them, with

A few of the proceedings of the Parliament may be enumerated specially. On the first day of their sitting, after yielding to Middleton's demand that Chancellor Glencairn should be president *ex officio*, they passed an Act confirming that rule and also imposing upon themselves an oath of allegiance and supremacy, acknowledging the King's sovereignty "over all persons and in all causes," and binding them "never to decline" the same. This oath struck at the fundamental principle of Scottish Presbytery, which denies to the civil power supremacy in spiritual causes; and, though Middleton and Glencairn explained that the oath did not mean to touch these, the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Melville, and Lord Kilburnie refused to take it, unless that exception were put on record. On the 4th of January there was a very proper order for taking down the skull of Montrose from its spike on the Tolbooth, and for the burial of the same, with his disinterred trunk from the Boroughmuir, and his collected limbs from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth, and Stirling, with all honours, at the King's expense. On the 11th they passed an Act declaring it to be "his Majesty's prerogative to choose officers of State, Councillors, and Lords of Session" and pronouncing all laws, acts, and practices to the contrary since 1637 to have been undutiful and disloyal; and on the same day they passed another Act, asserting it to be part of the King's prerogative to call, prorogue, or dissolve all Parliaments or political conventions, declaring all meetings without his warrant to be void and null, and repealing all Acts to the contrary since 1640, with the addition that the future impugning or questioning of anything in this Act should be accounted treason. On the 16th they issued a proclamation banishing from Edinburgh, within forty-eight hours, all persons who had been accessory to the "Remonstrance" of 1650 or to the book called *The Causes of God's Wrath*, and passed (1) An Act forbidding "convocations, leagues, or bands" without leave of the Sovereign, and reflecting on the Covenants and all such bands back to 1638, and (2) An Act vesting the sole

perfect sobriety somewhere, and perfect command of the pen through portions of every day. One of them is an Act against Swearing and Drunkenness.

power of peace and war in the King, as holding his crown from God alone, and declaring it to be high treason "for any subjects, upon any pretext whatsoever, to rise in arms without the King's allowance." On the 22nd they passed an Act declaring the Convention of Estates of 1643, which entered into *The Solemn League and Covenant* with England, to be null and void, and annulling also the Act of Parliament of 1644, and all other Acts, ratifying the proceedings of that Convention. On the 25th, they passed an Act declaring "that there is no obligation upon this Kingdom, by covenant, "treaties, or otherwise, to endeavour by arms a reformation "of religion in the Kingdom of England," pronouncing therefore the *Solemn League and Covenant* and all connected oaths or promises to be not obligatory, and forbidding the renewing of the same. There followed an Act approving of Hamilton's Engagement of 1648 and cancelling all subsequent condemnations thereof, and an Act condemning the prior Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland in January 1647. Then there was a most comprehensive Act, imposing on all persons in any public trust, or to be appointed to such, an oath of supremacy and allegiance, formulated so as to recapitulate the Acts respecting Prerogative, or annulling the Covenants, already passed in the present Parliament, and to require sworn obedience to them all.

These and other Acts, some of them overlapping each other, had been touched by the sceptre of the High Commissioner, and so converted into statute, when Middleton, observing that none of them assaulted Presbytery directly, wanted something that should have that effect. The rescinding of the Acts of certain particular years by which Charles I. and Charles II. themselves had recognised, established, or confirmed the Presbyterian constitution of the Kirk, was the strictly correct method, but would have stirred awkward recollections and roused clamour. In this difficulty, "Primrose "proposed, but half in jest, as he assured me," says Burnet, "that the better and shorter way would be to pass a general "*Act Rescissory*, as it was called, annulling all the Parliaments "that had been held since the year 1633." Such an Act,

though annulling over again a good deal that had been annulled already by previous Acts, and annulling some things that previous Acts had ratified, would have the advantage of scraping bare, as it were, the whole tract of time in which Presbytery or anything favourable to Presbytery could possibly exhibit any legal growth or lodgment, and so of effectually extirpating the plant unless it should be replanted by the King's will. But the proposition was of a monstrous character. There was no plea that could invalidate some of the Parliaments in which Charles and his father had sat voluntarily, on speculation for their own purposes and interests, except that spiritual peers or prelates had not sat in them too; and that plea would invalidate the present Parliament itself. Accordingly, "at a private juncto," says Burnet, "the proposition, though well liked, was let fall, as not capable "to have good colours put upon it." But Middleton continued to discuss the matter with his juncto. "When they "had drunk higher, they resolved to venture on it. Primrose "was then ill; so one was sent to him to desire him to pre- "pare a bill to that effect." So says Burnet; but, in fact, Middleton also wrote to Primrose, and his letter is extant, dated March 27th, 1661. "My Lord," he says to Primrose, "the Act that is now before you is of the greatest consequence "imaginable, and is like to meet with many difficulties if not "speedily gone about. Petitions are preparing, and, if the "thing were done, it would dash all these bustling oppo- "sitions. My Lord, your eminent services done to his "Majesty in this Parliament cannot but be remembered to your "honour and advantage. I am so much concerned, because "of the great help and assistance I have had from you, that "I cannot, without injustice and ingratitude, be wanting in "a just resentment. Now, I am more concerned in this than "I was ever in a particular. The speedy doing is the thing "I propose as the great advantage, if it be possible to "prepare it to be presented to-morrow by ten o'clock in "the forenoon to the [Lords of the] Articles, that it may be "brought into the Parliament to-morrow in the afternoon." Primrose did as he was bid, and drew the *Act Rescissory*. But

he "perceived," says Burnet, "that it was so ill-grounded "that he thought, when it came to be better considered, it "must certainly be laid aside." Not so. The next day, March 28, it was approved, without a change, by the Lords of the Articles, brought into the House, and, though vehemently opposed by the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Crawford, and others, carried by a large majority. Middleton touched it with the sceptre immediately, without waiting for leave from the King. "This was a most extravagant act and only fit "to be concluded after a drunken bout," says Burnet in conclusion. Middleton, at all events, must have been perfectly sober when he wrote his note to Primrose.—Perhaps to stay the outcry against this tremendous *Act Rescissory*, there came soon afterwards *An Act Concerning Religion and Church Government*. It declared his Majesty's resolution to maintain the Protestant religion, godliness, and sound morality, with countenance of all ministers of the Gospel behaving themselves obediently and within the bounds of their calling; and it announced that, "as to the government of the Church, "his Majesty will make it his care to settle and secure the "same in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the "Word of God, most suitable to Monarchical Government, and "most complying with the public peace and quiet of the "Kingdom." Presbyterians might construe these phrases as well as they could; but they had at least the annexed assurance that "in the meantime his Majesty, with advice and consent" of his Parliament, "doth allow the present administration by "Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, they keeping within "bounds and behaving themselves as said is, and that not-"withstanding of the preceding Act Rescissory." No word now of the General Assembly promised in his Majesty's letter of the preceding August[1].

Thus, in Parliament itself, Middleton had borne down all before him. The Earl of Cassilis, still refusing the oath of supremacy in the form in which it had been passed, was ex-

[1] Life of Blair, 371—382; Burnet, I. 197—203; Wodrow, I. 22—29, and Appendix, Nos. VII, VIII, X, XI; Baillie, III. 462—465, and Appendix, 586 (where Middleton's Letter to Primrose is given from the Wodrow MSS.); Printed Acts of the Scottish Parliament of 1661.

cluded from the House; and the opposition by Crawford and others had been overwhelmed. Over the country the alarm could express itself only in popular mutterings, or in such remonstrances as could be ventured on by the clergy in their pulpits, or in presbyterial meetings. The boldest commentator in the pulpit on the Acts abrogating the Covenant had been a Mr. Robert McVaird of Glasgow; and he had been brought to Edinburgh under guard, to answer for "treasonable preaching." In a graver way, but with equal steadiness, the venerable Mr. Douglas and other ministers of Edinburgh had done what they could, both by papers and by interviews with Middleton. There were still to be meetings of synods in April, at some of which there were to be demonstrations for the Covenant and against Prelacy; but even in these larger gatherings of the clergy, where they were not broken up by authority, there was to be such management that much of the business was to be turned rather into the deposing and censuring of eminent Protesters not already censured. Indeed, in aid of Middleton, a wave of feeling in favour of prelacy had begun to be visible among the Resolutioner clergy, and especially the younger clergy of that denomination, not only in Aberdeenshire and the North, where the prelatic feeling had been lurking ineradicably from of old, but even in the Lothians and other southern districts. Care had been taken to bring the cleverest of such compliant ministers to Edinburgh, to preach, in turn with Mr. Douglas and others of his steady type, before the Commissioner and the Parliament; and some of the sermons so preached had been almost undisguisedly prelatic. One preacher had called the Covenant the Golden Calf of Scotland. Mr. Sharp himself, of course, had been one of the first to preach (Jan. 6), and had delivered a very puzzling sermon; after which he had gone quietly to St. Andrews, to be inducted into one of the professorships of the New College there, and made a Doctor of Divinity, all in preparation for another mission to London, on which he was to be sent shortly by Middleton[1].

[1] Wodrow, I. 31—41; Life of Blair, 373 and 384; Baillie, III. 420—421; Clarendon, 1110.

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Before the Parliament had completed that series of their public Acts of which mention has been made, they were deep in the trials of Argyle, Guthrie, Gillespie, Swinton, and the other delinquents in custody. Who or how many might be the delinquents to be proceeded against eventually was still unknown, for the policy was to postpone any general Act of Indemnity as long as possible, so as to keep all in terror. There were enough in custody to begin with. Argyle's trial began on the 13th of February, Guthrie's on the 20th, Swinton's on the 22nd, and Gillespie's on the 6th of March. Rutherford, who had been cited to appear, and would have been conjoined with Guthrie and Gillespie, died at St. Andrews, March 20th; and McVaird and the other prisoners waited their turns. The indictment against Argyle went through his whole life since 1638, fixing culpability especially on certain dated actions of his in his government of Scotland, but bringing in also his correspondence with Cromwell, and trying to fasten on him particularly the charge of having been accessory to the death of King Charles before the fact. The nature of the indictments against the others may be guessed. All made dignified appearances and able defences. Argyle strenuously denied any cognisance of the intention to put Charles to death, and expressed his detestation of the act. Guthrie and Gillespie argued powerfully for the legality of all they had done as Protesters or Remonstrants. These three had the assistance of counsel, which Swinton seems to have declined. His own appearance and demeanour in his Quaker's garb were impressive enough. The trials were protracted by adjournments from day to day, and were not at an end in April. Especially in Argyle's case there was "no lack of full hearing and debates to the uttermost," and it seemed very dubious indeed whether the Government would secure a conviction[1].

Episcopacy not having yet been set up in Scotland, though the ground had been cleared for it, we cannot end our sketch of Scotland in the first year of the Restoration, as we ended

[1] Baillie, III. 465—467; Wodrow, I. 42 et seq. (for details of the trials). There is a full account of Argyle's in Howell's State Trials.

that of Ireland, with a list of actual bishops. The only Scottish bishop now alive, of those that had been swept away by the Glasgow General Assembly of 1638, was Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway. He might expect his reward for having lived so long; but, as two archbishops and twelve bishops were required for the proper and complete Episcopation of Scotland, there may have been many expectants besides old Sydserf.

In April 1661, when the heads of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton had been exposed on the top of Westminster Hall for two months and more, London was astir for the grand ceremony of the Coronation of Charles.

Other preparations having been made, there was, on the 10th of April, a creation of sixty-eight knights of the Bath, in order to their attendance, in the full costume of that knighthood of the cross and red ribbon, at the coming solemnity. Among the sixty-eight were John, Viscount Brackley, and his brother Sir William Egerton, sons of the Earl of Bridgewater who had been "the elder brother" in *Comus*; also Sir Henry Hyde, eldest son of Chancellor Hyde, and Sir Rowland Bellasis, brother of Viscount Falconbridge; also Sir John Denham the poet, now in the lucrative post of his Majesty's surveyor of works, formerly held by Inigo Jones; also, unabashed in such company, the fortunate and forgiven Sir Richard Ingoldsby. Then, on the 16th, with a view to the same coming solemnity, there was a chapter of the supreme Knighthood of the most noble and illustrious Order of the Garter, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, for the purpose of settling the arrangement of the twenty-six stalls, in two rows of thirteen each, then composing that great order. On the Sovereign's side, after the royal stall itself, were the stalls of the Duke of York, the Prince Elector of Brandenburg, Prince Rupert, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Northumberland, the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Bristol, Count Marsin, the Earl of Sandwich, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Manchester; and on the other side, after one stall left

void, were the stalls of the Elector Palatine, the Prince of Orange, Prince Edward, the Earl of Berkshire, the Duke D'Espernon, the Marquis of Newcastle, the Prince of Tarente, the Duke of Albemarle, and the Earls of Oxford, Lindsey, and Strafford. Such of these peers as were now in England were to figure at the coronation in the dark-blue velvet mantles, crimson velvet surcoats, gold collars with the George depending, and other accoutrements, of this highest and most gorgeous representation of English heraldry. But, in addition to these peers of the supreme knighthood and the rest of the existing body of the peerage, it was thought proper that there should be a special creation of a few new peerages, to be conferred on those who had eminently served his Majesty in the Restoration or in the Convention Parliament, and had not already, like Monk and Montague, received their reward in this form. Accordingly, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, on the 20th of April, the King created six earls and six barons, as follows:—

EARLS.

Lord Chancellor Hyde (already Baron Hyde of Hindon): created Earl of Clarendon, and Viscount Cornbury.

Arthur Annesley (Viscount Valentia in the Irish Peerage by the recent death of his father): created Earl of Anglesey, and Baron Annesley of Newport-Pagnel.

Thomas Brudenell (Baron Brudenell since 1627): created Earl of Cardigan.

Arthur Capel (Baron Capel since the execution of his father in 1648–9): created Earl of Essex, and Viscount Malden.

Sir John Greenville (the agent for the Restoration between the King and Monk): created Earl of Bath.

Charles Howard (the Cromwellian): created Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, and Baron Dacre of Gilsland. He had been created Viscount Howard of Morpeth and Baron Gilsland by Cromwell, July 20, 1657; but that fact has sunk out of the peerage-books.

BARONS.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart.: created Baron Ashley.

Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart. (*Treasurer of the Household*): created Baron Cornwallis.

Sir George Booth, Bart.: created Baron Delamere.

Sir Horatio Townshend, Bart.: created Baron Townshend.

Denzil Holles, Esq.: created Baron Holles.
John Crewe, Esq.: created Baron Crewe.

Two days after this creation of peers, viz. on Monday, April 22, the day before the Coronation, there was, according to ancient custom, a procession from the Tower to Westminster, "in such a glorious and splendid manner that it "seemed to outvie whatever had been seen before of gallantry "and riches." All along the streets, and through four triumphal arches, erected in Leadenhall Street, Cornhill, Cheapside, and Fleet Street, there marched, with hurrahing and music of drums and trumpets, a regulated muster of horse-guards, equerries, esquires, chaplains, lawyers, judges, knights, sons of peers, peers themselves in their orders, great state-officers, heralds, and horse-guards again, all conveying his Majesty from the main commercial city to the more sacred suburban one where there was to be the coronation in the Abbey the next day[1].

That day, Tuesday, April 23, had been selected as being St. George's day, the anniversary of the patron saint of all England. We vote it now to have been also the anniversary of the birth-day of Shakespeare about a hundred years before; but no one then thought much about Shakespeare's birth-day. And no wonder in such a vast bustle for the crowning of Charles as was kept up for four-and-twenty hours between Westminster Hall and the Abbey.

Early in the morning Charles was in the Hall, "arrayed in his royal robes of crimson velvet furred with ermine," and with the judges, nobles, and heralds, and the *élite* of yesterday's procession, about him, all duly robed and in their ranks, but with bishops and doctors of divinity now conspicuous in the front, and with privileged spectators looking down from the galleries. There was the ceremonious arranging of the crown, the sceptre, the various swords, the rest of the regalia, and other mystic implements that were to be borne into the Abbey. All being ready, the stately march thither began, about ten o'clock, through Palace Yard

[1] Phillips (Baker's Chronicle continued), 735—737.

and the Gate-House, and along the end of King's Street and the Great Sanctuary, over blue cloth laid between railings all the way.—The huge assemblage once fairly marshalled in the Abbey by the heralds, all in their appointed places, whether on the floor or in galleries, including the great ladies and some fourteen or fifteen ambassadors and envoys from foreign powers, the King entered by the west door. Then there pealed out the first anthem: "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord." After a few moments of kneeling at a stool for private devotion, the King was led to that part of the Abbey where there was the raised dais with the throne of state. Then Gilbert Sheldon, the Bishop of London, did so much of the ceremony as had been arranged for this point. Turning first to the south, then to the west, and then to the north, the Bishop, the King standing up and turning with him, called on the people three times in each direction to say whether they accepted Charles as their legitimate sovereign. The replies came in acclamations; and, the same question having been put to the nobility, there was another anthem: "Let thy hand be strengthened, and thy right hand be exalted; let justice and judgment be the preparation of thy seat, and mercy and truth go before thy face." After this there was the movement from the throne to the altar, the King surrounded by bishops and great nobles, carrying the regalia. These were placed reverently on the altar, one by one, by the Bishop of London; and then, the King kneeling, the bishop prayed: "O God, which dost visit those that are humble, and dost comfort us by thy Holy Spirit, send down thy grace upon this thy servant Charles, that by him we may feel Thy presence among us, through Jesus Christ: Amen." It was next the turn of Morley, Bishop of Worcester. Ascending the pulpit, he preached the coronation-sermon from Proverbs xxviii. 2: "For the transgression of a land many are the princes thereof; but by a man of understanding and knowledge the state thereof shall be prolonged." Sermon ended, the Bishop of London again officiated, by asking the King whether he would take the coronation-oaths, to which Warner, Bishop of Rochester, added the request,

according to ancient form, that he would preserve the Bishops and the Church in their privileges. The oaths having been solemnly taken at the altar, the King again knelt, and Sheldon prayed, "We beseech thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, for this thy servant Charles," &c.; and, the King still kneeling, and all the bishops kneeling, and the Dean of Westminster kneeling, "they began the litany, the quires singing the responses." After that there were three more short prayers by Sheldon, at the end of the last of which Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was too feeble to have appeared earlier, did come forward. Standing before the altar, he spoke and was responded to as follows:—"*Archbishop.* Lift up your "hearts. *Resp.* We lift them up to the Lord. *Archbishop.* "Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God. *Resp.* It is "meet and right so to do. *Archbishop.* It is very meet "and right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all "times, and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, "Holy Father," &c. Then came the central pageantry of all. First there was the Anointing, for which the King had been meanwhile sufficiently disrobed. It consisted in the taking by the archbishop of the holy oil which had been poured out of an *ampulla* (Latin for *bottle*) into a spoon, and in his anointing therewith, in the manner of a cross, the palms of the King's hands, and then his breast, and then his back between the shoulders, and then his shoulders themselves, and then the "two bowings of his arms," and lastly the crown of his royal head. There were suitable prayers by the archbishop and anthems by the quire during the process. After the oil-films on his Majesty's person had been "dried up with fine linen," there was the proper manipulation about him, by the archbishop or others, of the various symbolic implements from the altar. One by one, the coif, the surplice, the taffeta hose and sandals, the spurs, the sword of state, the armill or neck-bracelet, and the mantle of cloth of gold, were produced and applied, with formulas of expository incantation and blessing. All the while they had been putting St. Edward's chair in due place right against the

altar; and, St. Edward's crown having been already handled and blessed, and the King having sat down in the sacred chair, the assemblage hung breathless while the aged archbishop, bringing the crown again from the altar, placed it on the King's head. Then, through the Abbey, there rang shouts again and again of *God save the King*, till the boom of the ordnance in the Tower, fired by signal, informed those within that the whole world without knew that the superb moment had passed. When the noise had subsided, there were more prayers and anthems; and, the dukes, marquises, earls, and viscounts having put on their coronets, and the barons their caps, there was the delivery by the archbishop to the King, still seated in St. Edward's chair, of the ring and the sceptre, and the sceptre with the dove. Of the kneelings and other religious services of prayer and song that followed, and the kissing of the bishops by the King and the homagings to the King by the bishops and the peers, and the changes of place and posture in the Abbey, and the proclamation of the King's general pardon by Lord Chancellor Clarendon and heralds, and the flinging of gold and silver medals about by the Treasurer of the Household, and the readings of the Epistle and Gospel, and the intoning of the Creed by the Bishop of London, and the music from the violins and other instruments by performers in scarlet, with the bangs from the drums and blasts from the trumpets, the reckoning becomes incoherent. People were tired of these fag-ends and longed to be out of the Abbey.—Mr. Pepys, for one, who had been admitted by favour of Sir John Denham, and had been sitting in a cramped place since half past four in the morning, left the Abbey shortly after the showering of the medals, of which he had not been so fortunate as to obtain one. He made his way, by privilege, along the railed footway into Westminster Hall, where his wife was among the ladies in one of the galleries, and where they were all waiting now to behold the coronation banquet with which the day was to be wound up, and for which the tables were already laid. Not, however, till there had been the Holy Communion in the Abbey, with the consecration of the

elements, and the handing of the bread to the King by the Archbishop and the cup by the Dean of Westminster, did the great return-procession of the main personages over the footway of blue cloth fill the body of the Hall once more, and give promise of the concluding sight.—When the King did come into the Hall, crowned and sceptred, and attended in state, "under a canopy borne up by six silver staves," and had made his way to the upper end, and the Bishop of London had said grace, and all had sat down at their several tables, there was infinite variety of amusement in observing the presentation of the dishes at the chief table, and the incidents between the courses. One of these was the entry into the Hall, just before the second course, of the King's champion, Sir Edward Dymock, on "a goodly white courser," all armed, and with heralds and trumpeters. After proclamation by York Herald that here was a champion ready to maintain with his life, against all comers, that Charles the Second was the lawful King of England, Dymock flung down his gauntlet, once, twice, thrice, with no challenge to the contrary, and then, having received a gold cup, full of wine, which his Majesty had tasted to his health, drank it off and backed out of the Hall. The remainder of the dinner lapsed into some disorder, the hungry bystanders crowding round the tables, with inconvenient curiosity, to see what they could get. Mr. Pepys, by the kindness of his patron Lord Sandwich, managed to carry off from one of the tables "four rabbits and a pullet," with which, and a little bread, he withdrew into a corner, to refresh himself and some friends. It was about six o'clock in the evening when the King rose to retire, the third course not having yet been served, and so converted the remnant of the affair into a mere upstanding and cheering mob.—But, lo! just as his Majesty was going, or a little time before, what a change in the skies outside! All that day, as through the last, the weather had been remarkably fair and propitious; but now it had gloomed and had fallen "a-raining and thundering and lightening," so that people remained huddled in the Hall, talking to each other superstitiously, after his Majesty had departed. When they did

disperse, it still rained and thundered. There could be no fireworks that night, and London and Westminster had to be content with bonfires. And, through the night, on the roof of Westminster Hall, by the flashes of the lightning, one might have discerned, as distinctly as through the whole ceremonial of the day, the three fixed black poles, with the three skulls on their tops; and the anointed and crowned King had gone home to Mrs. Palmer; and a venerable archbishop, and a bevy of good and learned bishops about him, had done their blasphemous uttermost; and is it God or Mephistopheles that governs the world[1]?

On the 8th of May 1661, a fortnight after his Majesty's coronation, the new Parliament met. This new English Parliament, the second of the Restoration era, differed from its predecessor, the Convention Parliament, in being properly Charles's own Parliament, not merely adopted by him, but convoked by his writs. As the Irish Parliament met at Dublin on the same day, and as the Scottish Parliament was still sitting in Edinburgh, there were three Parliaments assembled at once in the British Islands. The Irish Parliament differed as yet in one particular from the others. The bishops were in their places in the House of Lords in that Parliament, Archbishop Bramhall presiding in the House; but the readmission of the bishops into the English House of Lords was deferred, and in Scotland bishops had not yet been made. The very first Acts of the new English Parliament, however, proved that it was likely to go to much greater lengths for Episcopacy and Prerogative universally than even the Convention Parliament. Of the 500 members of the new House of Commons the vast majority were cavaliers, old and young, ready now to show themselves Church of England men to the core; and of the Presbyterians or quasi-Presbyterians that had formed the bulk of the preceding House not above fifty or sixty had been returned to this. Charles and Hyde had now, therefore, an English Parliament that would sweep on

[1] Account of the Coronation by Elias Ashmole, Windsor Herald, transcribed into Phillips, pp. 738—749; Pepys under date April 23, 1661.

with due impetus in the line required. As if to show how ready they were to do so, the Commons, on the 13th of May, the fourth day of their sitting, passed a resolution that every member of their House should receive the sacrament, according to the form prescribed in the Liturgy, on a certain fixed day in St. Margaret's church, and should be reported as having been seen to do so by a committee of scrutineers, on pain of being disabled from farther attendance in the House. This did not hold out much prospect of success for the twelve Presbyterian or lately Presbyterian divines, with nine assistants, who were then, by the King's commission, engaged in a conference at the Savoy with twelve of the bishops and nine Episcopal assessors on the subject of a revision of the Liturgy. Indeed, from the first meeting of this so-called *Savoy Conference* on the 15th of April, it had been evident that the bishops meant to be as rigid as they could, and listened to the pleadings of Mr. Baxter and his colleagues only to consume time till the temper of the new Parliament should be fully ascertained. Of that there was another symptom on the 17th of May, when, by a majority of 228 to 103, it was resolved by the Commons to put the question whether "the instrument or writing called *The Solemn League and Covenant*" should be burnt by the hangman, and, the question having been put, it was resolved, without another division, that the Covenant should be so burnt. The Lords having concurred May 20, there issued a printed order of the two Houses, May 21, for the burning of the Covenant by the hangman at three places in London and Westminster on the following day, and also "that the said Covenant be forthwith taken off "the records in the House of Peers and in all other courts "and places where the same is recorded, and that all copies "thereof be taken down out of all churches, chapels, and "other public places in England and Wales, and the town of "Berwick-upon-Tweed." The burning duly took place on the 22nd, and is commemorated exultingly in the London newspapers. And that was the end in England of Henderson's famous invention of August 1643 for linking England and Scotland permanently together. The Irish Parliament

had already (May 17) expressed itself against any lingering of the Covenant in Ireland, and had decreed the Liturgy and Episcopal government to be the law of that island. The Covenant, as we have seen, though not yet actually burnt in Scotland by public order, had been declared non-obligatory by the Scottish Parliament[1].

One day more of Restoration rejoicings was to close the famous year. Charles's birth-day, May 29, 1661, the first anniversary of his triumphant entry into London, had come round. By the Act of Parliament passed in August, this was to be the first of those anniversary thanksgivings for the Restoration that were to go on for ever in the realm of England. The Scottish Parliament had followed the example, and passed an Act for the same observation of the 29th of May "as an holiday unto the Lord" perpetually in Scotland. This was among their boldest measures, the doctrine of holidays by civil appointment being especially repugnant to Scottish Presbyterianism; but the prostrate clergy accommodated themselves as well as they could, by consenting to the celebration of the day, while not acknowledging the authority for it, or its "anniversariness." In Scotland, accordingly, no less than in England and Ireland, there was the repeated outburst on that day of those Restoration shoutings, drinkings, bonfires, cannonadings, and bell-ringings, of which the lieges never could have enough. But there was a tragic intermixture with the Scottish rejoicings. On the afternoon of the 27th of May, two days before the anniversary, the Marquis of Argyle had been beheaded by "the maiden" in the High Street of Edinburgh; and, his head having been set up over the Tolbooth in the place where Montrose's had been, his body was being carried by his relatives to its rest in that sepulchre of the Campbells which is still to be seen, in its fine Highland solitude, on the banks of the Holy Loch. On the third day after the anniversary, June 1, the good, conscientious, brave, narrow, and utterly incompetent Mr. James Guthrie, and the less-known Captain William Govan, the blunt

[1] Lords and Commons Journals of dates; Parl. Hist. IV. 178—209; Baillie, III. 470; Neal, IV. 360; *Mercurius Publicus* of May 16—23, 1661.

Protester soldier, were hanged in the same High Street of Edinburgh. The head of Guthrie was put over the Nether Bow, and that of Govan over the West Port. What might become of the other prisoners was still uncertain. Much might depend on the instructions that might come from London, whither Chancellor Glencairn and the Earl of Rothes, with Dr. Sharp in their company, had been sent by Middleton, late in April, to report the progress of Scottish affairs so far, and to consult with the King and Hyde about the remaining business of the Kirk and about farther dealings with Scottish delinquents [1].

It had been announced by the King, in his opening speech to the English Parliament, that he and his Council had agreed that his marriage with the Princess Catharine, daughter of Alphonso VI, King of Portugal, would be, in all respects, the most judicious marriage he could make, and that a treaty to that effect had been signed. At the end of the year of the Restoration, therefore, expectations of this lady were mingled with the other rejoicings.

[1] Wodrow, I. 28—29, 54—57, and 69—70; Life of Blair, 384—386; Baillie, III. 460 and 465—467; Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, II. 274—277.

CHAPTER II.

MILTON THROUGH THE YEAR OF THE RESTORATION.

Our last glimpse of Milton was on or about the 7th of May 1660, when, by the advice of his friends, and by arrangements they had made for him, he absconded from his house in Petty France, to avoid the danger to which he was exposed by the Restoration.

The place of his "retirement and abscondence," Phillips informs us, was "a friend's house in Bartholomew Close." The narrow passage so named was entered from West Smithfield by a very old arch, part of the church of the Priory of St. Bartholomew, which dated from the twelfth century. It was a row or labyrinth of tenements that must have been old and quaint even in Milton's time. Here had lived Dr. Caius the physician, the founder of Caius College, Cambridge; here, in some kind of studio, Hubert Le Sœur the sculptor had modelled his statue of Charles I., the bronze of which had been missing during the Commonwealth, but was soon to be discovered in its concealment, and to be set up reverently at Charing Cross; and here, some sixty-five years hence, Benjamin Franklin was to work as a compositor in one of the old houses, when it had been turned into Palmer's printing-office. To Milton, who may have known the close and its neighbourhood in his Aldersgate Street days, what mattered it now, in his blindness, in what dingy recess from any of the city thoroughfares, or in what room or garret there, they cooped him up for safety. It seems not improbable that he may have been shifted from one hiding-place in the city to

another, though the house in Bartholomew Close was best remembered by Phillips, and for sufficient reason. One would have liked to know the name of the friend who gave him shelter. It was a kindness involving real risk, with anxiety and vigilance from day to day. A malicious or indiscreet servant might have ruined all. One has to fancy, therefore, a small, quiet family, managing among themselves, and willing to do anything for Mr. Milton, as much for his own sake as for any recompense offered. And so, in some small room, the walls of which he could feel round in his darkness, much alone, and hearing of the outside world only through the family, or through some faithful stealthy visitor, such as Cyriack Skinner or Andrew Marvell, coming from Westminster at nights, Milton waited to know his fate. He remained in his concealment, says Phillips, "till the Act of Oblivion came forth," i. e. till the 29th of August. Three months and three weeks, therefore, from the beginning of May to the end of August 1660, did Milton live in that room, listening for footsteps, and uncertain whether he was to be hanged or not. The expression is not in the least exaggerated. There had been exulting prophecies by royalist pamphleteers on the eve of the Restoration that Milton would soon be seen going to Tyburn in a cart. Everybody expected it; Milton himself must have expected it. As surely as if he had left the statement on record, the imagination of his own execution, to the last ghastly particular of cart, ladder, hangman, rope, and the yelling multitude that should see him, though unseen by him, must have passed through Milton's mind again and again during those three months and three weeks of his hiding in Bartholomew Close[1].

Consider, from the point of view of a royalist, what could be alleged against Milton. Leave out of account his Anti-Episcopal pamphlets and Divorce pamphlets, written between 1640 and 1646, though from those there might be produced matter to aggravate an indictment. Take only his writings and career since 1648. Remember, first, his *Tenure of Kings*

[1] Phillips's Memoir of Milton; Cunningham's Handbook of London, Art. *Bartholomew Close*, and Art. *Charing Cross*.

and Magistrates: proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any who have the power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and, after due conviction, to depose and put him to death. Remember that this pamphlet was partly written while King Charles was on his trial, and was published on the 13th of February 1648–9, only a fortnight after his execution, actually the first pamphlet justifying the regicide and the institution of the Republic; and remember with what invectives against Charles and his reign the tremendous doctrine announced in the title-page was made good in the text. Remember that, just a month after the publication of that pamphlet, and mainly in consequence of it, Milton was made Latin Secretary to the Council of State for the Commonwealth, taking his place in that capacity at the board where Bradshaw presided, and round which Cromwell and so many other regicides sat. Remember that he had held this post for more than four years, not only writing foreign despatches for the successive Councils of State of the Republic, but doing miscellaneous work for them, and especially performing to their order several most important literary commissions. In his *Observations upon Ormond's Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels*, published by authority in May 1649, he had not only asserted, against royalists of all varieties, the legality of the infant Republic, but had spoken with studied contempt of Ormond personally. Then, in his *Eikonoklastes*, published in October 1649, also by order of the Republican Government, he had assaulted the King's own book, the very Bible of the Royalists, accusing the King of having stolen the prayers in it, laughing at it and at the popular idolatry of it, pronouncing it a poor tissue of hypocrisy and mock-piety, and, by fresh invectives against the character and reign of Charles, representing the worship of his memory as but a disgusting delusion. In 1650 there had been a second edition of the same book, with added passages of new ridicule of the King's memory. Then, in the beginning of 1651, there had followed his first *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, replying to Salmasius, arraigning Charles I., Charles II., the whole dynasty of the Stuarts, and kingly

government itself, before the European world, proclaiming the virtues and deserts of the Republic and its founders, and daring all Christendom to deny that the exchange of Monarchy for Republicanism in England had been an exchange of servitude, vice, cruelty, and corruption, for liberty, probity, manliness, and light. Had not Europe rung with the fame of that book; had it not, in the opinion of some, done more for the continuation of the Republic than anything else, except Cromwell's battles? Remember also, through the whole of the year 1651 and beyond, Milton's licensing editorship of the *Mercurius Politicus*, and his association with Marchamont Needham in the articles in that journal, systematically inculcating Republican principles, and vilifying Charles II. and his brothers as the exiled Tarquins. His blindness, coming on in the course of next year, had somewhat paralysed his powers of work; but had he not remained in office to the last moment of the Republic, on terms of intimacy with its chiefs, addressing Cromwell and Vane in eulogistic sonnets, and employing one of his nephews as his deputy in a new pamphlet of Republican tenor? Blind though he was, had he not, after public approbation of Cromwell's assumption of supreme power, passed into Cromwell's own service, and been Cromwell's Latin Secretary through the whole of his Protectorate, more and more in Cromwell's foreign secrets, and active for him officially? To this period also, besides reprints of former writings, belonged his second *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, of May 1654, repeating the doctrines of the first, with even more of popular effect, but vindicating the recast of the Republic into the Oliverian sovereignty, addressing Oliver in a laboured panegyric which asserted him to be the greatest and best man in the world, and bringing in also Bradshaw and other regicides for superlative praise. His *Pro Se Defensio* of August 1655 had been a sequel, pursuing the policy, so conspicuous already in the previous treatises, of deadly attack on every person, Englishman or foreigner, that dared to speak in favour of the dead Charles or the living, or against the Commonwealth and the Regicide. A servant of Cromwell to the last, he had not

ceased his activity at Cromwell's death. He had served through the Protectorate of Richard, had seen its collapse and the restoration of the Rump, and had been one of those who, through the Anarchy of the latter half of 1659, stood for "the good old cause." In two ecclesiastical tracts and one political letter of this year he had set forth afresh his extreme views on Church and State, arguing for anything rather than a return to Monarchy, and for the eradication of anything in any form that could be called a Church of England. But, above all, remember his activity in those months of February, March, and April 1660, just past, when Monk's dictatorship in London, and the replacing of the secluded members in the Rump, had cleared the way for the recall of Charles, and the popular impatience for his recall had become ungovernable, and the event itself was within sight. Who had been fighting to the last against that event like Milton? Alone almost he had been standing up, a blind wonder, adjuring and imploring his countrymen even yet to keep out Charles and all his kin, disowning his countrymen as fools and God-abandoned slaves when he knew they would not listen to his advice, and warning them of woes and bloody revenges in consequence. The hissing and laughter over Milton's *Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth* and his *Brief Notes on Dr. Griffith's Sermon* had not ceased when the Convention Parliament met, and Charles's Breda letters announced his coming; and, amid the hissing and laughter, and just before his absconding, had not Milton's last act, in a second and more frantic edition of the former pamphlet, been to double up his fist, register once more his opinion of the worthlessness of the whole pack that were coming in, and hit approaching Majesty in the face?

Absolutely no man could less expect to be pardoned at the Restoration than Milton. Things, however, had to go in regular course even in this dreadful business; and the regular course, as we know, was that of a Bill of General Indemnity and Oblivion, brought into the Commons House of the Convention Parliament on the 8th of May, in accordance with Charles's pledged word, in his Declaration from Breda of

April 14, that he would pardon all his subjects, of what degree or quality soever, except such as Parliament itself should deem it right to except, "*these only to be excepted.*" The question of Milton's fate, therefore, was bound up with those proceedings of the Convention Parliament on the Indemnity Bill the history of which has been given in detail in the last chapter. With Parliament, and with Parliament alone, lay the determination of the extent and nature of the exceptions from the benefits of the Indemnity Bill that should be specifically inserted and enumerated in the final wording of the Bill itself. The *determination of the exceptions*, first in one House and then in the other, and the agreement of the two Houses eventually on *one and the same list of exceptions*, was the terrible and difficult process from the 9th of May onwards. Periodically, to Milton, during the process, by stealthy visits of Parliamentary friends, or through copies of the three or four London newspapers then published on different days of the week[1], there would be conveyed, we may suppose, reports of what was happening.

Between May 9, when Charles was still abroad, and May 29, when he entered London, the substance of the information that can have reached Milton was that the House of Commons had resolved (1) to except all persons classed by them as *regicides*, consisting of all the sixty-seven King's judges, dead or living, that had been present at the sentence, together with Cook, Broughton, Phelps, and Dendy, who had assisted officially at the trial, and also the two unknown executioners; (2) to pass posthumous attainder on Cromwell,

[1] The three chief newspapers of that date, all weekly, were the *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, published on Mondays (printed by John Macock and Thomas Newcome), *Mercurius Publicus*, published on Thursdays (same proprietorship as the *Intelligencer* and with matter in common), and *An Exact Accompt*, &c., published on Fridays. These were authorized. A David Maxwell, a Scotsman, started, on Tuesday, June 12, 1660, a *Mercurius Veridicus*; but, after a second number, it was stopped by order of the Commons, who questioned Maxwell, and resolved (June 25) "that no "person whatsoever do presume, at his "peril, to print any votes or proceedings "of this House without the special leave "and order of the House." Newcome, it will be seen, so long the printer of Needham's *Mercurius Politicus* for the Commonwealth, and connected with Milton thus and otherwise, had managed to continue his newspaper business under the new authorities. Edward Husband and Thomas Newcome had been appointed Printers to the House May 5; and it was probably on Newcome's complaint that Maxwell was crushed.

Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, as the supreme dead regicides; and (3) to bring to trial for their lives seven of the regicides still living, reserving the rest for any punishment, the severest that could be devised, not extending to life. This, with the intelligence of the orders out for the arrest of the regicides, wherever they might be found, can hardly have surprised Milton.—It was at this point, and when it had not yet been announced who the seven capital victims from the living regicides were to be, but that and other questions had gone into Committee of the Commons, that there came the day of Charles's triumphant entry into London. Some sound of the rush and tumult through the city on that day (May 29) may have penetrated even to Milton's seclusion in the court off West Smithfield, and with it the feeling that Hyde and those about the King would now have a good deal to do with the farther management of the Indemnity Bill.—Not till a week more had elapsed, and restored Royalty had fully settled itself in Whitehall, were there farther distinct tidings about the Bill in the Commons. Then (June 5–7) Milton might learn that the House had voted that the seven capital victims among the King's judges should be Harrison, Say, Jones, Scott, Holland, Lisle, and Barkstead, but that the House had seemed to rise in severity above its original mark by making capital exceptions also of Cook, Broughton, Dendy, and the two unknown executioners, thus raising the number of the capitally excepted regicides from seven to twelve. Perhaps, however, the most startling piece of news to Milton at this date may have been that Hugh Peters had been named in the House, on speculation, as an extra regicide, and that an order had gone out for *his* apprehension.—Yet a few days more (June 7–11) and there was fresh proof that the establishment of Charles and his Court in Whitehall had not increased the disposition of the Commons to clemency. True, they had in the interim agreed to remove from the class of sentencing regicides, for special consideration, Lord Grey of Groby among the dead, and Colonel Tomlinson, Colonel Hutchinson, and Adrian Scroope, among the living. But, on the other hand, they had widened their definition of the

regicide class generally, by adding to the sixty-three sentencing regicides, living or dead, nine of the eleven King's judges, not mentioned before, who had taken part in the trial without being present at the sentence. Also they had resolved that, apart altogether from the living *regicides*, of whom ten or possibly twelve were to be punished capitally, and the rest by any pains and penalties short of death, there should be a selection from the general community of *twenty other delinquents*, to be conjoined with this lower division of the regicides for any punishment not capital.

Let us rest a moment, on Milton's account, at June 11. The theory of the exceptions to the Indemnity Bill, with many of the particulars of application, so far as they were to depend on the Commons, was then clearly announced as follows:—

Two Classes of Exceptions among the Living: viz:

I. All the Living Regicides, as now left in that Class and enumerated by the House; of whom:—

1. *Excepted absolutely, and to be proceeded against for life and estate*, these ten (or twelve):—Harrison, Say, Jones, Scott, Holland, Lisle, Barkstead, Cook, Broughton, Dendy (and the two unascertained executioners).

2. *Excepted for all but life*, these forty-three:—Blagrave, Bourchier, Carew, Cawley, James Challoner, Thomas Challoner, Clements, Corbet, Dixwell, Downes, George Fleetwood, Garland, Goffe, Harrington, Harvey, Heveningham, Hewson, Robert Lilburne, Lister, Livesey, Love, Ludlow, Marten, Mayne, Mildmay, Millington, Monson, Okey, Pennington, Pickering, Potter, Rowe, Smith, James Temple, Peter Temple, Tichbourne, Sir Hardress Waller, Wallop, Walton, Wayte, Whalley, Wogan; Phelps.

II. Twenty other Delinquents, yet to be named, and to stand in the same category as the second division of the Regicides, i. e. *to be excepted for all but life.*

Actually, on Monday the 11th of June, this was the schedule which Milton, grasping its purport through the ear, had to study, and which his friends were studying for him. It affected himself more than may appear at first sight. It might appear at first sight that, so far as the Commons had then resolved, the only risk for Milton was that of being included among the twenty delinquents that had yet to be

named in addition to the enumerated regicides. That risk was fearful enough. It might involve imprisonment for life, every penalty short of the scaffold. But was there not a possibility that even yet Milton might be ranked in the class of the regicides, and put either in the second section of this class, or perhaps among those doomed to death? There was.

If the law of treason upon which the Court afterwards proceeded in trying the regicides was sound law, then Milton was indubitably one of the regicides. "Compassing or imagining the King's death" was the capital offence by the statute of the 25th of Edward III; and, as Chief Baron Bridgman expounded, the compassing or pre-imagining the death of Charles I. might be proved against any one by any "overt act" whatever showing such pre-imagination. Having conspired and consulted with others to bring about the King's death was one form of such overt act of compassing and imagining; but words or writings would suffice. What, then, of Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates: proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any who have the power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and, after due conviction, to depose and put him to death?* That pamphlet had not appeared till a fortnight after the execution of Charles; but it could be proved, by the language of the pamphlet itself, by other miscellaneous evidence, and by a passage in Milton's own hand in his *Defensio Secunda*, five years afterwards, that it was schemed, and lying on Milton's table, nearly complete in manuscript, or in proof-sheets, while the King was yet alive. True, in this last passage Milton had declared that not even then did he "write or advise anything concerning Charles personally," and that the book had been "made rather for composing men's minds" after the fact "than for deciding anything about Charles beforehand," a business which he considered not his, but that of the public authorities. This would have had small chance with Chief Justice Bridgman. There, while the King was yet alive, and his trial was going on, Mr. Milton, on his own confession, had been deliberately writing a pamphlet advocating with all his might the doctrine of tyrannicide, in

such a sense and in such circumstances that it could have no other application than to Charles, and had been carefully getting the pamphlet ready, that it might appear as soon as Charles's head had been cut off, to extol and defend the deed. What more express and continuous overt act of "compassing and imagining" could there be than that? It was not necessary that Mr. Milton should have shown what he was writing to anybody before the King's death, or should have been writing it by advice or in concert with others. But was it likely that no one knew of the forthcoming pamphlet, or that there were no conversations and confidences about it while it was in progress? If even part of it was in the printer's hands before the King's death,—the hands of Matthew Simmons of Aldersgate Street,—was not that combining and conspiring between author and printer? Then were there no friends of Milton's, among the sentencing judges and signers of the death-warrant, cognisant, at the time of the sentence, of that justification of their action which Milton had in preparation? Was Bradshaw, the president of the Court, not cognisant?

All this is exactly what Chief Justice Bridgman would have brought out, had the matter been already in his hands. Fortunately for Milton, the definition of the regicides had not yet come into the hands of judges and lawyers, and so there was no such incessant reference to the statute of the 25th of Edward III, with interpretation of the treasonable "compassing or imagining" there intended, as there was to be when the actual trials came on. But the House of Commons itself, in a vague way, had been feeling on in the same spirit. Not only had they widened their definition of regicide by adding to their first list of the excepted regicides nine of the King's judges not actually present at the sentence; they had ordered the arrest of Hugh Peters, on the clear supposition that he too might be brought in as a regicide. As the absurd rumour that Peters had been one of the executioners, though it furnished a pretext, cannot have been entertained in the House for a moment, the real fact must have been that the House was now inclined to class among

the regicides any one who could be proved to have been in any notorious and conspicuous manner connected with the King's death. But might not this inclination have easily reached Milton as well as Peters? If Peters had been bustling about Westminster Hall during the King's trial, if he had preached sermons about the trial while it was still going on, had not Milton, in his house in High Holborn, been as strenuously, though more quietly, elaborating his pamphlet in defence of the same proceedings and of the act in which they were to end? That Milton had not occurred to the House in such close association with Peters may have been owing to the fact that the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, with the date and circumstances of it, was a far less distinct affair in the recollection of the House than in Milton's own. *He* must have remembered all vividly; and not one of all his pamphlets can have seemed to him of such dangerous consequence to himself now, if attention were called to it.

If he were to escape being classed among the *regicides*, might it not be only to find himself one of the *twenty other delinquents?* That was the terrible question for him from Monday the 11th of June to Monday the 18th. It was the week of the very crisis of the fate of Milton and others, for it was through that week, with vehement and exciting debates every day, that the Commons were engaged in the business of nominating the twenty. One may imagine the difficulty and the conflict of opinion. The House having resolved to restrict itself to "twenty and no more," every active member would have ready his list of the twenty he hated most, and there would be a competition among these lists, every member anxious to get in his own favourite enemies, and to save friends of his that might be on other people's lists. A good number of persons would be common to all the lists, and it would be after these had been voted into the twenty, and the remaining places were becoming fewer and fewer, that the competition would be most eager. The members that took the lead in harmonising the lists as far as possible, and then, where they could not be harmonised, in fighting resolutely either to secure the inclusion of this or

that person or to bring this or that other person off, seem to have been Prynne, Annesley, Clarges, Attorney-General Palmer, Solicitor-General Finch, Lord Falkland, Mr. Charlton, Sir George Booth, Mr. Turner, Sir John Robinson, Sir William Wylde, Sir Richard Temple, Colonel King, and Colonel Ralph Knight. Above all, Prynne was active. To let any one off in any circumstances was not in his nature; gladly would he have taken all on all the lists, and voted a total of forty or sixty instead of twenty; but all the more ruthlessly, as he could have but twenty, was he likely to push his own nominations. He seems to have revelled, however, in bringing before the House, in the course of the week's debate, the names of as many delinquents as possible, so that there might be plenty for himself and others to choose from, and those that got off this time might be kept in memory for future occasion. This was all the worse for Milton, whose contemptuous notices of "marginal Prynne" in several of his pamphlets had increased an animosity to him on Prynne's part manifest since 1644.—Milton's name may have been in many lists besides Prynne's from the first, and may have been tossed about in the House in those debates of June 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, which had settled that Vane, Lenthall, William Burton, Oliver St. John, Alderman John Ireton, Sir Arthur Hasilrig, Sydenham, Desborough, Axtell, and John Blackwell of Mortlake, should be ten of the twenty, while Whitlocke and Major-General Butler had escaped by divisions in their favour. Not till Saturday, June 16, however, when half of the twenty had been thus agreed on, did Milton's time come for passing the ordeal. On that day the discussion was on Lambert, Alderman Pack, Sergeant Keble for the second time, Sir William Roberts, John Milton, and John Goodwin. Roberts escaped by one vote; Lambert, Pack, and Keble were unanimously added to the ten already chosen, raising the number to thirteen. What was done with Milton and Goodwin will appear from the following extract from the Journals of the House:—

"*Ordered*, That his Majesty be humbly moved from this House that he will please to issue his proclamation for the calling in of the

two books written by JOHN MILTON, one entitled *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*, and the other [the *Eikonoklastes*] in answer to a book entitled "The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings"; and also the book entitled *The Obstructors of Justice*, written in defence of the traitorous sentence against his said late Majesty by JOHN GOODWIN; and such other books as shall be presented to his Majesty in a schedule from this House: and to order them to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Attorney-General [Geoffrey Palmer] do cause effectual proceedings to be forthwith had, by way of indictment or information, against JOHN MILTON, in respect of the two books by him written [the two books described again exactly as above], and also against JOHN GOODWIN, in respect of a book by him written, entitled *The Obstructors of Justice*, being in defence of the traitorous sentence against the late King's Majesty.

"*Resolved*, That MR. MILTON and MR. JOHN GOODWIN be forthwith sent for in custody by the sergeant-at-arms attending this House."

Construing this result in the light of all the circumstances, I have little doubt how it was brought about. Milton and Goodwin had been talked of that day, along with Lambert, Pack, and Keble, as proper persons to be included among the excepted twenty. Of Milton's title to that distinction we are sufficiently aware. The title of our old friend, the free-thinking and tolerationist preacher, John Goodwin of Coleman Street, was that he had been about King Charles in his last moments, as a minister deputed by the regicides or by some of them to converse with him, and that, on the 30th of May 1649, three months and a half after the publication of Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, he had published a treatise called *The Obstructors of Justice opposed, or a Discourse of the honourable sentence passed upon the late King by the High Court of Justice*. In this treatise, written wholly after the King's death, he had but followed Milton and reiterated his doctrine, with admiring quotations from his text[1]. Altogether, the conjunction of Goodwin with Milton now was fit enough, although Goodwin, unless his ministerial

[1] See some account of Goodwin's book, with a curious extract from it about King Charles, in footnote to p. 95 of Vol. IV.

presence about the King in his last moments and on the scaffold were counted against him, was much the minor culprit of the two. But a difficulty seems to have occurred about both. If they also were placed among the twenty that day, fifteen of the twenty would have been chosen, and only five vacant places would be left. In view of the number of others in reserve, this was a serious consideration; and more and more the inconvenience of the limitation to twenty was felt. As the House could not, however, break its own resolution of "*twenty and no more*," an expedient seems to have suggested itself. Besides *all the regicides* and *twenty other delinquents*, according to the original scheme of two classes of exceptions only from the Indemnity Bill, why should not the House now invent a small and peculiar third class of exceptions, to consist of notorious *literary defenders of the regicide*, and put Milton and Goodwin at once into this class? Thus, at all events, there would be seven places left to be filled up of the twenty, instead of only five. The obvious objection was that the proposed procedure would be a trick. The House was engaged on an Indemnity Bill, and the very meaning of the Indemnity Bill was that every intended exception from it should be named in itself, so that, after it had passed, all not specifically named in it for exception, whatever their antecedents or the amount of their criminality, should be safe and free. It was but a pretence of escape from this dilemma to say that the cases of Milton and Goodwin might be provided for, apart from the Indemnity Bill altogether, by a present and independent order for burning their books, accompanied by a resolution for taking themselves into custody, and an order for their indictment in ordinary course of law by the Attorney-General. That, however, was what was proposed; and it seems to have, for the moment, satisfied all parties. The indictment of Milton and Goodwin, their books being what they were, pointed to their capital conviction and condemnation, if the Attorney-General should do his duty; and was not that better, in the case of two such peculiarly black criminals, than including them among the twenty, whose punishment, it had been expressly

determined, was to stop short of the scaffold? By some such reasoning I conceive Prynne to have reconciled himself that Saturday to the omission of Milton and Goodwin from the twenty. They would be hanged, at any rate, he could hope, in course of law; and, by that mode of disposing of them, seven more might be got in among the twenty, instead of only five.

Through Sunday, June 17, Milton, ruminating what had been determined concerning him in the Commons on the preceding day, may have had his own thoughts. But the very next day there was to be a surprise.

The debate on Monday June 18 over the filling up of the last seven places of the twenty seems to have exceeded all the foregoing in vehemence. Prynne had asterisked his seven; others had their asterisked sevens: the problem was to agree on any seven out of perhaps a score that might be brought forward. Actually brought forward, and argued for or against, were, as we know, these twelve,—Charles Fleetwood, Colonel Pyne, Colonel Philip Jones, Richard Cromwell, Major Salway, Richard Dean, Whitlocke again, Major Creed, Mr. Philip Nye, John Goodwin, Judge Thorpe, and Colonel Cobbet. Of these there escaped Jones, Richard Cromwell, Salway, Whitlocke again, and Thorpe; and the seven actually chosen by the House were Fleetwood, Pyne, Richard Dean, Creed, Nye, John Goodwin, and Cobbet. The selection of Nye at the last moment was a little peculiar, but may have recommended itself to the House on the ground that there was no representative of the Independent clergy yet among the twenty, and that Nye, of all the chiefs of that body, was most generally disliked. The surprise was in the selection of John Goodwin. Had he not been disposed of on Saturday, by the orders coupling him with Milton, securing the burning of their books, and handing over both pointedly for indictment by the Attorney-General? Whether because Prynne had been thinking over this arrangement since Saturday and had begun to have his doubts about it, or for some other reason, it was he that now moved that Goodwin should be secured by being made one of the twenty; and the House

seems to have had no difficulty in concurring. But how about Milton, thus dissevered from Goodwin, and left alone in the predicament in which they had both been placed on Saturday? Not a word more, so far as we know, was said this day about Milton. *Indictment by the Attorney-General, without inclusion among the Twenty*, remained the decreed procedure in his, now solitary, case. Perhaps well that it was so; perhaps well for Milton that they did not reconsider the arrangement of Saturday for him while they were reconsidering it for Goodwin. For, though they had now completed their tale of twenty, and had left Milton as a kind of twenty-first man, separated by a hiatus from the twenty, they had another device, worse than that, for the treatment of such supernumeraries. It was that of flinging them among the *Regicides*. The number of these was not so fixed but that any new person that might be conjectured as closely connected with the King's death might be added to it, and, actually, on this day, the last business of the House, after the tale of the twenty had been completed, was a separate vote that William Hewlet and Hugh Peters should be totally excepted from the indemnity. Hewlet, suspected of being one of the executioners, only came in where a blank had been left for him; but in the case of Peters the decision was a new step. They had ordered his arrest on June 7 on the speculation that he might be classed among the regicides; and now, on the 18th, they had put him in that class. Why did they adopt this course with Peters, instead of leaving him outstanding, for separate indictment, as a kind of twenty-second man, in company with Milton as the already outstanding twenty-first? Practically, no doubt, it was because Peters, in the view of the House, was a being *sui generis*; but it may have been fortunate for Milton that the question was not started whether it would not be more symmetrical, now that he was detached from Goodwin and left for indictment by himself, to club him and Peters together as the only supernumeraries. For, if that question had been started and argued logically, it might have led to the production of Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*; and, had a few

passages from that book been read, or even only its full title, with recollection of the date of publication, the end might have been that Milton, as well as Peters, would have been flung among the totally excepted regicides.

Through the remaining three weeks of the passage of the Bill through the Commons there was little or nothing of additional significance for Milton personally. He would hear of the efforts of Prynne and others to obtain the insertion of provisos increasing the revengeful character of the Bill; and, even in his condition, it may not have been without interest to him that the House had resisted those attempts, and especially that they had rejected, by a majority of 180 to 151, the proviso requiring all officials of the Protectorate to refund their salaries. On the 11th of July he would learn that the Bill was through the Commons substantially as it had been settled on the 18th of June, only with the transference into the category of the totally excepted of those eleven regicides who had not surrendered to the King's proclamation, but were still fugitive from justice. These were Blagrave, Cawley, Corbet, Dixwell, Goffe, Hewson, Livesey, Love, Okey, Walton, and Whalley. Altogether, to rectify his mental schedule of June 11 (ante, p. 169) so as to bring it up to date on July 11, when the Bill left the Commons, Milton had to transfer the names of these eleven from the lower section to the higher in the class of regicides, and also to insert in the same higher section the names of Peters and Hewlet, thus raising the number of the totally-excepted to *twenty-three* or *twenty-five*, and leaving but *thirty-two* in the section of those excepted for all but life. He had already filled up the space in the schedule left for the twenty other delinquents with the names of the twenty selected. The strange thing was that he himself had no place in any part of the schedule, and was the only man in the peculiar predicament of standing quite out of it under the menace of separate indictment by the Attorney-General.

But the Bill had to go through the Lords, and all might be disturbed. How far and in what way it would be disturbed by the Lords was the anxiety for Milton, and for

Milton's friends on his account, as for so many others on other accounts, from the 11th of July onwards[1]. The Lords, as we know, were deliberate and dilatory, and not till the beginning of August could Milton know the full drift of their proposed amendments on the Bill as it had been sent up from the Commons. He would then know that the Lords proposed to upset the whole arrangement made by the Commons about the twenty, taking Vane, Hasilrig, Lambert, and Axtell out of the twenty, as four deserving to be capital exceptions, but on the other hand dealing more leniently with the remaining sixteen by punishing them only with perpetual incapacitation for public office, instead of reserving them for any penalties short of death that might be fixed by a special Act. In this recast of the arrangement for the twenty Milton was concerned only in so far as it indicated the disposition of the Lords to make the regicides, as such, the objects of supreme vengeance, and to be content with a very few other capital exceptions. Here was Milton's danger in the Lords. From the moment they had the Bill in their House it was *the regicides, the regicides*, that they inquired after. Not content with the enumeration sent up by the Commons, they were exploring the whole history of the King's trial, last hours, and execution, over again for themselves, by the help of witnesses and documents, including the original death-warrant, demanded and obtained by them from Hacker in the Tower. Now, in every investigation round that fatal 30th of January 1648–9, there was the risk that Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, with all the circumstances of it, should be brought to light, and so that,

[1] On the 14th of July there was out in London, "printed and to be sold at divers booksellers' shops, 1660," a large folio leaf or placard with this title:—"*The Picture of the Good Old Cause, drawn to the life in the effigies of Master Praise God Barebone: with several examples of God's judgments on some eminent engagers against Kingly government.*" There is a professed portrait of Barebone, rather well done, with a kind of memoir; and in the accompanying letter-press seven examples of God's judgments on Republicans are specified as follows:—1. Dorislaus. 2. Anthony Ascham. "3. Milton, that writ two books against the King and Salmasius his Defence of Kings: struck totally blind, he being not much above 40 years old." 4. Alderman Hoyle of York (hanged himself). 5. Sir Gregory Norton (died mad). 6. The Levelling trooper Lockyer (shot). 7. Colonel Venn (died suddenly).—The copy I have seen is among the Thomason pamphlets, and bears the dating "July 14" in MS.

however willing the Lords might be to let Milton be punished only as a general political delinquent on account of his later writings and his secretaryship to the Commonwealth and Cromwell, they should be compelled to exhibit him as accessory to the regicide before the fact, and so to except him capitally. It is really singular that this did not occur; but it did not. With all the minuteness of their investigations through a whole month, the Lords do not seem to have once named Milton, or to have shown any signs of questioning the sufficiency of the peculiar arrangement for him made by the Commons. On the 10th of August, when they had shaped the Bill fully to their mind, what most interested Milton, besides the fact of their proposed breaking up of "the twenty" of the Commons into *four* to be totally excepted and *sixteen* to be incapacitated only, was that they had extended the list of regicides, refused any sub-classification of them into more guilty and less guilty, and (with condonation only for Lister and Pickering, in addition to Hutchinson, Tomlinson, and Ingoldsby) doomed them all equally for capital punishment,—and yet that they had, somehow or other, taken no note of himself in this vast connexion. Axtell, hitherto one of the twenty, they had voted to be a regicide; Hacker they had put in the same list; Adrian Scroope and Lassels they had put back into the list, refusing to agree with the Commons in condoning them; and these four, with all the other fifty-five or fifty-seven regicides already enumerated by the Commons, they had left merely to the scaffold or the King's mercy.

For three days (August 11–13), as we know, the Commons debated the amendments on the Bill as it had thus been sent back to them. They accepted the amendment of incapacitation for sixteen of their former twenty, and they consented to include Hacker among the regicides; but on other points they would not yield. They refused to agree in making Vane, Hasilrig, Lambert, and Axtell, capital exceptions; and they strenuously maintained their former classification of the regicides into less and more pardonable, insisting particularly that they were bound in honour to spare the lives of the

twenty-one regicides who had surrendered in faith in the King's proclamation, and also that there should be special favour for Adrian Scroope. On the 13th of August Solicitor-General Sir Heneage Finch was instructed to carry up this and other information respecting the Bill to the Lords.

Precisely on this 13th of August 1660, when the Indemnity Bill was thus hanging unsettled between the Lords and the Commons, did the Royal Proclamation respecting Milton and Goodwin, recommended by the Commons two months before, come out in print. It was placarded over London, and reprinted in the newspapers of the week, as follows:—

"Charles R.

"Whereas JOHN MILTON, late of Westminster in the County of Middlesex, hath published in print two several Books, the one intituled *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*, and the other in Answer to a Book intituled "The Portraicture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings"—in both which are contained sundry treasonable passages against Us and our Government, and most impious endeavours to justify the horrid and unnatural murder of our late dear Father of glorious memory; And whereas JOHN GOODWIN, late of Coleman Street, London, clerk, hath also published in print a Book intituled *The Obstructors of Justice*, written in *defence of his said late Majesty* [*sic* in some copies, the words "the traitorous sentence against" having marvellously dropped out in the printing]; And whereas the said JOHN MILTON and JOHN GOODWIN are both fled, or so obscure themselves that no endeavours used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they might be brought to legal trial, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offences:—

"Now, to the end that our good subjects may not be corrupted in their judgments with such wicked and traitorous principles as are dispersed and scattered throughout the before-mentioned books, We, upon the motion of the Commons in Parliament now assembled, do hereby strictly charge and command all and every person and persons whatsoever who live in any city, borough, or town incorporate, within this our Kingdom of England, the Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, in whose hands any of those Books are, or hereafter shall be, that they, upon pain of our high displeasure and the consequence thereof, do forthwith, upon publication of this our command, or within ten days immediately following, deliver or cause the same to be delivered to the Mayor, Bailiffs, or other Chief Officer or Magistrate,

in any of the said cities, boroughs, or towns incorporate, where such person or persons do live, or, if living out of any city, borough, or town incorporate, then to the next Justice of Peace adjoining to his or their dwelling or place of abode, or, if living in either of our Universities, then to the Vice-Chancellor of that University where he or they do reside.

"And, in default of such voluntary delivery, which we do expect in observance of our said command, That then, and after the time before limited expired, the said Chief Magistrate of all and every the said cities, boroughs, or towns incorporate, the Justices of Peace in their several counties, and the Vice-Chancellors of Our said Universities respectively, are hereby commanded to seize and take all and every the Books aforesaid, in whose hands or possession soever they shall be found, and certify the names of the offenders to our Privy Council.

"And We do hereby give special charge and command to the said Chief Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, and Chancellors, respectively, that they cause the said Books which shall be so brought unto any of their hands, or seized or taken as aforesaid by virtue of this Our Proclamation, to be delivered to the respective Sheriffs of those Counties where they respectively live, the first and next assizes that shall after happen; And the said Sheriffs are hereby also required, in time of holding such assizes, to cause the same to be publicly burnt by the hand of the common hangman.

"And We do further straitly charge and command that no man hereafter presume to print, sell, or disperse any of the aforesaid Books, upon pain of our heavy displeasure, and of such further punishment as, for their presumption on that behalf, may any way be inflicted upon them by the laws of this realm.

"Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 13th day of August in the 12th year of Our Reign, 1660."

It is worth observing that, though the Commons had moved for such a proclamation on the 16th of June, and though the order to the Attorney-General to draft it had been given at a Privy Council meeting on the 27th of June, the issue of it had been delayed till now. It is worth observing also that there is no further order in the proclamation for the arrest of Milton and Goodwin, both of whom it declares to have evaded all efforts for their apprehension hitherto, but only for the suppression and burning of their books. The order of the Commons of June 16 remained still the only warrant for taking either Milton or Goodwin into custody. The proclamation, however, reminds the public of that warrant, and of the fact that, if apprehended by it, the two would, in accordance with

the instructions of the Commons at the time of the warrant, "be brought to legal trial and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offences." Was this a hint that, unless the Lords and Commons were speedily to agree about the Indemnity Bill, the Government might be driven to that kind of independent action against such culprits which the Commons had prescribed for Milton and Goodwin together originally, though they had afterwards provided otherwise for Goodwin?

After conferences and struggles, extending over another fortnight, and chiefly by Hyde's expedients for compromise of differences, the two Houses did come to an agreement. The Commons gave up Axtell and also Adrian Scroope; they consented that Vane and Lambert should be tried capitally if the King thought fit, on condition that there should be a petition from the two Houses themselves for their lives; they induced the Lords to accept their final vote that Hasilrig should not be punished capitally, but only by penalties short of life; and, on the great question of the regicides that had surrendered on the Proclamation, and were therefore entitled in honour to some grace, they yielded so far as to consent that there should be no formal distribution of the regicides into those to be prosecuted capitally and those to be prosecuted non-capitally, but that all should be alike liable to capital prosecution, with only a saving clause for nineteen, to the effect that, if condemned, their execution should be stopped till ordered by Act of Parliament. And so at last the Bill of Indemnity passed the two Houses on the 28th of August; and on Wednesday, the 29th of August, it received the King's assent. An abstract of it as it then became law, and as it stands in the Statute-book, has been given (ante, pp. 54–56); and the singular and important fact for us here is that Milton's name does not occur in it from beginning to end. He had, therefore, the full benefit of the indemnity, without any exception whatever; and, by all construction of law and equity, the order of the Commons of June 16 for his special indictment by the Attorney-General was quashed and at an end. It was at an end also for Goodwin, whom the

Bill did mention by name, including him among eighteen persons incapacitated perpetually for any public trust. Not even this brand of incapacitation was put upon Milton.

There is no greater historical puzzle than this complete escape of Milton after the Restoration. It amazed people at the time[1]. "John Goodwin and Milton," says Burnet, in his summary account of the fates of the regicides, after expressing his surprise that Henry Marten escaped with his life, "did also escape all censure, to the surprise of all people. "Goodwin had so often not only justified, but magnified, the "putting the King to death, both in his sermons and books, "that few thought he could have been either forgot or "excused; for Peters and he were the only preachers that "spoke of it in that strain. But Goodwin had been so "zealous an Arminian, and had sown such division among "all the sectaries upon these heads, that it was said this "procured him friends. Upon what account soever it was, "he was not censured. Milton had appeared so boldly, "though with much wit, and great purity and elegancy of "style, against Salmasius and others, upon that argument of "putting the King to death, and had discovered such violence "against the late King and all the royal family, and against "Monarchy, that it was thought a strange omission if he "was forgot, and an odd strain of clemency if it was intended "he should be forgiven." There are several inaccuracies in this passage, besides the insufficient acquaintance with the extent of Milton's demerits shown by the omission of all reference to his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. Goodwin did *not* escape all censure, but was expressly named among the exceptions in the Indemnity Bill, though for incapacitation only. Milton, on the other hand, as we have seen, had not been *forgotten* in the course of the proceedings, though he emerged unscathed at the last. All the more

[1] "*De Miltono et captivis quid actum fuerit aut agetur proximis tuis mihi rescribes*" ("What has been done or is being done about Milton and the prisoners you will send me back word in your next,") is a quotation given by Professor Stern (*Milton und seine Zeit*, IV. 196) from a letter, dated Amsterdam, Aug. 10, 1660, among the Sloane MSS. (No. 649, f. 42 a). The letter, which is signed "Q. N. B.", is supposed by Professor Stern to be to Hartlib.

does such absolute final escape in his case require to be accounted for. Goodwin was dismissed with his minor punishment, if Burnet is right, because his Arminianism and years of hard hitting among the Calvinistic sects had recommended him to the new Anglican clergy as a pardonable animal after all. But why and how did Milton, with ten times Goodwin's culpability, escape altogether? The *why* lay in God's will, but we may inquire into the *how*.

Edward Phillips, writing in 1694, remembered his uncle's escape thus:—"It was in a friend's house in Bartholomew "Close, where he lived till the Act of Oblivion came "forth; which, it pleased God, proved as favourable to him "as could be hoped or expected, through the intercession "of some that stood his friends both in Council and Par-"liament: particularly, in the House of Commons, Mr. "Andrew Marvell, a member for Hull, acted vigorously in "his behalf, and made a considerable party for him,—so "that, together with John Goodwin of Coleman Street, he "was only so far excepted as not to bear any office in the "Commonwealth." Phillips ought not to have made this blunder of representing his uncle as excepted for incapacitation along with Goodwin, when the curious fact was that he escaped even that small punishment; but the rest of the passage is valuable. There can be no doubt that Marvell, the fine and faithful man, did exert himself to the uttermost for his friend and late co-secretary. Another tradition comes to us from the painter Richardson, born about 1665. In his Life of Milton, prefixed to his notes on *Paradise Lost*, in 1734, there is the following passage about Milton's escape:—"Some secret cause must be recurred to in accounting "for this indulgence. I have heard that Secretary Morrice "and Sir Thomas Clarges were his friends, and managed "matters artfully in his favour. Doubtless they or some-"body else did; and they very probably, as being very powerful "friends at that time; but still how came they to put their "interest on such a stretch in favour of a man so notoriously "obnoxious? Perplexed and inquisitive as I was, I at length "found out the secret; which he from whom I had it thought

"he had communicated to me long ago, and wondered he had "not. I will no longer keep you in expectation: 'twas Sir "William Davenant obtained his release, in return for his own "life procured by Milton's interest when himself was under "condemnation, *anno* 1650. A life was owing to Milton, "and 'twas paid nobly, Milton's for Davenant's at Davenant's "intercession. The management of the affair in the Commons, "whether by signifying the King's desire or otherwise, "was perhaps by those gentlemen named.—It will now be "expected I should declare what authority I have for this "story. My first answer is, Mr. Pope told it me. Whence "had he it? From Mr. Betterton. Sir William was his "patron.—To obtain full credit to this piece of secret history "'twill be necessary to digress a little, if indeed it be a "digression. Betterton was prentice to a bookseller, John "Holden, the same who printed Davenant's *Gondibert*. There "Sir William saw him, and, persuading his master to part "with him, brought him first on the stage. Betterton then "may be well allowed to know this transaction from the "fountain head."—This interesting tradition, so circumstantiated as having come from Davenant himself, through Betterton and Pope, also deserves attention.

Although Marvell must have done his utmost, and Davenant, we may well believe, took part, neither of them, nor the two together, could have effected anything, had not men of greater influence concurred. Marvell, though not an inactive member of the House, was hardly of much regard there; and Davenant's influence was only that of a non-parliamentary veteran restored to his laureateship and dramatic activity, and popular with the courtiers. The pardon in this case was not a something to be obtained by earnest private application to any one great person or even to the Privy Council. It had to be managed as part of a great and intricate business going through the two Houses of Parliament, where there were all sorts of opinions and tempers, where everything was openly debated, and where an indiscreet word or motion in Milton's favour, rousing Prynne or others, might have marred all. In short, after the minutest study I have been

able to give to the subject, I have no doubt that Milton's escape was the result of a powerful organization in his behalf, uniting a number of influences, and most skilfully and cunningly conducted.

That part of Richardson's tradition which mentions Monk's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Monk's intimate friend, Secretary Morrice, as having "managed matters artfully" in Milton's favour, is as significant as it is credible. They were men of weight in the Commons, and could command Monk's immediate adherents in that House for anything they wanted. Then Mr. Arthur Annesley, still more a leading man in the House, and with all the credit of having been the chief manager of the Restoration along with Monk, is found afterwards, under his higher title of Earl of Anglesey, on intimate terms with Milton, visiting him often, and "much coveting his society and converse," to the day of his death; and this points, if not to an acquaintance between them before the Restoration, at least to the origin of the subsequent acquaintance in Annesley's hearty cooperation now in Milton's behalf. But persons more powerful still must have at least concurred. Not a particular in the Bill of Indemnity, though it belonged to Parliament and to Parliament only, but must have been discussed privately by Hyde and his colleagues of the Junto or Cabinet, if not by the Privy Council as such. Annesley and Morrice were of the Privy Council and near to the Junto, and Monk as one of the chiefs of the Junto had all deference paid him; but everything depended, in last resort, on Hyde. Had Hyde been resolute against Milton, had he given the word that Milton must be left to his fate, no exertions to the contrary would have availed. Now, Hyde certainly did not like Milton. He had taken sufficient note when abroad of Milton's successive publications in defence of the Regicide. "Since so "impious and scurrilous a pamphlet as that written by "Milton" Hyde had written from St. Germains, Aug. 27, 1652, to one of his correspondents in Germany, "hath found "the way into Germany (where we hope it found the same "exemplary reproach and judgment it met in France), I

"suppose that book written by Salmasius hath likewise got "thither[1]." The reference here, of course, is to Milton's *Defensio Prima*, out since 1651. Copies had got into Germany, and Hyde hoped the book of Salmasius, to which it was an answer, was also in circulation there. Again, writing from Paris to Secretary Nicholas, Jan. 18, 1652–3, Hyde had said "Nothing is heard of Milton's book being translated into "French[2]." This referred to the *Eikonoklastes*, Durie's French translation of which was then just out in London, though Hyde was uncertain of the fact. "Though Jo. Jane be really "an able man," proceeds Hyde in the same letter, "are his "writings, if translated, weighty enough to gain credit in "other languages?" The reference here was to the anonymous *Eikon Aklastos* of 1651 in answer to Milton's *Eikonoklastes*. The author of that book[3] was Joseph Jane, a lawyer of some kind; and Jane himself and others were urging Hyde to have his book translated into French, so that there might be an antidote to Durie's translation of the *Eikonoklastes* when it reached France. As Hyde had hinted, the translation recommended had not been thought worth while, Jane's book being a wretchedly silly one; but, as late as April 27, 1654, one of Hyde's correspondents is found writing: "Mr. Jos. Jane desires to know whether his book "against Milton has been translated into French, as a Jersey "man undertook that task: he thinks that, were it printed "in French and dispersed, it might do some good especially "since Milton's book is now printed in French in England[4]." Altogether, there is plenty of evidence that Milton had been an object of very considerable attention to Hyde while abroad, and that, when Hyde was back in London, and in the Premiership, Milton had no reason to expect much mercy from him. Undoubtedly, however, Hyde must have given his consent to the proposal that Milton should be spared. One may imagine a generous relenting in one who was a scholar and man of letters himself towards an enemy of such indubitable ability

[1] Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers by Mr. Macray, II. 145.
[2] Ibid. 171.
[3] See account of it, in Vol. IV. pp. 349—350.
[4] Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers by Mr. Macray, II. 339.

and such high literary reputation; and one may imagine also how the fact of Milton's blindness and desolation would operate in his favour in any heart capable of pity. Indeed, we must suppose these two feelings,—admiration of Milton's intellectual power, though it had been exerted on what was now called the wrong side, and pity for his blind and disabled condition,—to have been the chief motives with many in being active for bringing him off, or at least not vehement for his punishment. The extent of Hyde's kindness can hardly have been more than a promise to Annesley, Morrice, and Clarges, that, if they could succeed in keeping Milton from being named among the exceptions to the Indemnity Bill in the Commons, he would not himself disturb that arrangement in the Lords, and would advise his Majesty to be satisfied. On some such understanding Annesley, Morrice, and Clarges must have acted, Davenant assisting and stimulating their efforts; and whatever could be done by talking and negotiating among likely members not on the Government bench, and representing to them what a man Milton was, and how unnecessary it was to proceed against him capitally, was done, we may be sure, by honest Andrew Marvell.

The business, we repeat, was one of extreme difficulty, and the least mismanagement might have been fatal. Two things, one can see, were essential. In the first place, it had to be contrived, if possible, that Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* should be kept out of sight and out of recollection. It is impossible to conceive the very title of that pamphlet to have been read in the House, especially if the date and other circumstances had been explained, without such instant effect as would have been disastrous and irretrievable. "Why, here is a regicide-in-chief," would have been the cry; "here is the very penman of the regicides, who was compassing and imagining the King's death on paper while he was still alive, equally with Cook, the prosecuting counsel, in his speeches at the trial, and with Peters in his preachings to the soldiers." Any incautious mention of that pamphlet of 1648–9 would have been ruinous; and hardly less desirable was any reference

to Milton's last pamphlet of all, his *Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, of so late a date as March 1660, and still in men's minds as his dying defiance of the Restoration. On the other hand, direct and open procedure, as if for bringing Milton off, would have been stupidly imprudent. On the contrary, he must be named, and named distinctly among the criminals; offences of his must be specified; and the procedure must be as if for his severe and sufficient punishment. Otherwise Prynne would have been on the floor of the House, and no entreaty could have stopped *his* mouth. Hence the method actually adopted. On the 16th of June there was the Resolution for the arrest of Milton, for moving the King to call in copies of his *Defensio Prima* and *Eikonoklastes* for public burning, and for instructing the Attorney-General to prosecute him and Goodwin by special indictment. That fastened full attention on the two most celebrated of Milton's defences of the regicide, the two that everybody remembered, though not legally the worst. It held out a prospect that Milton would soon be at the bar in the Old Bailey, and that thence he could hardly depart with less than a death sentence. From that moment, accordingly, he could be supposed set aside and disposed of, and the House could go on settling the fates of other criminals by the Indemnity Bill itself. To prevent Milton's case from coming up again in connexion with the Indemnity Bill, as Goodwin's had done within two days after his conjunction with Milton in the resolutions of the 16th of June, was then the policy. Till the Indemnity Bill should be through the two Houses, the Attorney-General's indictment must be supposed hanging over Milton, and the police in search of him. "Milton was not seized, nor perhaps very diligently pursued," says Dr. Johnson; and there may be something in the shrewd remark,—though, as Peters, who *was* "diligently pursued," evaded capture till the end of August, it is not necessary to suppose that the search for Milton was only pretended or slack. There is a story, first put in print by Warton, on information from the critic Thomas Tyers (1726–1787), that Milton's friends, to divert the search,

spread the rumour that he was dead, and got up a mock funeral to confirm the report, and that the King afterwards laughed heartily over the trick. The story may be at once set aside as a myth. There is no mention of the rumour, or of the funeral, in the London newspapers of the time, where such a thing would almost certainly have been turned into a paragraph; the mock-funeral trick was a stale one; and, if any one will try to conceive the alleged mock-funeral in Milton's case, in the visual form of a procession from some house, he will see that it could not possibly have happened, except by absurdly inviting attention to Milton's real hiding-place, or subjecting some other house and a number of persons to unnecessary inquiry. In fact, it mattered little, for the real issue, whether Milton remained in his hiding in Bartholomew Close or was captured and put in prison. What really mattered was that he should be still thought of by the public as a delinquent reserved for the law. Hence the appearance, August 13, when the Indemnity Bill was hanging in its last stage between the Commons and the Lords, of the King's proclamation about Milton and Goodwin. One may discern some meaning in Milton's favour in the delay of that proclamation for so many weeks after it had been moved for in the Commons, and actually ordered by the Council. Nor can one read the proclamation without noting the enormous advantage given to Milton by the mention only of his *Eikonoklastes* and his *Defensio Prima* as his treasonable books, and the total suppression, more particularly, of his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, the precursor by three months of Goodwin's *Obstructors of Justice*, the one book of Goodwin's mentioned in the same proclamation. I cannot persuade myself that this advantage to Milton was accidental. How easily, but for subtle pre-arrangement, the preamble of the proclamation might have run thus: "Whereas John Milton, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, hath published in print several Books, whereof one, entitled *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates: proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any who have the power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and, after*

due conviction, to depose and put him to death, was in preparation by the said John Milton while our dear Father, his late sacred Majesty of glorious memory, was still alive, and was put forth in London a fortnight after his Majesty's execrable murder, and whereof these following also contain sundry treasonable passages against Us and our Government, and most impious endeavours to justify the said horrid and unnatural murder: to wit, one entitled," &c.! Had such a proclamation appeared, would there not have been a necessity, even at that stage, for Lords and Commons to go back upon Milton's case, retract the mere order for his indictment by the Attorney-General, and insert him by name in the Indemnity Bill, beside Hugh Peters, among the unpardonable regicides? There had been precaution against this; only the order for indictment by regular process was left hanging over Milton; and, sixteen days afterwards, when the Houses had put their last touches to the Indemnity Bill, and the King had given his assent to it (August 29), it came forth without Milton's name in it anywhere or anyhow, so that the order for his indictment was made waste paper by that fact, and he could walk abroad an absolutely free man.

Not all at once, it seems. It was fated that Milton should, for a while, experience the inside of a prison. We know for certain, by the words of the Proclamation of the 13th of August, that he remained uncaptured then; but it is as certain that the sergeant-at-arms of the Commons had him in custody some little time afterwards.—It is just possible that this official, "James Norfolke, Esq.," tracked out Milton's hiding-place between the proclamation on the 13th and the passing of the Indemnity Bill on the 29th, and so had him in custody before the order for his arrest of June 16 could be considered legally cancelled. In that case, Milton was lying in some prison when the Indemnity Bill was receiving those last touches of which we have spoken, and when there were the first burnings of his books by the hangman. These seem to have begun in London on the 27th of August, two days before the passing of the Indemnity Bill, but to

have been repeated several times through the following week or ten days, as copies came to hand. "This week, according "to a former proclamation," say the newspapers of Sept. 3–10, 1660, "several copies of those infamous books made "by John Goodwin and John Milton in justification of the "horrid murder of our late glorious sovereign King Charles "the First were solemnly burnt at the session house in the "Old Bailey by the hand of the common hangman." Such burnings in London and Westminster were but the signal for burnings that were to continue for some time in different parts of the country, though it may be inferred from the numbers of copies of the several books that have come down to our own day that people took very little trouble to obey his Majesty's strict order for their surrender, and that there was no very general visitation of libraries to secure copies. It may have been not inconvenient for Milton to be under lock and key himself while they were burning his books.— On the whole, however, Phillips's words, already quoted, rather imply that his uncle was not in custody at the passing of the Indemnity Bill. He takes no notice of his uncle's imprisonment at all, having apparently forgotten it; but he speaks as if his uncle came out of Bartholomew Close, and began to be led about the streets again, the moment the Bill passed. In that case his arrest was a subsequent affair, of which the date is uncertain. The likeliest time would be during the seven weeks of the recess of Parliament from Sept. 13 to Nov. 6. The sergeant-at-arms, arguing with himself that it was no business of his to regard the order of the Commons of June 16 for Milton's arrest as cancelled by the Bill, and that at all events he had fees to expect from Milton before letting him out of his grasp, seems to have ventured on apprehending him. The Indemnity Bill, indeed, positively forbade, under damages and other penalties, such arresting or troubling of any one who could plead the benefit of it; but Mr. Norfolke had the extraordinary warrant of the House of Commons itself for Milton's arrest, and could allege that, though the House had sat a fortnight after the passing of the Indemnity Bill, they had not repealed the warrant. It was

not for him to assume it to be repealed or to reconcile it with the Indemnity Bill. In fact, it was the interest of officials generally that persons who had been in peculiar danger should not escape by merely pleading the Indemnity, but should be induced to obtain double assurance of their safety by the process of applying for their pardons individually under the great seal or privy seal in terms of the Indemnity, and so yielding clerks and other gentlemen their proper perquisites. It may have been no great mishap to Milton if Mr. Norfolke did capture him early in the recess, and prevent him from being seen in the streets through all that time. It was the dreadful time of the trials of the regicides, and of the hangings and quarterings of Harrison, Carew, Cook, Hugh Peters, Scott, Clements, Scroope, and Jones, at Charing Cross, and Axtell and Hacker at Tyburn (Oct. 13–19). Milton had known those men, or most of them; some of them may have been his familiars; Harrison must have been a man after his own heart in many things. The horror of that week of bloodshed, we shall suppose, passed round Milton in London while he was immured somewhere, and it was impossible for any of the mobs coming from the executions to surround him in a chance walk in any bye-way, and salute him in mob-fashion as the blind regicide who had been left unhanged. The various proceedings for the reconstitution of the Church of England having also passed, including his Majesty's assurance to the Presbyterians, by his *Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs* of October 25, that the episcopacy now set up was not to be high episcopacy, but a moderate and limited episcopacy, much after Usher's model, the recess came to an end and the two Houses reassembled. From November 6, when they did reassemble, they had so much to do with their revenue debates, their bill for the attainder of the dead regicides, and other matters, that it was not till the 15th of December that they could attend to the case of Milton. On that day, which was a Saturday, they did attend to it. „ *Ordered* that Mr. Milton, now in custody of the "sergeant-at-arms attending this House, be forthwith re-"leased, paying his fees," is the entry on the subject in the

journals. In other words, the House had concluded that most certainly Milton must have the full benefit of the Indemnity Bill, but that, as he had been arrested by authority of an order of theirs of older date, the sergeant-at-arms must not lose his money. The money seems to have been forthcoming at once, enabling Milton to leave prison that day and to spend the Sunday with his friends. But the fees demanded by Mr. Norfolke had been exorbitant; and on the Monday (Dec. 17), "a complaint having been made that the sergeant-"at-arms had demanded excessive fees for the imprisonment "of MR. MILTON," it was ordered "that it be referred to "the committee for privileges to call Mr. Milton and the "Sergeant before them, and to determine what is fit to be "given the Sergeant for his fees in this case." Such is the entry in the journals; but on other authority we learn that the fees demanded had been £150, a sum equal to about £500 now. On the same authority, we learn that it was Mr. Andrew Marvell that made the complaint in Milton's behalf and obtained the modifying order, and that he was seconded by "Colonel King and Colonel Shapcott," while, on the contrary, Sir Heneage Finch observed that Milton "was Latin Secretary to Cromwell and deserved hanging." The Colonel King so mentioned I take to have been Edward King, one of the members for Great Grimsby, and the Colonel Shapcott to have been Robert Shapcott, one of the members for Tiverton. It may be assumed, I think, that they had been among those acting in Milton's interest all through. It would be curious if the Edward King of this occasion were some relative of the Edward King of *Lycidas*[1].

Milton, on being fully restored to liberty in December 1660, did not return to his former house in Petty France, but, as his nephew tells us, "took a house in Holborn, near Red Lion Fields." He had lived in Holborn, it may be

[1] Phillips's Memoir of Milton; Todd's Life, p. 116 (for the burning of Milton's books as early as the 27th Aug.); *Parliamentary Intelligencer* of Sept. 3—10, 1660; Commons Journals of dates; Parl. Hist. IV. 162, adding the details of Dec. 17, as I imagine, from the contemporary MS. diary used in aid of the Journals.

remembered, once before: viz. from about September 1647, when he broke up his school-establishment in the Barbican, to March 1648–9, when he became Latin Secretary to the first Council of State of the Commonwealth. The part of Holborn where he now took a house, however, was not that part, on the south side, where he had formerly had his quarters among the houses opening backward into Lincoln's Inn Fields, but was on the north side, nearer Bloomsbury, where Holborn has now Red Lion Square behind it. Both the Square and the "Fields" which preceded it derived their name from the Red Lion Inn, once the largest inn in Holborn. Milton's new house, taken only till he could find one more suitable, must have been some small tenement near the bustle of the Inn, with the Fields behind it. There he began life over again after the Restoration, looking about in the havoc caused by that event, as a blind man could look[1].

What had become, during Milton's abscondence and imprisonment, of those public persons with whom he had been most intimately associated through the time of his secretaryship, and of whom his recollections were strongest?

Oliver Cromwell had been dead two years; but, in December 1660, thoughts would revert even to him, if only because they had then resolved to drag his body from its tomb and hang it up at Tyburn. They were to do the same with the body of Bradshaw, and that would recall also Bradshaw's living image and valued friendship. Richard Cromwell had vanished for the time abroad. Henry Cromwell was in England, signifying his complete submission to his present Majesty's government in any way that should not be inconsistent with his "natural love to his late father," pleading also that in the time of his government of Ireland he had proved himself to be no fanatic in politics, inasmuch as he had "encouraged a learned ministry," "maintained several bishops," and been favourable to the king's friends," and hoping that those things would be considered, and that he and his family might be allowed to live on in peace, with some fragment of their Irish

[1] Phillips's Memoir; Cuningham's Handbook of London, Art. *Red Lion Square.*

estates confirmed to them[1]. Of the regicides that had been especially known to Milton, besides any that were dead before the Restoration, or had been hanged and quartered since, there was Whalley, one of the condemned fugitives, and to be heard of no more. Milton's especial friend Vane, and Lambert, whose exploits for the Commonwealth he had also celebrated, were prisoners for life, with the possibility of the scaffold expressly reserved for either or both. Overton, Milton's best beloved of all the republican soldiers, was in no such extreme danger, and might even have expected to be in some favour with the new powers on account of his memorable imprisonment through the Protectorate. He seems, however, to have been an object of special suspicion just at the time of Milton's release; for a note of news in *Mercurius Publicus* for Dec. 13–20, 1660, is that "Colonel Robert Overton, formerly called Major-General Overton, is sent to the Tower," and one finds elsewhere that a porter living in St. Andrew's, Holborn, gave evidence that week that he had been "employed by "Major-General Overton to pack and carry divers trunks and "bedding from Counsellor Vaughan's, Holborn Bar, to Mr. "Stanbridge's, Three Leg Alley, Fetter Lane[2]." Cromwell's son-in-law, Fleetwood, Milton's friend from their boyhood, was now past all his greatness, and more permanently under a cloud than Overton. He was one of those incapacitated for life by the Indemnity Bill; in which list also were Desborough, Sydenham, and Pickering, three of the Councillors of the Republic and the Protectorate for whom Milton had expressed his particular respect. On the same list were St. John, whom he must have known well, and John Goodwin, connected with him now so notoriously. Lawrence, Whitlocke, Strickland, and Algernon Sidney, four others of the Councillors of the Commonwealth grouped for such honourable mention by Milton in 1654, were not among the formally incapacitated, but were quite out of public view, with small chance of further activity. Sidney, indeed, had not dared to return to England from that embassy to Denmark on which he had been sent in July 1659

[1] Mrs. Green's Calendar of State Papers, 1660—1, p. 519: Petition of Henry Cromwell.

[2] Ibid. p. 418; and *Merc. Pub.* of date.

by the Restored Rump. There were reports of his still incurable republicanism, and of the dreadful things he had been saying and doing in that spirit at Copenhagen. Congratulated there by some one on not having been one of those who had been guilty of sentencing Charles or signing his death-warrant, though he had been nominally one of his judges, "*Guilty!*" he had exclaimed: "why, it was the justest and bravest action that "ever was done in England or anywhere else"; and, on hearing that there was a design to seize him, he had gone to the King of Denmark, and asked who was at the bottom of the design, "*Est ce notre bandit?*," meaning Charles II[1]. How different the fate of that Montague, "of the highest ability and the best culture and accomplishments," whom Milton had praised on that account in 1654 in the same sentence in which he had noticed Sidney for his "illustrious name," and who had been conjoined with Sidney as plenipotentiary for the Rump in his mission to the Baltic Courts. It was during that mission that he had first veered round to Charles; and now he was Earl of Sandwich, and Charles's great liegeman, with Milton's farewell blessing.

So much for those eminent leaders and statesmen of the Commonwealth to whom Milton's personal relations had been closest. But we must not forget Thurloe and Milton's other colleagues or acquaintances of the Council Office. Thurloe had been handsomely forgiven, and might have been taken into Charles's service, with fine prospects, had he chosen; but he preferred being remembered by posterity as Oliver's secretary only, and was to spend his few remaining years in private between his country-place in Oxfordshire and his chambers in Lincoln's Inn[2]. Jessop, one of the two chief clerks in Cromwell's council office under Thurloe, had accommodated himself to the Restoration, had been clerk to the House of Commons in the Convention Parliament from the beginning, and had obtained a patent of that office for life, with hopes of other good things[3]. As clerk of the Commons, he may

[1] English Cycl., Article *Algernon Sidney*, with quotations there from letters between Sidney and his father.

[2] Birch's Life of Thurloe, prefixed to his State Papers.

[3] Commons Journals, April 25, and Sept. 11 and 13, 1660.

possibly have been of use to Milton in the passage of his case through the House,—who knows? Scobell, Jessop's fellow-clerk under Thurloe, and since then clerk of Cromwell's Second Parliament, and troubled on that account by the Restored Rump, did not fare so well as Jessop. He had been required to deliver up to Jessop all parliamentary papers in his possession [1], and was now therefore a retired Cromwellian official, from whom a visit to Milton would be nothing strange. Morland and Downing, the former *attachés* of Thurloe's office, and well known to Milton about the office even before he had drafted their credentials for their famous foreign missions for Cromwell on the Piedmontese business and on others, are not likely to have darkened Milton's door. They were now Sir Samuel Morland and Sir George Downing, the two prosperous renegades of the Restoration. Mr. John Durie, who had also figured so much in Cromwell's diplomacy, and in Milton's society and correspondence, would not, for any consideration, have behaved like Morland and Downing; but even he had succumbed, and was trying to manœuvre. In July 1660 we find him writing to the King, and offering "a method of treating about peace and unity in matters of religion between the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties"; and there is evidence that for some months afterwards he was in hopes of being able to renew, under the government of Charles, and with countenance from Hyde and the new clergy, his labours for his life-long idea of a union of all the Protestant Churches, and was willing in that behalf to represent himself as "never having served the turn of any party," and as quite ready, in loyalty to his restored Majesty, to forget that there had ever been a Commonwealth or a Cromwell. The Restoration Government, however, would have nothing to do with Mr. Durie; and having lost his post of keeper of the library at St. James's, he was to go abroad early in 1661, and to remain abroad for the rest of his life [2]. Milton's old friend Hartlib, also a supernumerary in Thurloe's office, was still extant, in

[1] Commons Journals May 8 and 11, 1660.

[2] Mrs. Green's Calendar of State Papers (under date July 6, 1660) p. 112; Kennett's Register, pp. 197—198; Bayle, Art. *Durèus*; Stern's *Milton und seine Zeit*, IV. 21, 22, and note.

his house in Axe-yard, in Westminster, beside his daughter and her husband, the chemist Clodius, and with another daughter just married to another German, named Roder; nor, though he accommodated himself to the Restoration as well as he could, and had many Restoration acquaintances, of whom Pepys was one, can he have ceased to look after Milton, or at least to remember him among those he had known longer[1]? Of Meadows, Milton's former assistant in the foreign secretaryship, and lately ambassador for Cromwell on the great Swedish-Danish business, one would like to know more than we do. He had returned from the Baltic before the Restoration, and seems now to have withdrawn from affairs, to live on, highly respected, as Sir Philip Meadows, because of some Danish or Swedish knighthood that had been conferred upon him. The present whereabouts of Andrew Marvell, the successor of Meadows in the Latin co-secretaryship with Milton, is no secret to us. Whoever forsook Milton or was to forsake him, the brave member for Hull, who had stood his friend so faithfully through his late danger, was to cultivate him and be proud of him to the last. Marvell was living in Westminster, and had begun thence his series of letters to his Hull constituents[2].

What had become of Marchamount Needham, of the *Mercurius Politicus*, who had absconded about the same time as Milton, with a hue and cry after him to Amsterdam, describing him as likely to be seen in that city, a hawk-nosed, short-sighted, thin-bodied man, wearing ear-rings (Vol. V. p. 702)? He had remained in Amsterdam or elsewhere abroad till the Indemnity Bill passed; and then, finding himself not among the exceptions, he had boldly returned to London. "There is lately come to town that subtile sophister, Mar— "Ned—, Oliver's vindicator, the metropolitan pamphleteer "and writer of that damnable," &c., is the announcement, under date October 1, 1660, in a wretched weekly periodical of the day, trying to establish itself by obscenities and gossip.

[1] Pepys, under dates July 10 and Aug. 7, 1660.

[2] The first preserved letter of the series is dated Nov. 17, 1660. See Grosart's edition of Marvell's Works, II. 17—20.

But the extraordinary fact of Needham's escape with impunity had already formed the subject of a formidable special pamphlet, published on the 7th of September, with the title "*A Rope for Pol., or a Hue and Cry after Marchemount Needham, the late scurrilous news-writer: being a Collection of his horrid Blasphemies and Revilings against the King's Majesty, his person, his cause, and his friends, published in his weekly Politicus.*" On the title-page were two Scripture texts, the first being 2 Sam. xix. 21, "Shall not Shimei be put to death for this, because he cursed the Lord's Anointed?" Then followed "an advertisement to the reader," starting with the question "whether more mischiefs than advantages were not occasioned to the Christian world by the invention of typography," dilating on the enormities of the English press since the beginning of the Revolution, and indicting Needham in particular as "the Goliath of the Philistines, the "great champion of the late usurper, whose pen was in com-"parison of others like a weaver's beam." The present pamphlet, it is announced, is to consist of a series of specimen-extracts from the *Mercurius Politicus* under Needham's editorship, from which the reader will doubtless "judge that, had "the Devil himself, the father of lies, and who has his name "from calumny, been in this man's office, he could not have "exceeded him." The pamphlet was published lest, "through the inconsiderableness of his person," so heinous an offender should be forgotten. "I have no enmity to his person," says the writer, "but nevertheless there is some kind of necessity "that he that hath with so much malice calumniated his "sovereign, so scurrilously abused the nobility, so impudently "blasphemed the Church, so industriously poisoned the "people with dangerous principles, should at least carry some "mark about him, as the recompense of his villainies." Then comes the body of the pamphlet, consisting of forty-five pages of accurately cited extracts from the *Mercurius Politicus*, from its first number, published June 13, 1650, to its 386th number, published about the close of 1657. The array is most impressive and effective, including such recurring phrases about Charles II. as "young Tarquin," "the lad," "the

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thing called his Majesty," and such expressions about the death of Charles I. as "the heroic and most noble act of justice in judging and executing the late King." Some of the longest and most striking extracts are from the remarkable series of leaders that appeared in *Mercurius Politicus* during that year or more, from September 1650, or, at all events, from January 1650–1, onwards, when Milton was censor or superintending editor of the paper, and, as I believe, a contributor. Milton's connexion with the paper was now out of mind; it was Needham that had to bear the brunt. Notwithstanding this convenient "rope for Pol.," so temptingly furnished, they could not now hang him; and he was to live on in England as long as Milton himself, and a little longer. As he had twice changed his politics before becoming editor of the *Mercurius Politicus* in 1650, one would not have been surprised if he had become Government journalist for Charles II. But, since his flight in April 1660, Henry Muddiman and Giles Dury had been jointly in possession as the authorized Restoration journalists. They had been publishing the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* on Mondays and the *Mercurius Publicus* on Thursdays, with John Macock and Thomas Newcome for the joint-printers since May, and John Birkenhead as the supervising censor and licencer since November. Newcome, so long Needham's printer and Milton's, has to be noted therefore as one of the most rapid of the Restoration turncoats. Was Needham himself, who had changed his colours twice already, to change them once more? To do him justice, he seems to have had no desire to try another political phase. To earn an honest livelihood, he abandoned literature for the time, and resumed the practice of physic[1].

[1] *The Man in the Moon*, No. 2 (Oct. 1660); dated copy of *A Rope for Pol.* among the Thomason Pamphlets; Wood's Ath. 1182—1190; my notes from Stationers' Registers for 1660. Newcome's last registration of Needham's *Mercurius Politicus* had been on March 29, 1660; Macock had begun the printing of *Mercurius Publicus* a week before; and Macock and Newcome are co-printers of that and the *Intelligencer*. Early in May they register the papers by authority, but without the name of any licencer till November 1660, when Birkenhead steps in as licencer.—Wood actually hints that Needham had managed to bribe Hyde. The supposition seems preposterous, and could hardly have been entertained by the good antiquary but for his strong personal antipathy to the Chancellor.

Claudii Salmasii ad Johannem Miltonum Responsio, opus posthumum ("Reply of Claudius Salmasius to John Milton, a posthumous work"): such was the title of a little book of 304 pages duodecimo, in very small print, which had been registered on the 29th of September by three booksellers, "Mr. John Martin, Mr. James Allestree, and Thomas Dicas," and which was out in London, from their shop "at the sign of the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard," in December, just about the time when Milton obtained his release and was settling himself in Holborn. It was, in fact, that reply to Milton's first *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* which Salmasius, at his death in September 1653, had left unfinished. Milton, as we know, had heard again and again, even while Salmasius was alive, of some such book as in preparation, and had waited for its appearance; but, as it never had appeared, he had begun to have doubts as to its existence in any publishable form. Dr. Crantzius, indeed, in his preface to Ulac's Hague reprint of the *Defensio Secunda* in 1654, had said, "If ever the posthumous book of the great man shall come "forth, Milton will feel that even the dead can bite: I have "happened to see a portion of it; and, heavens! what a "blackguard is Milton, if one may trust Salmasius!" Years, however, had passed without farther word of the book, the publication of which in Holland, or even in France, was no easy matter while Cromwell's Protectorate lasted. Not till the Protectorate was a thing of the past, and the British Islands were in the anarchy preceding the Restoration, do steps seem to have been taken by the representatives and executors of Salmasius to give his manuscript to the world. "Of my posthumous adversary, as soon as he makes his "appearance, be good enough to give me the earliest in-"formation," Milton had written to Henry Oldenburg in Paris on the 20th of December 1659. And lo! now, after another year, here was the book, printed and published in London, close to his own door. It was a judicious arrangement on the part of the friends of Salmasius. The book would fall on Milton when his hands were tied from every attempt at reply and he must receive it helplessly as part of his

punishment. It would also be welcome to the royalists as a chastisement of Milton personally, and as a new argument in favour of Monarchy by a man whose fame was still great throughout Europe. As early as September 1653, the very month of the death of Salmasius, Hyde had been making inquiries about "the book Salmasius had prepared to print against Milton," and desiring from Secretary Nicholas a complete catalogue of the writings of the dead scholar. The publication now of the *Ad Johannem Miltonum Responsio* in London under his own premiership may have been noted by Hyde, therefore, with some satisfaction[1].

The book being in Latin, only learned readers at the time could know distinctly what it said of Milton, or how it argued for Monarchy again in opposition to Milton's reasonings in the *Defensio Prima*. Copies of the book are now scarce, and the tradition of it is very vague. Some account of it, therefore, may be expected here.

There is, first, a dedication of the book to Charles II by Claudius Salmasius, the son and representative of the deceased author, dated from Dijon, Sept. 1, 1660[2]. "I had no need "to deliberate, most serene King," says this dedication, "to whom I should consecrate my father's Reply to John "Milton, inasmuch as it is your own property, and can now "behold the happy re-erection by yourself of that kingly "dignity in your England which had for some years been "ruthlessly overthrown. It seems to me to belong to you "no less rightfully than did the *Royal Defence* itself, written "by him to your order and inscribed by him with your name. "Whereas, however, this Reply had begun to be printed in "such turbulent and sad times of your kingdoms as there "have been heretofore, I reckon it now the chief part of my "happiness that it finds your Majesty restored to your "paternal throne, your native country, and all your goods,

[1] Stationers' Registers for date of registration of the *Responsio*; Thomason Catalogue for month of publication (day of month not given); Macray's Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, II. 255; and ante Vol. V. pp. 151—152 and p. 635.

[2] From the catalogue of the Bodleian I find that there are two copies of the book in that library,—one of the London edition, and another of an edition in quarto published *Divione* (i.e. at Dijon) 1660). This last must have been an edition for sale on the continent.

"as if by right of recovery after absence, amid the auspicious "acclamations of your peoples."

The book itself consists of a Preface, occupying fifty pages, printed without the least break by paragraphing, two completed chapters, each of greater length, printed in the same uncomfortable fashion, and a considerable fragment of a third chapter, ending in the middle of a sentence, with thirteen asterisks added to mark the fact, and with the subjoined words "*Cætera desunt in Autographo*" ("*The rest wanting in the Author's Manuscript*"). The manuscript used for it, or for any portion that had already been in type on the Continent, was that which Salmasius had begun at the Court of Queen Christina in Sweden in May 1651, when Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* had just reached him there, and the smart of that terrible answer to the *Defensio Regia* was felt most severely; but it had been revised and languidly continued at intervals in 1652, after Salmasius had returned from Sweden to Holland, and may be regarded as in the main a performance of that year, with feeble touches of addition even in 1653, when it was left among the dead scholar's papers. The sole interest of the book now lies in its vituperations of Milton. These straggle through the whole. Direct and special retaliation on Milton, however, is the business of the fifty pages of preface; and a string of translated sentences from those pages will be enough here:—

There appeared two years and more ago a *Defensio Regia* for Charles the First, who, with sacrilegious daring, and with a criminality heard of nowhere else before, was slain with parricidal axe by impious and rebellious citizens, for no other cause than that he was a king, and that they wanted to reign themselves. That writing experienced various judgments, not only here in Holland, but also in other places, according as the author and the cause pleased or displeased different sets of persons. The majority, however, judged of it as the matter itself seemed to demand, and as the atrocity of the crime deserved, and condemned unanimously a deed which, to almost all save those that perpetrated it, or had part in that nefarious conspiracy, could appear no otherwise than detestable and to be visited upon its authors with avenging flames. That Defence ran through the hands and through the talk of the public, set forth in several editions, and translated into various languages, for the space of a year and more before any ill-employed fellow

presented himself who could, or would, undertake the work of refuting it. The infamous authors of the parricide, as appears, sought for some one among their adherents fit to handle well this bad cause, and found none; but at length there crept forth from his hovel a certain obscure scamp of a low London schoolmaster, who offered himself to those labouring to find such an one as he turned out to be, and ventured to promise that he would execute the task, if it were assigned to him, neither idly nor weakly. He had, he said, all the possible requisites in abundance for hatcheting out such a work,—a forehead of iron, a heart of lead, a mischievous spirit, an evil tongue, an atrocious style; his match in railing could not be found; no calumniator anywhere in existence, no sycophant, no impostor, by whom he could be beaten, or that he could not beat. He had in his possession at home such chests full of scurrilities that, if they were but crammed with as many coins, he would surpass in wealth the griffins that inhabit the golden mountains. Not that he promised to turn a very bad cause into a good one, for who can do that? But that he would strive by every means to get up a delusion for the credulous, and impose it upon the less cautious by plenty of lying. Either the parricide admitted of no sort of defence whatever, or he would defend it so that it should come out defended by the same arts by which it had been committed. And truly he has performed more than he promised, more even than could be required of him. . . . Among the terms of reproach with which Milton has aspersed Salmasius is his designation of Professor, as if it were a greater crime to be a professor than to be a parricide. . . . But who objects this to Salmasius? The man who was master in a petty London school, and to whom it seemed a more compendious way to riches to attack the King's life and furnish a pleading for the parricide by which he was taken off than to set tasks of dictation to boys, and teach lists of odd vocables. The same gentleman has the additional distinction of having repudiated his wife after a year of marriage, for certain or uncertain reasons known to himself, and of propounding the lawfulness of divorce for any cause whatsoever, and wounding the reputation of the wives of others by calumnious insinuations. In many places he calls Salmasius a little scrub of a fellow. On my word, when I read those passages, I thought he must be himself well nigh among the giants for height of body. Yet it has been reported to me by those who have seen him that he is a pigmy in stature, a giant in malice only. . . . Who, or whence, is Milton? Who ever heard his name before this Defence of his for the English people? Nay, many deny that even that Defence is of his authorship, farther than the mere title, averring that it was written by a certain insignificant French schoolmaster, who teaches boys a deal of nothing in London, inasmuch as those who have pretty intimate acquaintance with Milton himself seriously deny that he knows Latin or can write it. . . . I am of another opinion myself. For,

if Milton is a poet, and of no mean aspiration either, why should he not be able also to be an eloquent orator? But that he has sought the laurel-wreath on account of some namby-pamby poetry is proved by his printed *Poemata*, in which he exults in the fact that his father, in producing him, had bestowed a poet on the world. But that he is no better a poet than he is a citizen appears from this, that, just as, in his character of a bad citizen, he sins against the laws of his country by defending its rebels, so, being a very bad poet, he frequently violates the laws of metre by putting shorts for longs and longs for shorts. Thus he shortens the last syllable in *quotannis* [1], the first syllable in *paruisset* [2], the first also in *semifracta* [3], and in the proper name *Opis* [4], and the second syllable in *Jacobus* [5]. He commits many other errors in these poems throughout, offensive both to grammar and to the Latin idiom. He has *Belgia* for *Belgium* [6]. He might as well write *Gallium* for *Gallia*. He calls birds *augures* [7]; why should not birds as well be spoken of as *aucupes*? He calls the sky *stelliparum* [8], as if it produced stars. There is an infinity of other things, which I omit, and among them verses out of rule, such as *et callebat avium linguas* [9]. Even though he had not annexed to those poems the age at which they were written, we should have easily seen that they were the poems of a boy. But he ought to correct his boyish errors now that he is a man, especially as he caused them to be reprinted in London a few years ago. Had this been his style for ever, and he had spent his time only in singing of loves, or in writing doleful funeral elegies, I should think much better of him as the worst of poets than I do now that he figures as the best of patrons in protecting the worst of causes. For I would rather have the blunt pen of a leaden poet than the sharp axe of an iron hangman or defender of hangmen. . . . One observes it as of considerable consequence, Milton, that you announce your Defence as having been undertaken *Pro Populo Anglicano*, for the English people. For the English people? Is it that English people for whom the dying King, in his extreme hour, expressed his care in his last words, praying to God for their safety? Is it that English people you speak for that now groans under a savage tyranny, and would assuredly recall its King from death if it could, or give back his throne to his heir, and restore the form of ancient government which has prevailed in England from time immemorial? Is it that people, Milton, that has empowered you to plead its cause

[1] *Eleg. V.* 30, where *quotannis* stood in the edition of 1645: rectified into *perennis* in that of 1673.

[2] Possibly *In Quint. Nov.* 165; where, however, the word is *paruere*.

[3] *In Quint. Nov.* 143, where *semifractaque* stood in the first edition: changed into *præruptaque* in the second.

[4] Is the reference here to *Mansus*, 47? The word there is now *Upin*, with the right quantity.

[5] First line of the third of the epigrams *In Proditionem Bombardicam*; where the liberty was taken knowingly and deliberately.

[6] *Eleg. III.* 12, where *Belgia* still stands.

[7] *Eleg. III.* 25.

[8] *Eleg. VI.* 85.

[9] *Epitaph. Damonis*, 76.

and defend the crime? What ill has *it* done or merited? Did *it* revolt from its King, make war upon him, give him up captive at last to the executioner? Nay, it would willingly give up to the executioner, if it could, all those who, by a wicked deed and with monstrous fury, deprived it of the best of kings. More fitly and truly, Milton, might you have entitled your Defence *Pro Rebellibus Angliæ*, for the Rebels of England, or *Pro factione Brounistarum et Independentium*, for the Faction of the Brownists and Independents. . . . Lest any one hereafter should be misled by Milton's deceptive phraseology, his People of England is merely Cromwell, with his satellites and underlings, the commanders, colonels, and captains of the rebel army. . . . Salmasius, according to Milton, intermeddled with the affairs of another commonwealth. A great crime, forsooth! Was it not allowable? "No," says Milton, "for he is a foreigner "and a grammarian, though he deny it a thousand times." With perfect justice he denies it. Milton himself would admit that it is rightly denied, if he understood Latin or Greek. For he would then understand that the Greeks and Romans recognised by the name of grammarian only a person who publicly taught and read the poets and historians and expounded them; and that Salmasius has done this it will verily be hard for him to prove. If, however, Milton will insist that Salmasius has practised this art, Salmasius may with better right and more truth contend that Milton was one of the two vizored executioners who cut off the King's head. But come, let us grant the schoolmaster what he wants. Let Salmasius *be* a grammarian. Why on that account should he not write of the affairs of another state? How many grammarians of old exercised themselves in that way appears from the fact that Greeks wrote Latin histories and Romans Greek histories. Why should that which was lawful of old to foreigners and grammarians not be lawful now? Milton forbids it, since from being a two-penny schoolmaster he has been made Secretary of the Rebel Parliament. Say, Milton, had Salmasius tried to undertake and defend the cause of the rebels, would you accuse him of having done anything you would object to, and impute what he had done as a reproach to him on the ground of his being a grammarian and foreign-born? Does it not occur to your mind, if you have any mind at all, that this cause, which Salmasius defends, is the common cause of all kings? Is it possible that you do not see, blind though you are, that this business, with which you say he has mixed himself up, appertains not only to the state to which he is an alien, but also to that of which he is a citizen? Salmasius, if you do not know the fact, defended also his own king in that treatise, and not only yours, though you will not have him to be yours; nay, while yours and his, at the same time all. Are not you the men who, not content with having beheaded your own king, are ostentatiously showing that bloody axe, raised aloft, to all the citizens and subjects of kings of the whole world, that they may follow your example? . . . First

you call Salmasius a stage-performer. This name fits only yourself and your instigators. You are the comic actor, or rather the mimic buffoon, ready with the slavish stage-drollery which makes you ridiculous: they are the tragic actors, who have bounded through that tragedy the like of which no theatre has ever presented in all ages or in any nation. Then you call him a eunuch. Be a man yourself, if you like; but, had they been all eunuchs that used to frequent your house, perhaps you would not have repudiated your wife. Do you, *quem olim Itali pro fœminâ habuerunt*, dare to object to any one that he is too little of a man[1]? . . . The parricide which the English robbers committed on the person of the King is nothing, it seems, in comparison with that which the extremely long-eared, or, as he will explain it, extremely stupid, Milton accuses Salmasius of having himself perpetrated. He boasts that he has "horrible news" to bring to Salmasius about himself, which, if he is not mistaken, "will smite with a more dreadful wound the ears of all grammarians and critics,—news, to wit, of a parricide committed among the Hollanders on the person of Aristarchus by the wicked audacity of Salmasius." At first sight, I confess, I stuck when I read this, and silently asked myself who this Aristarchus was whom Salmasius had slain by a horrible parricide in Holland. I showed the passage also to some friends, who were not less at a loss. But one of them suddenly exclaimed, "I think I have just found out who that Aristarchus is: without doubt he is the elder Heinsius, who has written a book called *Aristarchus Sacer*, and whose reputation among the Dutch Salmasius has ruined." I laughed when I heard this. Soon, however, reading another page, I came upon these words, "All whom this unspeakable rumour reaches of the parricidal Salmasian barbarism." Then "Lo!" said I, turning to that awkward interpreter of Milton, here I have what will make you confess that I perceived the fanatical fellow's drift better than you. He has doubtless explained himself. Look at the phrase *parricidialem barbarismum* in connection with the phrase *parricidio in personâ Aristarchi a Salmasio admisso*, and it will be clear that Salmasius has been guilty of some great barbarism, which may pass for a parricide committed on the person of the grammarian Aristarchus." As the person I was conversing with appeared still perplexed and dubious, "Read," said I, "what follows in Milton, and you will doubt no longer. His words are, 'What, I pray, is it *parricidium in personâ Regis admittere*, or what is in *persona Regis*? What Latinity ever so expressed itself? Or is it some Pseudophilippus that we are to fancy, who, having put on the King's mask, committed I know not what act of parricide among the English?' You see now the acumen of the long-eared and blear-eyed beast, and yet won't you laugh? He denies that *persona* is Latin except for a disguise or mask. What Latinity, he says, ever so

[1] See ante, Vol. IV. pp. 255–256.

expressed itself? I used to think that only authors spoke Latin; but here he teaches me that Latinity itself is a something that speaks. It is evident also what a deal of time he has wasted in turning over Roman writers, in whom there is nothing more frequent than to find *persona* used in that sense in which it is here objected to in Salmasius." Milton, this excellent inventor of Latin-speaking Latinity, will take away from lawyers their *personal* actions, which are *in personam*, and will leave them only those which are *in rem*. For he will say that the former are for things in masks and are granted by the judge against such. *Splendida persona* occurs in Celsus, as equivalent to one of splendid dignity. This must be a splendid something in a mask. He who said *parcere personis, dicere de vitiis*, wanted things in masks to be spared, we must now believe. *Persona imperatoris*, if I remember rightly, is a phrase of Æmilius Probus. It is the commonest thing in the world for lawyers to speak of *persona pupilli*, *persona tutoris*. *Mea et tua persona* for *ego et tu* is customary with the Latins: the Latin rhetoricians speak so constantly. Thus, the author *Ad Herennium* has *Item a nostra, ab adversariorum, ab auditorum persona, a rebus ipsis*, and, a little after, *a nostra persona benevolentiam contrahemus si officium nostrum sine arrogantia laudabimus*. Cicero, in his Topics, has *Non qualiscunque persona testimonii pondus habet*. In the law-courts of Greece πρόσωπα, i. e. *personæ*, were taken with the same signification for the parties litigating, *persona rei*, *persona actoris*, τὰ πρόσωπα. No need to bring more instances, since writers are full of phrases of the sort. . . . You return again, Milton, to your wonted absurdities, wholly puffed up as you are with such tricks of evasion, when, in what follows, you speak by a forged nickname of Salmasius as changed into the nymph Salmacis. But who can be taken for a Salmacis more readily than yourself, *qui Italis, cum apud eos viveres, culcita fuisti, et quem pro fœmina habuerunt*, because they did not believe you to be a man? They praised you indeed for the handsomeness of your form, and wrote verses to the effect that you would be Angelic, and not Anglic only, if your piety corresponded with your beauty[1]. Who more deserves the name of a Salmacis than he who arrogates to himself what is special to women, and makes a boast of his beauty as his single endowment, who has even maligned his own engraver in published verses for having represented him as less beautiful than he really thought himself?[2] . . . I have answered all the points of any importance in your preface. I have omitted nothing, and I confess that in this I have been more diligent and scrupulous than was fit, or than was the duty of one who ought to have seen good reason to fear that on this account he would incur the blame of many. For what need, they will say, was there for dwelling so long on a

[1] Manso's compliment to Milton in 1638: see ante, Vol. I. p. 768, and Vol. III. p. 455.

[2] See Vol. III. pp. 456—459.

refutation of the absurdities and trifles of Milton, and a derisive exposure of his ridiculous jests? Good hours might have been better spent, nor did the drivel of a very nasty, very foolish, and very senseless creature deserve so much attention. I confess they speak the truth. But what should I do? My design has been, Milton, not only to exhibit you as an object for general appreciation, but also to figure out your complete ugliness, draw you to the full, and paint you graphically to the full, from the sole of your foot to the crown of your head and the tips of your nails, so that all should know you exactly as you are, from the qualities of doctrine, diction, style, temper, morals, talents, scurrility, lust of lying, imposture, blackguardism, impiety, which glare out everywhere in your book. Very often from some one corrupt or base saying, if it is opportunely thrust back upon its author, the nature of an unskilled and impious man is made more clear and patent than from any long exposition. Besides, when I shall have shown that this rascal is such as I have painted him graphically in his own colours, I shall, in so doing, have made plain also what sort of persons they are that assigned him this business of replying for them, and so verified the adage that the tubs have found their proper lettuces. The defence of an impious and nefarious deed could not be assigned by impious and guilty men to any other than one impious himself. There is a Greek saying, *τὰ ἄθλια δι' ἀθλίων πρὸς ἄθλιον.* And so, Milton, it has been my pleasure to present you complete for universal recognition, by no freckle or other congenital blemish merely, but in your whole body.

Salmasius had evidently intended that his *Ad Johannem Miltonum Responsio* should be symmetrical with his original *Defensio Regia*, and with Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* in answer to that treatise, and should consist therefore of twelve Chapters in addition to the Preface. Had he carried out that plan, reviewing each of Milton's chapters in the manner he had prescribed for himself, his book would have extended to about four densely printed volumes. As it is, the single volume which he left, though it overtakes only three chapters of Milton's *Defensio*, and breaks off abruptly in the criticism of the third, is about twice as bulky as Milton's entire treatise, the preface and the twelve chapters together. It is difficult to believe that even in the year of the Restoration there was any royalist scholar in England sufficiently enthusiastic still on the subject of Salmasius and his controversy with Milton to read through the whole of such a posthumous fragment, so as to acquaint himself thoroughly

with the repeated Salmasian maunderings over the fact of the Regicide and over the doctrine of kingship among the Hebrews and in the New Testament. Where these chapters were glanced at, even cursorily, by University men, it must still have been for the little personalities contained in them, and indicated to the eye by the vocative *Miltone, Miltone,* recurring in the text at short intervals like the gleam of a needle. But the substance of the personalities had been given in the preface; and it was enough for the general public to know that a posthumous book of the great Salmasius had appeared at last, punishing Milton as he deserved, though unfortunately in Latin [1].

Among those who welcomed the appearance of Salmasius's posthumous book, and were glad to imagine Milton smarting under it, and yet bound to be silent, must have been all who had themselves suffered in controversy with Milton.—Morus must have hailed the book with delight. That twice-murdered enemy of Milton was now in full possession of his Protestant pastorate in Paris, "in the midst of the applauses which his inimitable manner of preaching drew to him from an extraordinary crowd of auditors," but pursued by the bad reputation he had acquired in Holland, and which Milton had blazoned to the world, and indeed with new quarrels on his hands, some of them with brother-clergymen who had hitherto taken his part. On new charges, very like the old, he was again to find himself in the clutches of synods and other church courts; "whence," says Bayle, "he escaped only as by fire [2]." Nearer than Morus to the spot of Milton's present degradation was Dr. Peter Du Moulin, the real antagonist of Milton in the *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*. The King had made good his promise of remembering Du Moulin and his services; for, on Du

[1] At the beginning of Chapter I. there is a rather interesting personal attack on the younger Heinsius. He is brought in as "a certain Dutchman, still young," and of trifling pretensions in literature, who had been a kind of assessor to Milton in the Salmasian controversy on account of his own and his father's independent feud with Salmasius, and who had been impudent enough to say in a letter to one of his friends, just after the appearance of Milton's *Defensio*, that "Milton had pleaded a very bad cause most excellently." See ante, Vol. IV. pp. 319—320. It is evident that the information of Heinsius about the proceedings of Salmasius at Stockholm, when Milton's *Defensio* first roused his rage, had been most exact.

[2] Bayle, Article *Morus*, with the notes.

Moulin's petition "for the same spiritual estate which was "bestowed on his father by King James, viz. a prebend "in Canterbury, with the rectory of Llanrhaiadar, diocese "Bangor," he had received a grant of these preferments in June 1660. As prebendary of Canterbury, and also one of the King's chaplains, he was to live on in peace and distinction, with no other trouble than that his still zealous Calvinism was irritated by the growth of Arminianism among the Restoration clergy. If he had any other trouble, it was the thought of his irreclaimable Independent and Oliverian brother, Dr. Lewis Du Moulin, whom the Oxford visitors had ejected from his History professorship, and who had come to live in nonconformist obscurity in Westminster. While Dr. Lewis might keep up his friendship with Milton, Dr. Peter might have the satisfaction, if he chose, of reprinting his *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*, or at least the poems in it in praise of Salmasius and abuse of Milton. In fact, he *was* now exulting in his former anonymous feat of invective against Milton, and taking every means to let it be known that the credit belonged to him and not to Morus, though it had been convenient for him to keep the secret so long[1]. If the lawyer Joseph Jane or old Rowland of Antwerp had been still alive, they also might have had some recognition now of their smaller services against Milton in 1651, the one in his contemptible *Eikon Aklastos*, the other in his drivelling *Apologia contra Johannem Polypragmaticum*. Rowland was probably dead; and in August 1660 there was a lease "to Thomas Jane and the other chil-"dren of Joseph Jane, deceased, of Liskeard Park, Cornwall, "except the mines and quarries[2]." Bramhall, though now

[1] Wood's Fasti, II. 125—128 and 195—196; Mrs. Green's Calendar of State Papers for 1660–1, p. 14 (May), and p. 230 (August). See also ante, Vol. V. pp. 215—225.

[2] Mrs. Green's Calendar, p. 212.—Among the scarcest of the Anti-Milton publications seems to be one entitled "*Salmasius his Dissection and Confutation of the Diabolical Rebel Milton in his impious Doctrines of Falsehood, &c. &c. against K. Charles I. Lond.* 1660. 4to." So it is described in Bohn's Lowndes, Art. *Salmasius*, with the information that "prefixed is a portrait of K. Charles I. by R. Gaywood," and that "the running title of the work is Εικων Ακλαστος." I have looked in vain for a copy of this publication in the British Museum, and the Bodleian does not seem to contain one; but, from a note in the Addenda to Mitford's Life of Milton in Pickering's edition of Milton's Works (I. clxx), I learn that it was in fact a mere bookseller's issue of the remainder or unsold copies of Jane's Εικὼν Ἄκλαστος of 1651, provided with a new title-page and "a leaf of

Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, cannot have forgotten that he had been credited by Milton with the books of those two obscure scribblers, and attacked on that account by John Phillips in the *Responsio* of 1652 in his uncle's behalf. Nor, if I was right in my conjecture that Gilbert Sheldon may have been the "G. S." who, at the approaching moment of the Restoration, wrote *The Dignity of Kingship asserted*, in answer to Milton's *Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, can that divine, in his present well-earned bishopric of London, have been indifferent to Milton's fate? Sheldon, however, was too high-minded a man to regret that it had been found possible to spare one he had himself admired even while denouncing him. —But Milton's enemies were many, and few of them high-minded. Prynne, I believe, hoped to lay hold of him yet; nor would the Scottish Presbyterians and "forcers of conscience," at whom Milton had sneered in his sonnets and pamphlets, have objected to rougher treatment of him than he had received. The pious Rutherford, indeed, dying at St. Andrews, had his heart too full of other thoughts to remember old enmities. But the stout and more worldly Baillie, Milton's "Scotch What d'ye call" of 1646, was not so forgiving. Coaxing himself, in his new principalship of Glasgow University, to think as well of the Restoration as he could, he saw "the justice of God" in the "shameful deaths" of ten of the regicides, especially Peters and Harrison, and God's justice also in the disgrace of "the two Goodwins, blind Milton, Owen, Sterry, Lockyer, and others of that maleficent crew." They were all anti-Presbyterians, though of different varieties, and so Baillie huddles them together [1].

There is something credible enough in the story, transmitted through Richardson, that Milton, for some time after the Restoration, "was in perpetual terror of being assassinated, though he had escaped the talons of the law," and was "so dejected that he would lie awake whole nights, and kept

address to the Reader," so as to make the book pass off fraudulently as an English version of Salmasius's Posthumous Reply to Milton. It probably came out in London in the end of 1660, immediately after that book, and may be remembered, though here only in a footnote, as another kick at Milton when he was helpless.

[1] Baillie, III. 443.

himself as private as he could[1]." The resentment of some fanatic royalist at his escape from the gallows might easily have taken the form of knocking the blind man down in the streets or stabbing him in his house. Especially on any of those days of public tumult and phrenzy of royalism in London with which the year of the Restoration ended it would have been dangerous for Milton to be visible or within reach. On that Wednesday, the 30th of January, 1660–1, for example, which was the anniversary of the execution of the Royal Martyr, and when, in the midst of the humiliations before Almighty God on that account, there was the dragging of the disinterred corpses of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, to be gibbeted at Tyburn, it is hardly conceivable that Milton can have been in his house in Holborn. For it was up Holborn that the mob ran that morning, howling round the hurdle on which the corpses were laid; and it was actually in the Red Lion Inn, Holborn, close to Milton's house, as Phillips localises it, that the corpses had been deposited, since they had been dug up in Westminster, with a view to that day's finishing spectacle. Cromwell's and Ireton's, having been dug up on Saturday, had been taken to the Red Lion on Monday night; and Bradshaw's had been placed there the next day[2]. The vicinity, mobbed so for a day and two nights, would not have been a safe one for Milton, had it occurred to any one that *he* was at hand. On the subsequent general rejoicings of the King's coronation-day, April 23, and of his birth-day and the anniversary of his entry into London, May 29, the Holborn neighbourhood might be safer; but, so long as Milton remained in Holborn, it must have been advisable for him to keep as much as possible within doors.

It was a new world that was now around him, the very world he had prophesied in the last of his pre-Restoration pamphlets. The news from Scotland of the beheading of the Marquis of Argyle, and the hanging of the other two Presbyterian victims, Guthrie and Govan, only confirmed the ample

[1] Richardson, XCIV, where he gives as his authority Dr. Tancred Robinson, who had the information from "a relation of Milton's, Mr. Walker of the Temple."

[2] Wood's Ath. III. 301 (Memoir of Ireton); and *Mercurius Publicus*, as quoted ante, p. 123.

information that had been already given as to the character of the new discipline to which the three kingdoms were to be subjected. On the great question, which agitated so many minds, of the setting up of a uniform episcopacy in all the three, and of the accommodation of that episcopacy to Presbyterian consciences, Milton's position, as we know, was peculiar. The restoration of episcopacy in any form must have seemed to him, on the ground of the special nature of that system of ecclesiastical government, a disaster all but immeasurable. He still retained the opinions which he had propounded in his five anti-Episcopal pamphlets of 1641–42, when he had made it his effort to dissuade the Long Parliament from any trial of limited episcopacy, on Archbishop Usher's model or any other, or from any conclusion respecting prelacy short of root-and-branch abolition. He would now, therefore, probably have preferred the continuance of the broad non-prelatic Church-Establishment of the Protectorate, or any feasible modification of it, to a return to episcopacy, limited or unlimited; and it must have been with something like disgust and contempt that he heard that so many of the Presbyterians of that English establishment were trying now to float on the notion of the acceptability of a limited episcopacy, and especially that his old Smectymnuan friends, Calamy, Newcomen, and Spurstow, had so far forgotten their former selves. But, since 1642, as we know, he had moved on into theories about the Church which made the particular constitution of any Church-Establishment no longer the paramount question in his mind. It was a State-paid ministry of any sort whatever, or any mixture of sorts, that he had learnt to abominate. And so, though a continued Church-Establishment on Cromwell's principle of the inclusion of old Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, and such Baptists and other evangelical sectaries as would accept State-pay, must have seemed much more endurable to him than the absolutely Episcopal Establishment which Hyde and the returned bishops and Anglican doctors were bringing back, and although he may even have agreed that a less evil would be that comprehension of the old Anglicans and the Presbyterians by themselves

within the Establishment for which Baxter, Calamy, and the rest, were contending, yet, as things were, he had his speculative consolations. If the Presbyterians were driven out, as they were likely to be, after the numerous Independents and Baptists already ejected, what would remain as the Church-Establishment of England would be the very worst form conceivable of that bad article. Then, might not Presbyterians, swarming outside, and swelling the crowd of the already ejected Independents and Baptists, or of those freer Independents, Baptists, and other opinionists, who had properly refused to be ever inside, learn the right lesson at last? Why, in that case, should not all combine together for the destruction of the Establishment which they detested in common; or, till there should be opportunity for that, why should not all combine to wrest from the governing powers that liberty of conscience and worship out of the Establishment in which they were all equally interested? So meditating and speculating, as I conceive, did Milton, in his small house in Holborn, in May and June 1661, look forward, with blind eyes and bold heart, into the English future.

BOOK II.

MAY 1661—AUGUST 1667.

HISTORY:—The Clarendon Administration continued. Davenant's Revived Laureateship, and the First Seven Years of the Literature of the Restoration.

BIOGRAPHY:—Milton's Life from 1661 to 1667: *Paradise Lost*.

CHAPTER I.

THE CLARENDON ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED: MAY 1661—AUGUST 1667.

THAT Second Parliament of Charles which had met on the 8th of May 1661, to continue the work of the First or Convention Parliament, and which was so well fitted for the business by being almost wholly composed of thoroughgoing Church and King men, was to suffice for England, with prorogations from time to time, till January 1678–9. Accordingly, while it was still in existence, and seemed to be interminable, satirists of feeble invention amused themselves by calling it *The Long Parliament*. For historical purposes, it is now remembered as *The Cavalier Parliament*, or sometimes as *The Pensionary Parliament*. This last name was invented in commemoration of the fact that, before it came to an end, a very large proportion of the members were in the pay of the Court, or of other interests, directly or indirectly. We are concerned in this chapter only with the first six sessions of the Parliament. They were as follows:—

First Session:—May 8, 1661—May 19, 1662 (with recess or adjournment from July 30 to Nov. 20).
Second Session:—Feb. 18, 1662–3—July 27, 1663.
Third Session:—March 16, 1663–4—May 17, 1664.
Fourth Session:—Nov. 24, 1664—March 2, 1664–5.
Fifth Session (at Oxford):—Oct. 9–31, 1665.
Sixth Session:—Sept. 21, 1666—Feb. 8, 1666–7.

As Hyde's Chancellorship, with his personal ascendancy or premiership, lasted till August 1667, or six months beyond

the sixth session of the Parliament, the period of English history comprehended by the six sessions may be called conveniently THE CLARENDON ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

The composition of this Administration remained for a while substantially what it had been a year before. (See ante, pp. 17–19). Six of the councillors of the Restoration year, however, were now wearing the new titles that had been conferred on them at the coronation. Hyde himself was Earl of Clarendon; Annesley was Earl of Anglesey; Howard was Earl of Carlisle; Cornwallis was Lord Cornwallis; Holles was Lord Holles; and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was Lord Ashley. This last was now also a Minister. On the 13th of May, 1661, he became *Chancellor of the Exchequer and Under Treasurer*. Neither the introduction of Ashley into the Ministry, nor any other change in the Council, affected Clarendon's predominance. He was still premier, and it was now with a Cavalier Parliament at his back, instead of the all but Presbyterian Parliament of the previous year, that he was able to assert his premiership by revealing fully his home policy. That was, on the one hand, to maintain the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity as it had been passed, but, on the other hand, to perfect the Restoration by crushing down all principles and relics of the twenty years of Revolution, re-erecting the English monarchy very much as it had been in the reign of Charles the First, and re-establishing also Laud's absolute high-episcopal Church of England.

His first difficulty, in the temper of the new Parliament in its first session, was to save the Indemnity Act. The cavaliers looked back on the Convention Parliament as an illegal make-shift, all whose acts required revision. The Indemnity Act in particular was one they would fain have disturbed, in order to exact greater reparations from the Commonwealthsmen for the benefit of complaining Royalists and their families. Not till July 8, 1661, after messages from the King that "his honour was concerned," was this business cleared by the presentation for his Majesty's assent of an Act for confirming all the chief Acts of the Convention Parliament, that of the

Indemnity included. The two Houses were then free to go on with their own legislation, and the first results appeared in a series of bills presented to his Majesty at their adjournment on the 30th of July. Among these, all assented to by his Majesty that day, were the following:—

"*An Act for safety and preservation of his Majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts.*" By this Act not only were all designs for the King's death or deposition to be capital, but it was to be punishable to affirm the King to be a papist or a heretic, or to write, print, preach, or speak against the established government, or to maintain the legality of the Long Parliament or the Solemn League and Covenant, or to assert a legislative power in either or both Houses of Parliament without the King.

"*An Act for repealing an Act of Parliament entitled 'An Act for disenabling all persons in holy orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority.'*" The Act so repealed was that Act of the Long Parliament to which Charles I. had given his assent at Canterbury on the 13th of February, 1641–2 (Vol II. p. 351). Bishops were now to be restored to their places in the House of Lords, and they or other clergymen might exercise civil offices.

"*An Act against Tumults and Disorders upon pretence of preparing or presenting petitions or other addresses to his Majesty or the Parliament.*" It prohibited, under pain of fine and imprisonment, the getting up of any petition or remonstrance signed by more than twenty persons, unless with leave from three justices of peace or the majority of the grand jury in counties, or, in London, from the Lord Mayor and Common Council. It also prohibited the appearance of more than ten persons at the presentation of any petition or remonstrance to either House or to his Majesty.

"*An Act declaring the sole right of the Militia to be in the King.*" This was a surrender to the Crown of that great prerogative which the Long Parliament had contested, and their contest about which with Charles I. had been the immediate occasion of the Civil War in 1642 (Vol. II. pp. 354–355).

"*An Act declaring the pains, penalties, and forfeitures imposed upon the estates and persons of certain notorious offenders excepted out of the Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.*" Precluded from disturbing the Indemnity Act, the Parliament sought a partial satisfaction in this supplement to it. The four dead regicides-in-chief being already attainted, this Act confiscated the estates of the other twenty dead Regicides, excepted in the Indemnity Bill but not yet completely disposed of, enumerating them by name (see list ante, p. 54). But it added to the list the six living regicides whom the bill had not made absolute

capital exceptions,—to wit, James Challoner, Sir James Harrington, Sir Henry Mildmay, Lord Monson, Robert Wallop, and John Phelps (see ante, pp. 54–55),—and also Sir Arthur Hasilrig, who had been left, on general political grounds, in the same predicament of a delinquent excepted, but not capitally. By the present Act the estates of those seven persons also were to be absolutely forfeited, while for the six regicides among them there was a peculiar addition. They could not be hanged now without breaking the Indemnity Bill, but they could be brought to ignominy and the very verge of being hanged. It was enacted, therefore, that the three of the six bearing titles should be degraded from the same, and that Mildmay, Monson, and Wallop, the only three of the six then in custody, should be prisoners for life, and should be liable to be drawn through the streets on sledges, with ropes about their necks, to the gallows at Tyburn, and thence back to prison.

These Acts and others, passed before the adjournment of the two Houses on the 30th of July, proved the concurrence of the Parliament with Clarendon's policy for perfecting the Restoration. But no sooner had it reassembled after the adjournment (Nov. 20, 1661), the bishops then in their places in the Lords, than the work was resumed with fresh energy. A bill which had been brought into the Commons before the adjournment for executing the nineteen regicides lying in the Tower or elsewhere under capital sentence, but respited by the Act of Indemnity till there should be such a special Act, was pushed through that House successfully, most of the poor wretches themselves having been brought before the House in the course of the debate to be again questioned and gazed at; and, though this bill was dropped in the Lords, doubtless with Clarendon's approval, an order of the Commons to the Attorney-General for the capital prosecution of the two non-regicide prisoners, Vane and Lambert, was to take independent effect. But we may pass at once to the end of the first session of the Parliament on May 19, 1662. They had then, with the King's assent, added over thirty public bills, besides about forty private bills, to their produce before the adjournment; and among the public bills were the following:—

The Corporations Act (Dec. 20, 1661):—Under the name of an Act for "the well-governing and regulating of corporations," this

was, in fact, an Act for ejecting from Town Councils and other Corporations all who were not of thorough cavalier principles. It required all Mayors, Aldermen, Recorders, Bailiffs, Town-Clerks, Common Councillors, and other civic officers, to take not only the ordinary oaths of allegiance and supremacy, but also an oath renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, and a special non-resistance or passive obedience oath, in these terms: "I do "declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any pretence "whatsoever, to take arms against the King, and that I do abhor "that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his "person, or against those that are commissioned by him: so help "me God." Commissioners were to be appointed to see to the execution of the Act; and it was also enacted that none should be admitted as magistrates "for ever hereafter" who had not, within a year before their election, "taken the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England."

Act against the Quakers (May 2, 1662):—All Quakers or other persons refusing to take an oath required by law, or persuading to such refusal, or maintaining by speech or print the unlawfulness of oaths, and in particular all Quakers meeting for worship "to the number of five or more," were to be fined £5 for the first offence, and £10 for the second, or, failing to pay such fines, were to be imprisoned with hard labour for three months for the first offence, and six months for the second. Offenders, on third conviction, might be banished to the Plantations.

The Act of Uniformity (May 19, 1662):—This famous Act was the death-blow at last to all those hopes of a comprehension of the Presbyterians within the Established Church which had been kept up during the sitting of the Convention Parliament, and confirmed by the King's pledged word in his *Ecclesiastical Declaration* of October 1660. In that Declaration (ante, pp. 100–103) it had been promised that the constitution of the new Church of England should be that of a Limited or Moderate Episcopacy, with Presbyters partaking largely in the spiritual jurisdiction, with a carefully revised Liturgy, and without extreme pressure of ceremonies. There had been ample signs since then that the King, Clarendon, and the bishops, had trampled that temporary document under foot, and that it was the highest possible Episcopacy, an Episcopacy as rigid and florid as Laud's, that was to be imposed upon England. But this Act of Uniformity, the result of the deliberations of the two Houses, exceeded all previous belief. Its main enactment ran thus:—"That every parson, vicar, or other "minister whatsoever, who now hath and enjoyeth any ecclesiastical "benefice or promotion within this realm of England or places "aforesaid, shall, in the church, chapel, or place of public worship "belonging to his said benefice or promotion, upon some Lord's "day before the Feast of St. Bartholomew which shall be in the "year of our Lord God 1662, openly, publicly, and solemnly read

"the morning and evening prayer appointed to be read by and "according to the said Book of Common Prayer [the old Liturgy, "with some verbal alterations and additions made by the Bishops "and Anglican Clergy in Convocation], at the times thereby "appointed; and, after such reading thereof, shall openly and "publicly before the congregation there assembled declare his un-"feigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said "Book contained and prescribed, in these words and no more: 'I do "'here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every-"'thing contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled *The* "'*Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments,* "'*and other rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the* "'*use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms* "'*of David, printed as they are to be sung or said in churches, and* "'*the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of* "'*Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*': And that all and every such "person who shall (without some lawful impediment, to be allowed "and approved of by the Ordinary of the place) neglect or refuse "to do the same within the time aforesaid (or, in case of such "impediment, within one month after such impediment removed) "shall *ipso facto* be deprived of all his spiritual promotions; and "that from thenceforth it shall be lawful to and for all Patrons and "Donors of all and singular the said spiritual promotions or of any "of them, according to their respective rights and titles, to present "or collate to the same, as though the person or persons so offending "or neglecting were dead." The Act then went on to provide for the acknowledgment and use of the Book of Common Prayer by all future ministers; and it farther enacted that all clergymen of every rank, all heads and fellows of Colleges, all University professors and lecturers, all schoolmasters, and private tutors in families, should before the same Feast of St. Bartholomew 1662 subscribe a formula including, (1) the Non-Resistance or Passive Obedience Oath prescribed for Civic Officers in the *Corporations Act*, (2) An oath of Conformity to the Liturgy, and (3) An oath renouncing the Covenant. The penalty for default in each case was to be loss of office. Yet farther it enacted that all public preaching by persons disabled by this Act should subject offenders to three months' imprisonment for each offence, and also that no one should be a schoolmaster or private tutor in a family without "license obtained from his respective Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary of the Diocese," under pain of three months' imprisonment for the first offence, and the same and a fine of £5 for every subsequent offence. It enacted, moreover, that, after the said Day of St. Bartholomew, or Aug. 24, 1662, no one should be a minister of the Church of England, or should administer the sacrament, who had not by that time, whatever his previous ordination or calling, received due episcopal ordination, the penalty for every offence to be £100.

Act Settling the Militia in Counties (May 19, 1662). In an Act

to this effect there were clauses requiring that every Lieutenant or Deputy-lieutenant of a county, and every militia officer or soldier, should take, in addition to the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, the Passive Obedience Oath imposed by the Corporations Act and the Act of Uniformity.

A new Press Act (May 19, 1662):—By this Act a universal Censorship of the Press was re-established. Every law-book or law-pamphlet was to require the licence of the Lord Chancellor, or one of the Chief Justices, or the Chief Baron; books of history and politics were to be licensed by one of the Secretaries of State; books of heraldry by the Earl Marshal; and all other books, whether of poetry, prose-fiction, philosophy, science, or divinity, by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. These Licensers-in-chief might, of course, act through deputies. There were to be severe penalties for press offences, and powers of search for detecting such. The Act was to be in force for two years[1]. It was renewed, however, in subsequent Sessions, so as to remain an Act of Charles till 1679.

Such were the most characteristic enactments of the second year of the Restoration and of Clarendon's Premiership. Of the unabated royalist revengefulness of which they were the formal outcome there had been several less formal proofs during the sitting of the Parliament.—In September 1661, by authority of a royal warrant to Dr. Earle, Dean of Westminster, dated the 9th of that month, and signed by Secretary Nicholas, the bodies of about twenty persons who had been buried in Westminster Abbey since 1641 were dug up and thrown promiscuously into "a pit in St. Margaret's churchyard adjoining." Among them were the bodies of John Pym, Admiral Blake, Admiral Dean, Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, Colonel Humphrey Mackworth, Thomas May, the poet and historian, Dr. Twisse, the prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, and Stephen Marshall, the Smectymnuan. The bodies of four women, named in the same warrant, were taken from their graves at the same time and buried in the same pit. One was the body of "Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell," the Lord Protector's venerable mother, who had been buried in the Abbey four years before himself; the others were the bodies of "Mrs. Desborough," Cromwell's sister, "Anne

[1] Statutes at Large, with references to Lords and Commons Journals, and to Parl. Hist.

Fleetwood," apparently an infant grand-daughter of his, and "Mrs. Bradshaw," probably the wife of President Bradshaw. Among "the Cromwellian bodies," as Wood calls them, so dug up, the omission of that of Lady Claypole, Cromwell's favourite daughter, can hardly have been accidental. *Her* body was permitted to remain in the chapel of Henry VII, where it had been buried in August 1658.—Equally symptomatic in another way had been the hanging, drawing, and quartering, on the 26th of December, 1661, of John James, a preacher of the "Seventh-Day Baptist" denomination, for what was called treasonable language in the pulpit. They wanted an example from among such preaching sectaries, and had dragged this poor man, as suitable for the purpose, out of his conventicle in one of the city alleys, where detectives had been catching his words. His wife having gone with a petition for him to the king, his Majesty's reply, on learning her errand, was "O! Mr. James! he is a sweet gentleman"; and, on going a second time, she had again been turned away.—Then, on the 27th of January, the anniversary of the sentence of death on King Charles, Lord Monson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop, the three regicide judges in the Tower whose lives had been spared by the Indemnity Act, and who had been doomed only to perpetual imprisonment, were duly, according to the Act of July 30, carted from the Tower to Tyburn, and thence back, with the ropes round their necks. It was intended that the ceremony should be periodical so long as the criminals should be alive.—But, not long after, London had the pleasure of seeing a real and completed execution of three others of the regicides. Barkstead, Corbet, and Okey, fugitives since the Restoration, had been caught in Holland by the activity of Sir George Downing, now resident for Charles there, as he had formerly been for Cromwell. Having traced them to Delft under false names, he had procured an order from the States for their arrest. In such cases of reluctant extradition it was usual for the States to save their conscience by giving private warning to the offenders, with time to escape; but Downing was too quick. Having gone himself to Delft, he had seized the three

together in the same room, "sitting by a fireside, with a pipe of tobacco and a cup of beer," and, though with some demur among the Dutch, had shipped them home in a frigate. Taken on sledges from the Tower, Barkstead eating something, Okey sucking an orange, and Corbet reading a book, they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on Saturday, the 19th of April, 1662. There seems to have been some pity for them, and Downing's part in the matter did not increase his popularity. It was remembered that at one time he had "owed his bread" to Okey, having begun life in England as a chaplain in Okey's dragoon regiment; and so "all the world," Pepys tells us, "takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains." But he was a prosperous gentleman, M.P. for Morpeth in the Parliament, his Majesty's envoy in Holland, and had the Earl of Carlisle's sister for his wife[1].

The Portuguese Infanta, Catharine of Braganza, had arrived in England just before the prorogation of the Parliament, conveyed from Lisbon by the Earl of Sandwich. Charles met her at Portsmouth; where they were married, according to the English service, by Sheldon, Bishop of London, on the 21st of May, 1662, having been previously married, according to Romish rites, by the Abbé Lord Aubigny, a kinsman of the King. Thence they came, on the 29th, Charles's birthday, to Hampton Court, where they lived in state till the end of August, the new Queen forming her first acquaintance with English ways, and undergoing in particular the dreadful discipline of being compelled, though after tears, protests, faintings, sulkings, and mad little rages, to receive Mrs. Palmer. That lady, however, was Mrs. Palmer no longer. She was Countess of Castlemaine, a patent having been made out in the preceding December for creating her husband Earl of Castlemaine and Baron of Limerick in the Irish peerage. The new Earl, congratulating himself on the King's marriage,

[1] Colonel Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*, pp. 521—523 (warrant for disinterring the Cromwellian bodies, with notes to the several names); Wood's Fasti, I. 371—372 and II. 153; Neal, IV. 477—484 (Supplement by Toulmin); Pepys, Jan. 27, 1661-2, and April 17 and 19, 1662; *Mercurius Publicus* of March 6—13 and March 13—20, 1661-2, and of April 10—17 and April 17—24, 1662; Sibley's *Graduates of Harvard University*, I. 28—53 (Memoir of Downing).

wished to be reconciled to his wife; but, as the arrangement did not suit, they again parted company. On the 15th of July she removed from London to Richmond, to be near Hampton Court. She had already been there, and had been presented by the King to the Queen for the first time, within a day or two after their arrival in the palace. The first outbreak had been then, but six weeks had tamed the spirit of the poor little foreigner. She was a very little lady, of dark complexion, and rather flat and broad form, "not very charming," and with an upper tooth too projecting, but altogether with a good, modest, and innocent look, "and some wit and sense." Charles's account of his first impression of her was that "he thought they had brought him a bat." The Portuguese ladies she had brought with her, old and young, were sad frights[1].

While the King and the new Queen were spending their honeymoon at Hampton Court, with no lack of brilliant company, there was the trial of Vane and Lambert in London. It began on the 2nd of June. The principle on which they were tried was that Charles II. had been King *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, from the moment of his father's death, and that therefore their actings through the Commonwealth had been high treason; and the conduct of the trial, even on this "senseless sophistry," as Hallam calls it, was grossly unfair. Vane behaved with great boldness, while Lambert was studiously submissive. On the 11th both were found guilty. It depended then on the King whether he would keep his promise given to the two Houses of the Convention Parliament in answer to their joint petition of Sept. 5, 1660. The petition had been that, if Vane and Lambert should be

[1] Pepys in several passages between May and September 1662; Clarendon, 1085—1092; Burnet, I. 298—300, with note by the Earl of Dartmouth. In the Appendix to Vol. XII. of Dr. Lingard's History of England (2nd edition) there is printed an extract from a letter of Charles to Clarendon among the Lansdowne MSS. on the subject "of making my Lady Castlemaine of my wife's bedchamber." It is very characteristic, and reminds one of a boar showing his tusks. "If you will oblige me eternally, "make this business as easy to me as you "can, of what opinion soever you are "of; for I am resolved to go through "with this matter, let what will come "of it, which again I solemnly swear "before Almighty God ... And whoso-"ever I find to be my Lady Castle-"maine's enemy in this matter, I do "promise upon my word to be his "enemy as long as I live."

attainted, yet his Majesty would be pleased to remit "execution as to their lives"; and the King's answer stands recorded in the Lords' Journals of Sept. 8 in these terms, "The Lord "Chancellor reported that he had presented the petition of "both Houses to the King concerning Sir Henry Vane and "Colonel Lambert, and his Majesty grants the desires in the "said petition." The King had now changed his mind. Having heard of the bold behaviour of Vane at the trial, he had written to Clarendon from Hampton Court on the 7th of June, commenting on the same, and adding, "If he has "given new occasion to be hanged, certainly he is too "dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out "of the way." Honestly or not, they did put him out of the way. The sentence pronounced on him on the 11th was that of hanging, disembowelling, quartering, &c., at Tyburn; but, on the intercession of his relatives, this was commuted into beheading on Tower Hill. On the 14th of June his head was there struck off, after he had made a long and undaunted speech, amid interruptions from drums and trumpets posted under the scaffold. He was fifty years of age. Lambert, who was about eight years younger, was to live for thirty years more[1].

The fatal day of St. Bartholomew was Sunday, August 24, 1662. Everybody knows what happened then. About 2000 of the clergy of the Church of England, or considerably over one-fifth of the entire body, found themselves ejected from their livings because they had not complied with the conditions of the Act of Uniformity; while about 500 more, who had either already been ejected on independent grounds since the Restoration, or had been engaged as preachers in training for livings, found themselves silenced, and incapacitated for the clerical profession. The following table exhibits the ascertained or calculated proportions of the sufferers, ejected and silenced together, in the different parts of the kingdom:—

London, Westminster, and Southwark	119	Oxford University . . .	56
		Cambridge University . .	46

[1] Burnet, I. 277—280; Hallam, II. 325—328; Lords and Commons Journals of Sept. 5 and 8, 1660; Pepys, June 14, 1662.

Bedfordshire	16	Middlesex	36
Berkshire	31	Norfolk	78
Buckinghamshire	34	Northamptonshire	61
Cambridgeshire	19	Northumberland	44
Cheshire	54	Nottinghamshire	40
Cornwall	50	Oxfordshire	27
Cumberland	30	Rutlandshire	8
Derbyshire	46	Shropshire	50
Devonshire	142	Somersetshire	104
Dorsetshire	67	Staffordshire	56
Durham	29	Suffolk	105
Essex	133	Surrey	28
Gloucestershire	60	Sussex	77
Hampshire	59	Warwickshire	45
Herefordshire	18	Westmoreland	9
Hertfordshire	35	Wiltshire	66
Huntingdonshire	9	Worcestershire	42
Kent	85	Yorkshire	144
Lancashire	97	Wales	93
Leicestershire	47		
Lincolnshire	52	Total	2447[1]

The wrench to English society represented by this table must have been terrible at the time. It was not only the dis·ttlement of so many families, the breaking of old links, the exchange of a customary certainty of livelihood for the uncertainty of any substitute that might be provided by free personal exertion or by voluntary contributions from im-

[1] Compiled from Calamy's *Nonconformists' Manual*, methodized by Samuel Palmer, edition of 1802 in three volumes octavo. There is an Appendix there of twenty-five more who were silenced, raising the total to 2472. This includes, however, Independents, Baptists, and others who had been ejected before St. Bartholomew's Day, and also a small percentage who afterwards conformed and went back. The Index to the volumes enumerates the *ejected* at about 2300, of whom in round numbers 2000 are usually debited to St. Bartholomew's day itself. There are memoirs or notices of most of the ejected and silenced in the volumes, with lists of the writings of a great many of them, still remembered more or less in the Nonconformist world. The list of the more eminent includes Joseph Alleine, Dr. Samuel Annesley, Simeon Ashe, Dr. William Bates, Richard Baxter, Edward Bowles, William Bridge, Thomas Brooks, Dr. Cornelius Burges, Edmund Calamy, senr., Edmund Calamy, junr., Joseph Caryl, Thomas Case, Daniel Cawdrey, Stephen Charnock, Samuel Clarke, Dr. John Conant, Samuel Cradock, William Dell, Thomas Doolittle, John Flavel, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, John Goodwin, Thomas Gouge, William Greenhill, Richard Heath (Milton's friend and pupil), Philip Henry (father of Matthew Henry), Oliver Heywood, John Howe, Arthur Jackson, Henry Jessey, Dr. Henry Langley, Samuel Lee, Nicholas Lockyer, Dr. Thomas Manton, Dr. Increase Mather, Matthew Newcomen, Philip Nye, Dr. John Owen, John Oxenbridge, Matthew Poole, Vavasour Powell, John Ray (the naturalist), Dr. Gilbert Rule, Dr. Lazarus Seaman, Dr. William Spurstow, Dr. Edmund Staunton, John Tombes, Dr. Anthony Tuckney, John Wesley (grandfather of John Wesley), Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Daniel Williams.

mediate adherents and a sympathetic public. In comparing the great English Church-disruption of 1662 with any similar, though smaller, secession or ejection from an Established Church in the British Islands, this has to be remembered. In these later cases there have been organization and calculation of funds beforehand, with freedom of personal activity afterwards, and of appeal for voluntary assistance and support. No such thing then. The trade of teaching to which some of the ejected might naturally have betaken themselves was foreclosed against them by the very Act that had ejected them; continued preaching in any public manner to voluntary congregations of adherents was at the peril of all; organization for their support collectively, or open collection of money for any of them, would have been treated as sedition and defiance of the law. This explains much in the contemporary accounts of the hardships that then began. "Hundreds of able ministers, with their wives and children," says Baxter, "had neither house nor bread. . . . The people's "poverty was so great that they were not able much to "relieve their ministers. The jealousy of the State and the "malice of their enemies were so great that people that were "willing durst not be known to give to their ejected pastors, "lest it should be said that they maintained schism, or "were making collections for some plot or insurrection. . . . "Some of them thought that it was their duty to preach "publicly in the streets or fields while the people desired it, "and not to cease their work for fear of men, till they lay in "jails or were banished. Others thought that a continued "endeavour to benefit their people privately would be more "serviceable to the Church than one or two sermons and a "jail, at such a time when the multitudes of sufferers, and "the odious titles put upon them, obscured and clogged the "benefit of sufferings." All other contemporary authorities tell the same tale as Baxter. "Though they were as frugal "as possible," says one, "they could hardly live. Some lived "on little more than brown bread and water; many had but "eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a "piece of flesh has not come to their tables in six weeks' time;

"their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese. "One went to plough six days, and preached on the Lord's "day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood [1]."

But the consequences of the St. Bartholomew to English society were not exhausted within the lives of the immediate sufferers. It is from that date that there has come down, in the sense in which we now understand it, the great division of the English people into The Church of England and The Nonconformists. There had been Nonconformity, both name and thing, in various fashions, long before; but now the word acquired a definite significance. All who had remained adherents of the State Church in August 1662 on the terms of the Act of Uniformity of the preceding May, and all that might succeed them in that adherence, were and were to be The Church of England; and all that had not so adhered, or might in future not so adhere, were and were to be The Nonconformists. Nay, the subdivisions of each body were then established very much as they have lasted since. The necessity and obligation of Diocesan Episcopacy; the necessity and obligation of Episcopal ordination for all the clergy; the use of the Liturgy and a defined ritual in worship; acceptance of State-control in the Church; avowed recognition of monarchical government in the Stuart line as of divine right or nearly so, with commensurate reprobation of the Commonwealth and of the memory of Cromwell; profession also of the doctrine of passive obedience, or the duty of non-resistance to the Crown in any contingency whatsoever:—these, indeed, were now the principles of the Church of England, standing on legal record, and to which

[1] Baxter, I. 384—390; Neal, IV. 380—390 (with quotations from a tract called *Conformist Plea for the Nonconformists*); Burnet, I. 312—322.—An endless question between the Church of England and the Nonconformists, not uninteresting historically, is the question which was the worse persecution, affected the greater number, and caused most misery,—the ejection of Puritan ministers in mass after the Restoration, represented in Calamy's *Nonconformists' Manual*, or the prior ejection of so many of the old Church of England clergy at various times during the twenty years of Puritan ascendancy, represented in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. The question involves reciprocal challenges of the accuracy of Calamy's statistics on the one side and of Walker's on the other. See ante, Vol. III. pp. 28—30, Vol. IV. p. 571, and Vol. V. pp. 52—53 and pp. 61—64; and compare Hallam's *Constit. Hist.* (10th edit.), II. 164—166 and II. 340—342, for a calm estimate.

all within the Church officially were pledged in common. But there were diversities of temper, diversities of prior belief and education, different degrees of conscientiousness, and consequent differences in the interpretation of the oaths and standards that had been accepted; and so, then as now, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND CLERGY, though all massed together in a Church constituted on the principles of a very high Episcopacy, were seen to distribute themselves into,—(1) *High Churchmen*, approving of the principles of the constitution, and thinking none others right; (2) *Latitudinarians*, or *Broad Churchmen*, accepting the constitution as convenient, or on the whole the best, though they would not themselves have pushed for it by any such means as the ejection of the Presbyterians and Independents; and (3) *Low Churchmen*, consisting mainly of Presbyterians who had conformed from hard necessity, reconciling themselves to Episcopacy rather than starve, and trying to retain their Calvinism. The distribution of the NONCONFORMISTS, of course, was into (1) *The Presbyterians*, (2) *The Independents proper*, (3) *The Baptists*, (4) *The Miscellaneous Sectaries*, among whom *The Quakers* were now by far the most considerable both for numbers and for courage. Whether the ROMAN CATHOLICS were to be classed with the Nonconformists generally, and whether among the sectaries in that body, were questions of speculative politics. Practically, they stood apart.

Towards the end of the year 1662, Clarendon, looking about him, must have been contented, on the whole, with the success so far of his policy for perfecting the Restoration. The success, in some respects, had outgone his own expectations and efforts. In recollection of the King's promises from Breda and subsequent declarations, he had thought himself bound, on several occasions through 1661 and 1662, to do something towards retaining the Presbyterians, or some of them, within the Church. Even while the Act of Uniformity was passing through the Lords, he had favoured the proposal of a clause for enabling the King to suspend it, or temper its application in practice. These, however, seem

to have been mere hesitations in the interest of good faith; and, when the zeal of the bishops and High Church party had swept away the notion of any concession whatever to the Presbyterians, Clarendon seems to have felt himself relieved from a coil of difficulties. In the *Continuation of his Life* he even suppresses the mention of his latest efforts towards a compromise with the Presbyterians, and adopts the high-handed policy with them as having been truly and heartily his own from the first. "It is an unhappy policy, and always "unhappily applied," he says, "to imagine that that classis of "men can be recovered and reconciled by partial concessions." Again, of the Act of Uniformity he says, "The Chancellor "was one of those who would have been glad that the Act "had not been clogged with many of those clauses which he "foresaw might produce some inconveniences; but, when it "was passed, he thought it absolutely necessary to see "obedience paid to it without any connivance." Accordingly, he had been greatly troubled when he found that the King had been so "irresolute" as to yield to the importunacy of the Presbyterian petitioners, and promise them, after the Act had passed, that its operation should be suspended; and, though, at a conference on the subject with the King at Hampton Court, he had said that he "should not dissuade his Majesty from doing what he had promised," he had been glad when the contrary opinion prevailed, and the King had declared himself willing to see the law take its course. All that had been done in Church and State to the end of 1662 had therefore, we repeat, been Clarendon's own, or substantially Clarendonian [1].

There had by this time been some changes in the Privy Council and Ministry round Clarendon. It had been a gain to him that the Act of July 30, 1661, readmitting the bishops to the House of Lords and ecclesiastics generally to civil offices, had enabled the King to call Archbishop Juxon and Bishop Sheldon into the Council. Juxon was old and feeble; but Sheldon's energy had made itself felt, and was to be felt

[1] Clarendon, 1075—1082; Christie's Life of Shaftesbury, I. 262—264.

still more after August 1663, when, by the death of Juxon, he was to be promoted from the bishopric of London to the primacy. Again, Viscount Say and Sele having died in April 1662, the office of *Privy Seal* had gone to Lord Roberts, to compensate him for the *Lord Deputyship of Ireland*, his tenure of which had been annulled by the re-appointment of Ormond, Nov. 2, 1661, to his former dignity of the *Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland* complete. In the same month Prince Rupert, who was henceforth to reside mainly in England, and the versatile and sumptuous Duke of Buckingham, had both been brought into the Council together. None of these changes, all made before the King's marriage, had indicated any desire on the King's part to check Clarendon's premiership or to thwart his policy. The same cannot be said of some appointments by the King now to be mentioned. In October 1662, old Sir Edward Nicholas, Clarendon's faithful adherent, having been induced to retire from his *Secretaryship of State*, with £10,000 as a compensation, the person appointed to succeed him was Sir Henry Bennet, who had been Charles's envoy in Spain and his companion in his remarkable visit to that country in 1659. About the same time Sir Charles Berkeley, hitherto *Comptroller of the Household*, and a prodigious favourite with Charles and the Duke of York, notwithstanding his infamous conduct in the matter of the duke's marriage with Clarendon's daughter, was promoted to the *Treasurership of the Household*, left vacant by the death of Lord Cornwallis in the preceding January, and the *Comptrollership* went to Sir Hugh Pollard, M.P. for Devonshire[1]. There was a significance, unfavourable for Clarendon, in these appointments. But this requires explanation.

It was from no mere "irresoluteness" that the King had hesitated about the Act of Uniformity, and proposed to suspend it in favour of the Presbyterians. It was because he had a secret, though indolent, policy of his own, distinct from Clarendon's.

Though it had been made penal by Act of Parliament to

[1] Particulars and dates gathered from Clarendon, British Chronologist, Beatson's Political Index, De Brett's Peerage, and Anthony Wood.

say that Charles was a Roman Catholic, we are able now to defy the Act of Parliament. Charles had come into England a Roman Catholic, and had remained such all the while that his Prime Minister had been re-establishing in his name the Protestant Episcopal Church of England. No need to go back upon the question when and where Charles was converted to Roman Catholicism, or upon the question how far Clarendon, who had again and again proclaimed to the world the King's exemplary constancy to the Protestant religion, had voluntarily refrained from too minute inquiry. The very necessity for a Parliamentary enactment against calling the King a Papist shows what was the public gossip, and Clarendon had better means of information than the public. But Clarendon cannot have known, Clarendon would have to shoot himself had he known, the full state of the case. This was that Charles was not only a Roman Catholic, but had since his Restoration been cherishing that design of bringing the British Islands back with himself to the Church of Rome which had been pressed upon him by Catholic powers abroad while his Restoration seemed possible only by their means. ——When back in England miraculously by other means, he seems, indeed, to have dismissed the idea from his mind for a while, and to have revelled in the luxury of being King anyhow, on Clarendonian principles or not, with abundance of money and pleasure and no trouble. Nor was he ever likely to make himself a martyr, or even a labourer, for Roman Catholicism or for any other religion. But he had been turning matters over in his mind in a careless and yet tenacious way, and with other advices than Clarendon's. His liking for the society of Roman Catholics, English and Irish, which had never been quite disguised, had become more and more apparent. The Earl of Bristol, whom he had been obliged to dismiss from his Privy Council while abroad, because the Earl had made too great haste to profess his Roman Catholicism to the Pope and all the world, had never ceased to be in his confidence. Indeed, while the negotiation for the King's marriage with the Portuguese Infanta had been going on, the Earl, in consequence of a sudden whim of the King that

he might do better than have the Portuguese wife they had selected for him, had been sent on a private mission to Parma, to report on the personal attractions of two princesses there, who had been highly recommended to Charles by the Spanish ambassador. Back from this bootless mission, he had resumed his place about Charles before the arrival of the plain Portuguese lady who had been deemed most eligible, after all, for the Queenship [1].—Even with the bat from Portugal for Queen, instead of one of the Parmese beauties, the condition of things at Charles's Court from August 1662 onwards had been peculiarly favourable for the resuscitation in his mind of the idea of exchanging his crypto-Catholicism for an open profession of the Roman Catholic faith. His new Queen had her chapel, her priests, and confessors; his mother, Queen Henrietta-Maria, who had come over again from France, to make the acquaintance of the new Queen, and to try how long she could stay in England, had also brought Roman Catholic priests and servants in her train; the number of avowed Roman Catholics at Court, and the conveniences for Roman Catholic worship there, had been largely increased. And so, though conversions among the Protestants of the Court were not yet much heard of, the state of mind which we have called crypto-Catholicism, consisting in a secret inclination to Roman Catholicism and a willingness to go over to it openly if there should ever be sufficient occasion, had come greatly into fashion. There were now many crypto-Catholics at Court besides Charles himself. Lady Castlemaine was one; Bennet was another; Berkeley was another; indeed, the faction that gathered nightly in Lady Castlemaine's apartments, where Clarendon and Southampton disdained to be seen, may be described as the crypto-Catholic faction.—There was a meaning, therefore, in the introduction of Bennet into the ministry as Secretary of State instead of Nicholas, and in the promotion of Berkeley in the household in October 1662. They were signs that the King was then strengthening the crypto-Catholic interest, and building it up about him, for some reason

[1] Clarendon, 1039, 1042, and 1070.

of opposition or counterpoise to the policy of Clarendon. So much Clarendon could and did perceive. He may have guessed more, but can hardly have known all.

In the same month of October 1662 in which the crypto-Catholic Bennet was made Secretary of State, a certain Richard Bellings, a Roman Catholic gentleman who had played an important part in the Irish Roman Catholic confederacy, was despatched to Rome by Charles on a secret mission. This was with Clarendon's cognisance, and with his approval, so far as he understood the purpose. That was to obtain from Pope Alexander VII. a cardinal's hat for Charles's kinsman, the Abbé Lord Aubigny, who had performed the Roman Catholic ceremony of his marriage with the Queen and was now the Queen's almoner. To forward this object, Bellings carried with him letters from the King himself to the Pope, and to cardinals Chigi and Barberini, letters from the Queen and the Queen-mother to another cardinal, and also, it would seem, letters from Clarendon to several cardinals, all in the same strain. They solicited the cardinalate for Aubigny, partly in acknowledgment of the indulgence the King had shown to the English Roman Catholics since his restoration, partly as a means and reason for farther benefit and protection to the King's Roman Catholic subjects. The negotiation was to be conducted with the utmost secrecy, and Bellings was to seem to be in Rome only on business of his own. But underneath the secret there was a deeper secret, which it is impossible to suppose that Clarendon had penetrated. If Bellings should succeed in his application for the cardinalate for Aubigny, but not otherwise, he was to open a larger negotiation. It was for nothing less than the reconciliation of Charles and his subjects collectively to the Church of Rome on certain proposed terms. The terms were contained in a profession of faith, and an explanatory paper of twenty-four articles, to be submitted to the Pope. It has been ascertained that Bellings, without waiting for the success of his smaller negotiation, did open the larger, and that, when he returned to England, early in 1663, it was with a courteous explanation from the Pope of the reasons

why he could not oblige Charles by making Lord Aubigny a cardinal, and with a request from his Holiness for farther information on the other subject, the proposed terms of the readmission of Charles and his subjects to Catholicity not having been satisfactory in all points. In fact, the mission of Bellings had failed [1].

Before Charles knew that it had failed, however, he had taken a crypto-Catholic step at home, in calculated connexion with his overtures to the Pope. Might not the position of Roman Catholics in England be much improved meanwhile, and might not the establishment of Roman Catholicism in England be facilitated, by accustoming the country, first of all, to a toleration of the Roman Catholics, not separately, as if by special favour to the Roman Catholic religion, but on the principle of a broad and generous liberalism which should include the Presbyterians and other Protestant Nonconformists? By the Act of Uniformity and its sequel on St. Bartholomew's day, the vast body of the English Presbyterians were now in such a miserable condition that indulgence on any terms would surely be welcomed by them as a boon. The question of their comprehension within the Established Church was wholly at an end. The one and only question for Presbyterians now, as for all other Nonconformists, was that of liberty or toleration out of the State-Church. Were the penal clauses of the Act of Uniformity, silencing their ministers and breaking up their congregations, to remain in force, or might there not even yet, by the King's grace or otherwise, be such an indulgence for Presbyterians, and for other peaceable Nonconformists, as should enable them to remain in England with some comfort, instead of emigrating, as many of them proposed, to Holland or America? It was of this despair among the Presbyterians

[1] The more startling facts in this paragraph were first made public in 1863, from documents in the archives of the Jesuit Society at Rome, by Father Giuseppe Boero, in a pamphlet of eighty pages, entitled *Istoria della Conversione alla Chiesa Cattolica de Carlo II., Re d'Inghilterra, cavata da scritture autentiche ed originali.* An abstract of the pamphlet (which somehow has failed to produce in my mind an impression of absolute authenticity in all points) was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan. 1866. The mere fact that Bellings had gone to Rome, and also the minor purpose of his mission, transpired easily enough at the time, notwithstanding his efforts at secrecy.

and so many other sects under the pressure of the Act of Uniformity, this passion among them for some relief, that Charles and his Roman Catholic and crypto-Catholic advisers determined to avail themselves for their own objects. It would be doing them wrong to suppose that they had no feeling for the Presbyterians and other Protestant Nonconformists on their own account. Roman Catholicism, though it cannot acknowledge the theory or the sentiment of religious liberty where it is itself absolute, has always learnt something of both wherever it has been itself under oppression, and has then, often for a long while together, distinguished itself by using the language and the arguments of religious liberalism, with real belief, and for the general benefit. There is evidence also that Charles was ashamed at the non-performance, the actual violation, of his promises from Breda of a general liberty of conscience when he should be restored, and out of humour with that relentless high-church rigidity of Clarendon and the English bishops which had compelled him to appear as a promise-breaker. Not the less is it certain that the profession of religious liberalism with which he astonished his subjects in the end of 1662 was in calculated connexion with his negotiation with the Pope, and was motived by the same desire for the advancement of Roman Catholicism and its ultimate establishment.

According to Burnet, the matter first took shape at a private meeting of the chief Roman Catholics in London in the Earl of Bristol's house, where the Earl himself moved, and Lord Aubigny seconded, a resolution to the effect that it would be the best policy for the English Roman Catholics to "bestir themselves" for a toleration of all Nonconformists. Burnet adds that Bennet, though absent, was in the secret, and that, though Bristol appeared as the manager, the plot "had a deeper root and was designed by the King himself." At all events, on the 26th of December 1662, after more or less of discussion in the Council, there went forth, "from our Court at Whitehall," a Royal Declaration embodying what had been agreed on. The Declaration might have been fitly entitled *Declaration of a New Home Policy*, for it enumerated

the criticisms to which his Majesty observed that his Government hitherto had been exposed, and, while replying to those criticisms, promised more attention in future to such matters as care of the public morals, retrenchment of expenses, and the promotion of trade and industry. Essentially, however, the document was a *Declaration of a New Ecclesiastical Policy*, or a *Declaration of a General Religious Toleration*. Referring to his Majesty's promises from Breda of indulgence for religious dissent, and pointing out that the delay in the performance of those promises had arisen from the necessity of giving precedency to the great subject of the Constitution of the Church Establishment, it continued: "That being "done, we are glad to renew to all our subjects concerned in "those promises of indulgence this assurance, That, as for "what concerns the penalties upon those who, living peace-"ably, do not conform to the Church of England, through "scruple or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly "and without scandal perform their devotions in their own "way, we shall make it our special care, as far as in us lies, "without invading the freedom of Parliament, to incline "their wisdom, at the next approaching sessions, to concur "with us in making some Act for that purpose that may "enable us to exercise with a more universal satisfaction that "power of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in "us." To obviate any alarm that the purpose of the Declaration might be specially to benefit the Roman Catholics, it is expressly stated that his Majesty meant to be less liberal to them than to the Protestant Nonconformists. Acknowledging the great services rendered by many Roman Catholics both to his father and to himself, he would not indeed "exclude them from all benefit from such an Act of Indulgence"; but "they are not to expect an open toleration," and Parliament must devise something in their favour of less amount than that[1].

This *Declaration*, even had no intention lurked in it more than appeared on the surface, would have been a distinct

[1] Burnet, I. 333—338; Parl. Hist. 257—259; Neal, IV. 400—401.

challenge of the policy of Clarendon. It had gone forth against his will, if not against his protest; and it represented a coalition against him of Roman Catholics, crypto-Catholics, and such Protestant liberals as Buckingham and Ashley, all agreeing to attack his Premiership by the demand of a toleration for Nonconformists. Clarendon was fully aware of this, and also of the resource of strength on which he might depend even against such a coalition. It lay in that "next approaching sessions" of Parliament to which the King's Declaration, while maintaining a dispensing power in the execution of ecclesiastical statutes to be part of the royal prerogative, had practically appealed the whole question. That "sessions," the *Second Session* of the Parliament, met on the 18th of February 1662–3, when the Declaration was not two months old. Clarendon did not then need to take up the challenge for himself. It was taken up by the two Houses for him. The history of the session, from the day of its meeting to its prorogation on the 27th of July, may be summed up in the statement that Parliament rejected and baffled the crypto-Catholic policy of the King, Bristol, Bennet, and the rest, supported though it was by Ashley and other liberals, and maintained and re-proclaimed the no-toleration policy of Clarendon, equally against Roman Catholics and against Protestant Nonconformists. The details are not uninteresting.

The King, in his opening speech, recommended to them the toleration policy of his *Declaration* with unusual earnestness, though with the usual assurance that he had no intention of favouring Popery, and that in the sincerity of his personal Protestantism and Church-of-Englandism he would not yield to any, "not to the bishops themselves." Then, on the 23rd of February, Lord Roberts, who had been selected for the duty as an orthodox Presbyterian and beyond suspicion, brought a bill into the Upper House for giving effect to the *Declaration* by enabling his Majesty to dispense with the Act of Uniformity and other ecclesiastical statutes so far as to grant licences at his pleasure to peaceable *Protestant* Nonconformists for the exercise of their religion. At once

the opposition both to the Declaration and to the proposed Act was resolute and triumphant. There was a remonstrance from the Commons to the King, Feb. 27, to the effect that it was "in no sort advisable that there be any indulgence "to such persons who presume to dissent from the Act of "Uniformity"; and Lord Roberts's Bill in the other House perished in committee after vehement denunciations of it by Clarendon and Southampton. The King and his associates were foiled even on the question of a toleration of the Presbyterians or other Protestant Nonconformists. But this was not all. Though in Lord Roberts's bill the dispensing power asked had been expressly for Protestant Nonconformists only, Roman Catholics to have no benefit from it, the Houses, with that sure instinct which guides public bodies, had divined the drift, and had taken alarm. On the 31st of March there was a petition from the two Houses to his Majesty, representing the ominous increase of Jesuits and Roman Catholic priests in the kingdom, and begging him to issue his proclamation for expelling all such, except those permitted to be about the Queen by her marriage contract, and those allowed by law to attend on foreign ambassadors. To this also the King had to yield. In short, the crypto-Catholic policy, designed for the benefit of the Roman Catholics, had roused the Parliament, the Church, and the nation at large, to a most violent animosity against that particular class of Nonconformists, and the Clarendonian policy had been confirmed as well against them as against the Presbyterians and Protestant sectaries.

The King had been immeasurably offended by Clarendon's opposition to Lord Roberts's Bill, and had told him so. The whole Court knew the fact, and regarded Clarendon's reign as over. "It seems the present favourites now," writes Pepys on the 15th of May 1663, "are my Lord Bristol, Duke "of Buckingham, Sir H. Bennet, my Lord Ashley, and Sir "Charles Berkeley; who, among them, have cast my Lord "Chancellor upon his back, past ever getting up again." It was Bristol that stepped forth from the rest to ensure this perpetual prostration of the man whom so many, for various

reasons, agreed in disliking. On the 10th of July he presented to the Lords, in his own single name, a series of articles of impeachment for high treason against Clarendon. They were most extraordinary articles, containing a jumble of mutually conflicting accusations. On the one hand, much was founded on reported discourses of Clarendon, arrogating to himself the credit of being the one unflinching champion of Protestant orthodoxy against the King's Popish tendencies. Clarendon had said to several persons of the Privy Council "that his Majesty was dangerously corrupted in his religion "and inclined to Popery," and "that persons of that religion "had such access and such credit with him that, unless there "were a careful eye had unto it, the Protestant religion would "be overthrown in this kingdom." In particular, on the removal of Nicholas from the Secretaryship of State to make way for Bennet, Clarendon had been heard to say "that his Majesty had given £10,000 to remove a zealous Protestant, that he might bring in a concealed Papist." So constant was Clarendon's talk in this strain that it had become the common saying of his partisans "that, were it not for my Lord Chancellor's standing in the gap, Popery would be introduced into this kingdom." Yet, on the other hand, who but this self-proclaimed champion of Protestant orthodoxy, Bristol asked, had been the King's chief adviser and instigator in all those acts and proceedings that looked most like an intention to bring in Popery, and on which the charge of such an intention on the part of his Majesty was most plausibly founded? Here Bristol, in his impeachment of Clarendon before the Lords, only reverted to an insinuation he had already made in a previous speech, which he had been allowed to deliver to the Commons on a matter personal to himself and belonging to the jurisdiction of that House. "It "is true, Mr. Speaker," he had then said, "I am a Catholic "of the Church of Rome, but not of the Court of Rome: no "negotiator there of Cardinals' caps for his Majesty's sub-"jects and domestics; a true Roman Catholic as to the other "world, but a true Englishman as to this." In the impeachment this insinuation was developed more distinctly.

Bellings and his mission to Rome to obtain a Cardinal's hat for Lord Aubigny were openly mentioned; the transaction was denounced as un-Protestant and un-English; and the whole blame of it was laid at the doors of Clarendon. It was he that had induced the King to it, "contrary to his own "reason and resolutions"; it was he that had written letters to several Cardinals and sent them by Bellings, promising "exemption to the Roman Catholics of England from the penal laws in force against them;" it was he that had thus, in a manner, acknowledged the Pope's ecclesiastical sovereignty in the English realm. All this Bristol offered to prove against Clarendon, with many special acts of corruption or tyranny in his administration, insolencies to the King of various sorts, and an intolerable general presumptuousness of speech and behaviour. Clarendon, who tells us that he replied on the spot, gives only a brief summary of what he said. He made light, it appears, of the application to the Pope for a Cardinal's hat for Lord Aubigny, not denying that he had taken part in that application, but representing that it was hardly worth talking about, and that, for the rest, the mission of Bellings had been merely to convey a message to the Pope from the Queen on a little matter of interest to herself and to Portugal. He also distinctly declared "that the King had neither writ to the Pope nor to any other person in Rome." With the other evidence we have, it is difficult to avoid the belief that Clarendon was here dissembling in his own interest and in the King's. Though he did not know all that was implied in the mission of Bellings, he must have known more than it was convenient to acknowledge. Bristol, who probably knew all, and had the King, as well as Clarendon, at his mercy, seems to have known that Clarendon's knowledge was but half-knowledge, and therefore to have thought it safe, and in the King's interest, to speak out boldly about Bellings's mission, on that side of it on which he could inculpate Clarendon. Indeed, the whole of Bristol's impeachment, though extravagant and audacious, is instructive. It fits in with facts that are known, and blurts out facts that would not have been known otherwise.

Probably all the sayings it attributes to Clarendon had been actually uttered by him. All in all, though it was a strange and unusual impeachment, it was uncomfortable for Clarendon by its frankness; and it remained to be seen how the Lords would deal with it.

The Lords were as loyal to Clarendon personally as they had been to his policy. They threw out Bristol's paper on the legal ground that a charge of high treason could not be originated by one peer against another in the House of Peers, and also because all Bristol's charges together, even if they were true, did not amount to treason. Bristol was at the same time disowned by the King, who had in vain tried to dissuade him from that form of attack on Clarendon, and who, when a copy of the impeachment was sent him by the Lords, had replied that "to his own certain knowledge" some of the charges were untrue, and that the paper contained "scandalous reflections" against himself, and was a libel upon his government. The defeated accuser had to retire from the Court in disgrace, as one who had overreached himself and blundered; and, at the prorogation of the Parliament on the 27th of July 1663, Clarendon had risen from his temporary prostration, and was again in the ascendant[1].

An event of the year worth noting by itself had been the marriage, at Whitehall on the 20th of April, of the King's natural son, the sprightly "Mr. James Crofts," to Anne Scott, the rich young orphan Countess of Buccleuch. In anticipation of this event, he had been created Duke of Monmouth some time before; and, after the marriage, when he assumed his wife's surname of Scott, and gave her in exchange the title of Duchess of Monmouth, he and she were created jointly Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch also. They were a

[1] Parl. Hist. IV. 253—289; Lords Journals of Feb. and March, 1662–3; Clarendon, 1129—1131; Christie's Life of Shaftesbury, I. Appendix VI. (Lord Roberts's Dispensing Bill, printed for the first time from the Rolls of the House of Lords); Pepys of date given; Burnet, I. 338—340. Clarendon misdates Lord Roberts's Bill and his own opposition to it by more than a year and a half, making the Bill come in the fourth session of the Parliament, instead of the second. Hence much confusion in his account of the debates on it.

very young couple indeed. He was but fourteen years of age, and she was two years younger[1].

Through the third and fourth sessions of the Parliament, carrying us from March 16, 1663–4, to March 2, 1664–5, there was still no effective disturbance of Clarendon's supremacy. Bristol and the crypto-Catholics, with Ashley, Buckingham, and Lord Roberts, continued to intrigue against him; the Scottish Earl of Lauderdale, an enemy of Clarendon's from the first, had joined his counsels with those of the English intriguers; and Clarendon and his pompous ways were more and more the theme of jest in the Castlemaine *soirées*, and in Charles's other festivities. Buckingham was great on those occasions; but Tom Killigrew, of the Bedchamber, the King's jester-in-chief, outshone Buckingham. With a bellows hung in front of him for a purse, and preceded by a companion carrying the shovel for a mace, he would imitate the Chancellor's walk and voice before Charles, Lady Castlemaine, and the rest, to absolute perfection. Nevertheless the Chancellor, quite well aware of these uproarious jocosities at his expense in companies which his virtue and sense of decorum would not allow him to visit, held his own politically, and was still indispensable to Charles. Such new home-legislation as there could be in Parliament was still High-Church and Clarendonian. Two Acts of the third session deserve notice:—

Act Repealing the Act of Feb. 16, 1640–1 *for Triennial Parliaments* (April 5, 1664):—The repeal was on the ground that the said Act of the Long Parliament was "in derogation of his Majesty's just rights and prerogative inherent to the imperial crown of this realm"; but the present Act was, by his Majesty's assent, to be a new and more proper guarantee that for the future there should never be an interval of more than three years at the utmost between one Parliament and another.

The Conventicles Act (May 17, 1664):—The speech of Sir Edward Turner, the Speaker of the Commons, in presenting this Act for his Majesty's assent, gives a convenient summary of the reasons for it and of its provisions. After explaining to his Majesty how busy they had been on questions of revenue and supply for his Majesty, the Speaker proceeded thus:—"Whilst we were intent upon these

[1] Pepys of date, and De Brett's Peerage under *Buccleuch*.

"weighty affairs, we were often interrupted by petitions, and letters, "and motions, representing the unsettled condition of some countries "[counties or districts] by reason of Fanatics, Sectaries, and Non-"conformists. They differ in their shapes and species, and accord-"ingly are more or less dangerous; but in this they all agree,— "they are no friends to the established government either in Church "or State; and, if the old rule hold true, *Qui Ecclesiæ contradicit "non est pacificus*, we have great reason to prevent their growth "and to punish their practice. To this purpose, we have prepared "a Bill against their frequenting of Conventicles, the seed-plots "and nurseries of their opinions, under pretence of religious "worship. The first offence [of being in a Conventicle, or meeting of more than five persons in addition to members of a family, for any religious purpose not in conformity with the Church of England] we have made punishable only with a small fine of £5 "or three months' imprisonment, and £10 for a peer. The second "offence with £10 or six months' imprisonment, and £20 for a "peer. But for the third offence, after a trial by a jury at the "general quarter-sessions or assizes, and the trial of a peer by his "peers, the party convicted shall be transported [for seven years] "to some of your Majesty's foreign plantations, unless he redeem "himself by laying down £100.

'Immedicabile vulnus
'Ense rescindendum, ne pars sincera trahatur.'"

The Act was to come into operation on the 1st of July 1664, and was to be in force for three years, dated from the end of the next session of Parliament.

As if to prove that Clarendon was still the accredited chief minister, and secure in that place, it was within a month after the passing of this Conventicles Act that there was the royal gift to him of a site for a great town-mansion. It was in the then nearly vacant Piccadilly, in the spot between the present Berkeley Street and the present Bond Street, and exactly fronting St. James's Palace. The grant was dated June 13, 1664; and, in the interval between the third session of Parliament and the fourth, Clarendon, whose quarters were still in Worcester House in the Strand, had begun the building of a great house on the new spot, to be called *Clarendon House*, and was taking Evelyn and other friends to see the foundations and consulting them about the plans and the probable expense. Lord Berkeley had begun a new house on the one side of it, and Lord Burlington another on the other side; and the talk

of the town was about the three rising mansions in Piccadilly, but especially about the Chancellor's, when the fourth session of the Parliament met, Nov. 24, 1664. The engrossing business of that short session, ending March 2, 1664–5, was the conduct of a WAR WITH THE DUTCH, which had been foreseen in the previous session and had already been practically begun[1].

In foreign politics the transactions of the Restoration government hitherto had been few. Although there had been an immediate stop by the Restoration to the languishing war with Spain bequeathed from the Protectorate, the subsequent Treaty with Portugal, in connexion with the King's marriage with the Portuguese Infanta, had involved England to some extent in the special war of Portugal against Spain for the assertion of Portuguese independence. By the same treaty, Tangier on the African coast, opposite to Gibraltar, and Bombay in the East Indies, had been ceded to the English King, as part of the marriage portion of the Infanta. The importance of Tangier to England had been much exaggerated, for a particular reason. The acquisition might cover, it was hoped, the ignominy of the sale of Dunkirk. The English were still proud of that conquest of Cromwell's on the Continent; and, though there would have been much cost and inconvenience in retaining it, the surrender of it to France, and the peculiar circumstances of the surrender, were remembered with shame. Since October 1662, when Charles, treating the town as his own property, had, after long haggling with Louis XIV as to the price at which he would sell it, accepted and pocketed 500,000 pistoles, people had been asking how the money had been squandered. Clarendon was held mainly responsible; and the Londoners, to signify their opinion that he had not sold Dunkirk without benefit to himself, had nicknamed the new house he was building *Dunkirk House*. For the rest, till 1664, there had been nothing between England and any of the foreign powers but the

[1] Parl. Hist. IV. 289—317; Burnet, I. 445, with note there by Speaker Onslow; Clarendon, 1129; Statutes at Large, 16 Car. II. cap. 1 and cap. 4; Cunningham's Handbook of London, Art. *Clarendon House*; Evelyn's Diary, Oct. 15, 1664, and Pepys's, Feb. 20, 1664–5.

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ordinary diplomacies, as represented in the residence of foreign ministers in London, and the residence of English ambassadors and envoys at the various courts abroad. The Earl of St. Albans was ambassador at Paris; Sir George Downing was minister at the Hague; agents of less note were in other capitals; and in July 1663 the Earl of Carlisle had been despatched on a special mission, as ambassador extraordinary to Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmark, taking Andrew Marvell with him as his secretary. Marvell had therefore been absent from his place in the Parliament through the whole of the third session; but he and the Earl were back in January 1664–5, in time to take part in the fourth, and be in the midst of the excitement of a great naval war [1].

The commercial rivalry between England and Holland had been rendering the relations between the two States more and more precarious since Cromwell's death, and for some time there had been irritating differences between the merchants of the English Africa Company and those of the Dutch Africa Company as to their respective rights of trade on the African coast. Beset by complaints from the English merchants, and having other reasons for a rupture with the Dutch, one of which was supposed to be the desire of the Duke of York to prove his abilities as Lord High Admiral, Charles and his Government had at length resolved on a war. The country being very willing, and Parliament in its third session having declared its readiness to support the King to any extent against the Dutch, the war had been actually in progress in an irregular way since May 1664. The Dutch were capturing English vessels and attacking English settlements in Africa and the West Indies; Admirals Lawson and Holmes were at sea, fighting the Dutch and making reprisals; the City had lent the King £200,000; there had been the equipment of a great new fleet at Portsmouth, to be commanded by the Duke of York, with Prince Rupert and the Earl of

[1] Clarendon, 1105—1107; Burnet, I. 294—297; Pepys, Sept. 30 and Oct. 26, 1661, Nov. 21, 29, and 30, 1662, April 28, 1663, and June 1, 1664; Dr. Grosart's Memorial Introduction to his edition of Marvell's Works, p. xlviii, with reprint in that edition (II. 100—185) of a large part of an account of the Earl of Carlisle's embassy, published in 1669.

Sandwich under him. Still negotiations had been going on wearily, Downing negotiating at the Hague, Dutch envoys negotiating in London, and Louis XIV, who declined the solicitations of Charles to join with him against the Dutch, offering his services as mediator. Not till the fourth session of the Parliament had actually met could war be formally certain. Then there was no doubt. On the 25th of November 1664, the second day of the session, there was a vote of £2,500,000 to the King for war-expenses. Preparations were then redoubled at the dockyards; on the 22nd of February 1664–5 war was formally declared; and on the 2nd of March Parliament was prorogued, that there might be attention to nothing else than the expected battles. Clarendon and Southampton, who had all along opposed the war, had given additional offence both to the King and the Duke of York on that account. The gossip at Court, according to Pepys, was that "the King do hate my Lord Chancellor, and that they, "that is the King and Lord Fitzharding, do laugh at him for "a dull fellow, and in all this business of the Dutch war do "nothing by his advice, hardly consulting him. Only he is "a good minister in other respects, and the King cannot be "without him; but, above all, being the Duke's father-in-"law, he is kept in; otherwise Fitzharding were able to fling "down two of him." The Fitzhardinge so spoken of is the person we have seen hitherto only as Sir Charles Berkeley, Comptroller, and then Treasurer, of the Household. The fondness both of the King and the Duke for their "dear Charles," as they called this reprobate, was boundless; he had been made Viscount Fitzhardinge in the Irish peerage; and now, as he was to accompany the Duke to sea, he was created also an English peer, with the title of Earl of Falmouth. At the same time Secretary Sir Henry Bennet was raised to the peerage as Lord Arlington. These promotions were distinctly prejudicial to Clarendon and annoyed him much, as did also the appointment of Lord Ashley to the treasurership of the prizes that might be taken in the war, with responsibility for his accounts to the King only. Clarendon's remonstrances against this last appointment were in vain. Ashley seems to

have gone heartily with the Duke of York, Albemarle, Bristol, Buckingham, and the great majority of the Council and Ministry, in promoting the war; but Clarendon's own account is that the two men who did most to bring about the war were Bennet and Mr. William Coventry, this latter known as the able M.P. for Yarmouth, and as Navy Commissioner and Naval Secretary to the Duke of York. Coventry also went with the Duke to sea. Albemarle, whose sea-experience might have made him a better commander of the fleet than the Duke, remained in London, taking the Duke's place at the head of the Admiralty [1].

And now, for some months, the names in all men's mouths were those of admirals and sea-captains. Where was the Duke, where was Prince Rupert, where was the Earl of Sandwich; where were Admirals Lawson, Ayscough, Sir William Penn, and others; what was the last news of the Dutch Ruyter, the Dutch Opdam, and the Dutch Van Tromp? Of the answers that came, in the shape of reports of sea-fights here and there, we need take no account before June 8, 1665. It was on that day that Pepys, going to the Cockpit, found Albemarle "like a man out of himself" with joy at the news of a great victory over the Dutch off Lowestoft on the 3rd, and received into his own hands the yet unopened letter of Mr. Coventry announcing the particulars. The Duke, Prince Rupert, Lord Sandwich, and Mr. Coventry himself, were all well; but the Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle, had been "killed on "board the Duke's ship, the Royal Charles, with one shot, "their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face, and the "head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say." There had been killed also the Earls of Marlborough and Portland, with Rear-Admiral Sansome, and two captains; and Admiral Lawson and others had been severely wounded. But then, on the other hand, Opdam, the Dutch chief admiral, had been blown up with his ship; other Dutch admirals had been killed; the loss of the Dutch in men was estimated

[1] Clarendon, 1102—1104, 1116—1121, 1127—1129, and 1133; Commons Journals, Nov. 25, 1664; Pepys, Dec. 15, 1664, and thence onwards to April 1665.

at 8000 as against about 700 on the English side; twenty-four Dutch ships had been taken, and the rest were in flight, with the English fleet in hot pursuit. Such was the first news; and within a few days (June 16) the Duke, Prince Rupert, Mr. Coventry, and others of the conquerors, were back in Whitehall, receiving the congratulations of the courtiers, and "all fat and lusty, and ruddy by being in the sun." Thanksgivings for the victory were ordered in London and over the kingdom, and a medal was struck in honour of the Duke as the victor-in-chief, with his bust on one side, and on the other the date "June 3, 1665" and the motto "*Nec minor in terris.*" And, in fact, chiefly on land henceforth was the Duke to show his prowess. Subsequent reports had considerably abated the first conceptions of his victory, and of his merits in the chief command, especially in the matter of the pursuit of the routed Dutch; and, though no one denied that he had given ample proof of his personal courage, there was some surprise when it became known that his one performance off Lowestoft was to be all, and that it was judged expedient that the life of the heir-apparent to the throne should not be again exposed to Dutch cannon-shot. This resolution seems to have been taken before the 26th of June; on which day, at the Duke's request, Mr. Coventry was sworn a member of the Privy Council and knighted. This also was an anti-Clarendonian appointment, the intention being that, while the Duke, in resuming his home charge of the Admiralty, should have the benefit still of Coventry's secretarial services, the King should have the benefit also of Coventry's knowledge and ability, in opposition to the Chancellor, at the Council Board. On the 4th of July it was distinctly announced that neither the Duke nor Prince Rupert was to return to the fleet, and that Pepys's honoured friend and patron, the Earl of Sandwich, was to assume the supreme command, with Sir George Ayscough and Sir Thomas Teddiman immediately under him. Sir William Penn as his vice-admiral, and Sir Thomas Allen as his rear-admiral. As the Earl's part in the great battle off Lowestoft had been underrated, and he had failed moreover in an attempt on Aug. 3 to seize two

splendid Dutch vessels in the neutral Danish port of Berghen, it was a pleasure to his friends to hear of two actions, undoubtedly his own, on the 3rd and 12th of September, in which he captured altogether forty-five war-ships and merchantmen, some of them rich prizes[1].

Pleasure! There was no pleasure, in London at least, that month. THE PLAGUE, which had been in the city since the beginning of the year, and had been spreading and growing more and more fearful through the months of sea-fighting with the Dutch, had then reached its very worst. From April 30, 1665, when Pepys had written in his diary, "Great fears of the "sickness here in the city, it being said that two or three "houses are already shut up: God preserve us all!" the progress of the red-spot pestilence had been registered by him, day after day, and week after week, with terrific fidelity. On June 7 he had written: "The hottest day that ever I felt in "my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury "Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon "the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there." Again, on June 29, "To Whitehall, where the Court full of "waggons and people ready to go out of town." The mortality by plague that month within the bills had reached 590; the King and the Court had left Whitehall two days before for

[1] Pepys, June 8, 16, 23, 28, July 4, and thence to Sept. 14, 1665; Burnet, I. 375—382, with long footnote. The story in Burnet is that the Duke of York, when the main battle off Lowestoft was over, and all that remained was to pursue the residue of the Dutch fleet, left the deck of his ship about 11 o'clock at night to take some rest, having given strict orders to call him when they got up with the Dutch, but that, after some time, his bed-chamber man, Brouncker, came on deck, "as from the Duke, and said the Duke ordered the sail to be slackened," which order Sir William Penn, though surprised at it, obeyed. The footnote, which is Speaker Onslow's, corroborates Burnet by reporting evidence given before the House of Commons on April 17, 1668, save that Captain Harman, and not Penn, appears there as the officer who slackened sail on the Duke's supposed order. The inquiry was for the purpose of proving that the Duke had given no such order, and that Brouncker and Harman were responsible between them. Brouncker had certainly given the order most positively as from the Duke, and the hypothesis in the Duke's favour was that Brouncker had invented the order, out of care for his own life and the Duke's. Burnet's belief, however, from information he had received, was that the deaths of Falmouth and the others before his eyes had made such a strong impression upon the Duke that he thought with himself in his cabin that one battle was enough and shrank from a second. At all events, as he favoured Harman much after the battle, and retained Brouncker in his service till 1667, his anger at their joint blunder cannot have been very deep. For the whole story, see, in addition to Burnet's text, with the footnote, as cited, Pepys's Diary, under dates Oct. 21, 1667, and April 17, 18, 19, and 21, 1668. Pepys's view seems to have been the same as Burnet's.

Salisbury; all that could leave town were hurrying away. In country towns and villages, to the distance of thirty, forty, or even a hundred, miles from London, there was dreadful alarm at this migration among them from the plague-stricken city; every outward-bound passenger or waggon along a high road was suspected; goods from London were shunned; and doors were shut against strangers. Though the plague did appear in various parts of the country, London and the vicinity continued to be its principal habitat. "Lord! the number of "houses visited which this day I observed through the town "quite round in my way by Long Lane and London Wall," wrote Pepys on the 6th of July; then, on the 18th, "I was much "troubled this day to hear at Westminster how the officers do "bury the dead in the open Tuttle-fields, pretending want of "room elsewhere"; and, on the 26th, "Sad news of the death "of so many in the parish of the plague: forty last night, "the bell always going." That month the total mortality by the plague had risen to 4129. The number of houses shut up was past counting; they were carrying corpses along the streets at all hours; there were pest-houses for the reception of bodies, and pest-pits for their promiscuous burial. But in August the mortality rose to 20,046, and the ghastliness was in proportion. "Lord! how sad a sight it is to see the "streets empty of people, and very few upon the Change," wrote Pepys on the 16th of that month: "jealous of every "door that one sees shut up, lest it should be the plague; and "about us two shops in three, if not more, generally shut up"; and, on the 30th, "Lord! how everybody looks, and "discourse in the street is of death and nothing else, and few "people going up and down, that the town is like a place "distressed and forsaken." In September the deaths recorded were 26,230, and it was believed that these were not all. There were no boats on the river; grass was growing in the streets; there was but a remnant of the population left; and still every week the silent houses were yielding 6000 or 7000 more red-spotted corpses, and the pest-carts were going their rounds with the hideous bells. Nearly all people of means had by this time deserted both London and Westminster,

physicians and clergymen included. The brave Monk had remained in town, doing all he could, and also the brave Archbishop Sheldon. Not a few of the silenced Nonconformist ministers, who had hitherto obeyed the law by refraining from every appearance of public preaching, now openly broke the law, and took possession of the forsaken pulpits. It was thought that surely at such a time the distinction between Conformity and Nonconformity might be disregarded[1].

Not so. At the short *Fifth Session* of the Parliament, from Oct. 9 to Oct. 31, held at Oxford, for the convenience of the King and Court on account of the plague, the supply of an additional £1,250,000 to the King for the expenses of the Dutch War was not the only business. There emanated from the two Houses and the King in this session the following Act:—

The Five Miles Act (Oct. 31, 1665):—This was an Act increasing most severely the stringency of the Act of Uniformity. The preamble having stated that divers of the Nonconformist ministers and preachers had not only continued to preach in unlawful conventicles, but had "settled themseves in divers corporations, "sometimes three or more of them in a place, thereby taking an "opportunity to distil the poisonous principles of schism and "rebellion into the hearts of his Majesty's subjects," it was now enacted that no Nonconformist ex-minister or teacher, of what denomination soever, who had not taken the oath of passive obedience, should, "unless only in passing upon the road," come within five miles of any city, or town-corporate, or borough sending members to Parliament, or within the same distance of any parish or place where he had formerly preached or taught, under a penalty of £40 for every offence. It was also enacted generally that no person whatever, of either sex, that did not take the said passive obedience oath, and frequent divine service as by law established, should "teach any public or private school, or take any boarders or "tablers, that are taught or instructed by him or herself, or any "other," the penalty for each offence in this case to be also £40.

The chief promoters of this horrible Act were Clarendon, Archbishop Sheldon, and Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury. It was opposed by Lord Ashley, Lord Wharton, and others,

[1] Pepys, of dates, and generally from April to October 1665; Baxter, Part III. 1—2. The numbers of deaths monthly are from the Bills of Mortality, as I find them quoted in *Engl. Encyc.*, Art. *Pestilence.*

among whom was the Earl of Southampton; but there is no record of any division upon it in the journals of either House. In the Commons Journals of Oct. 27, however, there is the record of a division on a proposed bill of a still more tremendous character, to which the rigid Uniformity men had been roused by the opposition to the *Five Miles Act*. It was nothing less than a Bill for making the Passive Obedience Oath compulsory on the nation universally. It was thrown out only by 57 votes to 51. The *Five Miles Act* by itself brought misery enough. Imagine its operation. It required the many hundreds of ministers already under ban for their nonconformity, and struggling for their livelihoods in various ways, to leave the large towns and small towns where they had naturally settled because there alone could they find chances of livelihood, to leave also the parishes where they were known, and where their children, at worst, would have a right to poor-law relief, and to remove themselves and their families, at expenses they could not meet, to obscure villages, or petty non-corporate places, among farmers and strangers, where they could have no employment and no friends. "By this Act," says Baxter, "the case of the ministers was so hard that "many thought themselves necessitated to break it, not only "by the necessity of their office, but by a natural impossibility "of keeping it unless they should murder themselves and their "families." The result to the Government and the Church was that they netted a few more conformists, and had to ply the penalty of imprisonment more widely and vigorously among those that remained stubborn. Cargoes of Quakers and others had already been exported to the black ends of the earth [1].

In London the deaths from plague in October had sunk to 14,373; in November they were 3449 only; and in December they were below 1000. The total mortality by plague within the year as given in the bills had been 68,596. The plague still lingered in the city, and was more severe than before in

[1] Lords and Commons Journals of Oxford Session of Parliament; Statutes at Large (for *Five Miles Act*); *Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country*, of date 1675, reprinted in Appendix to Parl. Hist. Vol. IV. (attributed to Locke and printed in his Works, but not his); Baxter, III. 3—4.

such places as Deptford, Greenwich, and Deal; but people had begun to be reassured, and London was again full[1].

The Dutch War, the Plague, the Act of Uniformity, and the Five Miles Act, followed people into the year 1666. The Dutch War was complicated, indeed, from January 1665–6, by the fact that Louis XIV, and Denmark with him, had distinctly taken the part of the Dutch. From that date the war was nominally a war of England single-handed against the United Provinces, France, and Denmark together; and it was only because Louis XIV had very prudent notions as to the proper amount of actual French interference that the fighting through 1666 was still mainly between the English and the Dutch. The Earl of Sandwich, not having given perfect satisfaction in the naval command, had been sent on an embassy to Spain; and the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert were now the joint admirals of the English fleet. On June 1–4 there was a four days' battle off the North Foreland, Albemarle with fifty-four sail having engaged a Dutch fleet of eighty under Ruyter, but with De Witt also on board, and having doggedly maintained the fight alone till the fourth day, when Prince Rupert came to his help. Though the result was announced as a victory for the English, there had been great mismanagement on Prince Rupert's part, and the damage to the English fleet had been enormous. There was more success in another battle on the 25th and 26th of July, when the Dutch were driven into their own harbours. For a week or two the English sailed along the Dutch coasts in triumph; and on the 8th and 9th of August a detachment, under Rear-Admiral Holmes, after destroying about 160 Dutch merchantmen off Uly, landed in Schelling and set fire to the chief town in that island, doing damage to the Dutch estimated at a million sterling.

The thanksgivings for this mercy were scarcely over when the Londoners had to attend to a fire of their own. It broke out, between one and two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 2nd of September, in the house of a baker in Pudding

[1] Authorities as before.

Lane; and, with the aid of a high wind, it spread and raged uncontrollably till Wednesday the 5th, or Thursday the 6th, consuming 400 streets, or 13,200 dwelling-houses, besides the City Gates, the Exchange, Guildhall, the Custom House, Sion College, and other public structures, and eighty-nine churches, including St. Paul's. A space of 436 acres, or two-thirds of the entire city, extending from the Tower to the Temple, and from the river nearly to Smithfield and London Wall, was left in ruins. Attempts have been made to estimate the destruction of property at so many millions of money; but of the consequent misery for many a day among the dis-housed and impoverished myriads of the population there can be no adequate measure. The GREAT PLAGUE of 1665, and the GREAT FIRE of 1666, in which the last lingerings of that pestilence were burnt out, will be remembered for ever together in the history of London.

The Fire, following so close on the Pestilence, had made an unusual impression upon the King. He had gone about daily while the flames were raging, giving orders for blowing up houses and encouraging the workmen, and "had been "heard during that time," says Clarendon, "to speak with "great piety and devotion of the displeasure that God was "provoked to. And no doubt the deep sense of it did raise "many good thoughts and purposes in the royal breast." Clarendon acknowledges they were but temporary, and that people were soon scandalized by reports of brutal jests at Court about the great fire itself, and by other proofs of the continued "profaneness and atheism" that surrounded Charles. Evelyn and Pepys also agree in noting the increase of public disgust with the manners and morals of the Court immediately after the Great Fire. "Our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute Court, profane and abominable lives," are the strong words of the decorous Evelyn on the day of fast and humiliation ordered on the occasion; and five days later Pepys writes, "Colvill tells me of the viciousness of the Court, the contempt the King brings himself into thereby, his minding nothing." Lady Castlemaine and others were now a little in the background, and the talk was chiefly of the

renewed assiduities of the King to the beautiful, but wary, Miss Stewart, and of the amours of the Duke of York with Sir John Denham's wife, and of the Duchess of York with Henry Sidney, the brother of Algernon. Meanwhile, the Sixth Session of the Parliament having met (Sept. 21), to add its energies to those of the Council for the relief of the sufferers by the fire, and for the reparation of the calamity, it was astonishing to see with what rapidity workmen began operations among the smoking ruins, and with what activity architects and surveyors were planning a new London that should surpass the old [1].

On the 8th of February 1666–7, while the ruins of the Great Fire were still smoking here and there, the Parliament was again prorogued. During the four months and a half of their sixth session, besides one or two Acts relating to the rebuilding of London and to taxation for the purpose, they had passed an Act for raising an additional supply of £1,800,000, by poll-tax and otherwise, for the expenses of the Dutch war, and also a Bill, which had occasioned very violent discussion, prohibiting, in the interest of English farmers, the importation of cattle from Ireland and from abroad. They had also exacted from his Majesty another proclamation for the banishment of Roman Catholic priests and Jesuits, and a promise generally for more strict execution of the laws for religious uniformity. Altogether, a good deal of dissatisfaction had been exhibited in the two Houses with the state of public affairs, and especially with the profligate waste on the King's mistresses and favourites of the money voted for the war. A Bill had been introduced in the Commons for the investigation and future audit of war accounts; and, when it had been signified that the King would resent this as an invasion of his prerogative, there had been threats of bringing Lady Castlemaine into Parliamentary view. There had been sharp language in the King's speeches in giving assent to Bills, and he had parted with the Parliament on worse terms than on any previous prorogation [2].

[1] Pepys, through the year, and specially in June and July, and from Sept. 2 to Oct. 15; Evelyn, Oct. 10; Clarendon, 1185—1189.

[2] Parl. Hist. IV. 332—360; Pepys, Dec. 12, 1666, and Feb. 8, 1666–7.—

Clarendon, about this time, had made a great impression on Mr. Pepys, who observed him more particularly at meetings of the Tangier Committee, of which they were both members. "I am mad in love with my Lord Chancellor," says Pepys: "he do comprehend and speak out well, and with the greatest "easiness and authority that ever I saw a man in my life. I "did never observe how much easier a man do speak when he "knows all the company to be below him than in *him;* for, "though he spoke excellent well, yet his manner and freedom "of doing it, as if he played with it, and was informing only "all the rest of the company, was mighty pretty." To all appearance, indeed, Clarendon was now at the summit of his grandeur. His great new mansion in Piccadilly had been finished, or all but finished, just before the Great Fire; and he had entered into possession of it, perfectly satisfied with its magnificence, though rather troubled at finding that the outlay upon it was three times what he had originally contemplated, or nearer £60,000 than £20,000. "To the Lord "Chancellor's house, the first time I have been therein," writes Pepys on the 22nd of April 1667; "and it is very "noble, and brave pictures of the present nobility."

But Clarendon's influence was waning fast. Since the Oxford session of the Parliament, his intercourse with the King had become less and less confidential; Lady Castlemaine and her clique had gradually laughed out of the King's mind whatever of awe or respect for the Chancellor's character and abilities had remained there; and his own occasional remonstrances with Charles on his debauched life, only wearisome at first, had become intolerable. Then, at the Council Board, there had been less and less of deference to his opinion. In the business of the Dutch war, Arlington, Ashley, and Sir William Coventry had been the chief managers, in association with Albemarle and the Duke of York; and Clarendon observed that Sir William Coventry in particular, in consequence of the authority he had acquired in naval matters, had begun to presume in all matters whatsoever. The King, for

Pepys distinctly notes the continued smoking of parts of the ruins of the burnt city to as late as March 16, 1666–7, more than six months after the fire.

example, having complained to Clarendon of the squibs and pasquils about himself, and about Lady Castlemaine and other ladies, that were in circulation in London, fabricated chiefly in coffee-houses, and Clarendon having agreed with the King that such licence of speech was atrocious and must be put down, and having suggested that the best method would be either an instantaneous closing of all the coffee-houses of London or the dispersion of spies among them to listen to the conversations and inform against offenders, Coventry had turned the notion into such ridicule at the Council Board that the King, to Clarendon's chagrin, had seen fit to let the coffee-houses alone. But, besides Arlington, Ashley, and Coventry, there was now in the Privy Council and Ministry another person hostile to Clarendon. This was Sir Thomas Clifford, M.P. for Totness, a bold and high-spirited young man, and, like Arlington, a crypto-Catholic. On the death of Sir Hugh Pollard in November 1666, he had been chosen, at Arlington's instance, to succeed that knight in the *Comptrollership of the Household*, with a seat at the Privy Council. A still heavier blow came in May 1667. On the 16th of that month the Earl of Southampton died. Next to the Duke of Ormond, he had been the firmest of Clarendon's friends and the most powerful prop of his administration; and, as Ormond had been mainly absent in Ireland in the duties of his Lord-Lieutenancy since 1662, it was on Southampton rather than on Ormond that Clarendon had been leaning, for advice and sympathy, for some years past. Who should succeed the earl in the great post of *Lord High Treasurer*? To Clarendon's discomfiture, the King and the Duke of York decided not to fill up the post at all, but to put the Treasury into the hands of five Commissioners. These were to be Albemarle, Ashley, Coventry, Clifford, and Sir John Duncombe, a country gentleman, known hitherto only as M.P. for St. Edmundsbury. From that moment the Clarendon administration may be said to have been completely disintegrated. But the Chancellor would not yet recognise the fact. He had confidence in himself; and, though he knew that he had given offence to both Houses of Parliament by his conduct and speeches in the

recent session, he had faith still in his Parliamentary following. His fall, however, was in preparation. It was to come, more immediately, from the Dutch War[1].

With an additional £1,800,000 voted for the war, but not yet in hand, with a vast debt owing in arrears to the sailors and in other forms, with credit already shattered, and with all possibilities of raising money stopped at any rate by the paralysis of London banking and commerce after the Fire, the King had come to the conclusion that the war must end. Louis XIV, having his own reasons for desiring peace at the moment, was most willing to assist Charles in this design, not only by a secret treaty between themselves withdrawing France from the war, but also by persuading the Dutch to consent to negotiation. The demand of Charles was that there should be a cessation of hostilities during such negotiation. The great De Witt, the head of the war-party among the Dutch, though unable to resist the peace-party in the States altogether, and obliged to go with them in the main matter of a treaty, succeeded in avoiding the proposed condition. Accordingly, when Lord Holles and Mr. Henry Coventry arrived at Breda on the 14th of May as plenipotentiaries for England to treat with the Dutch negotiators, there was no armistice and none could be obtained. They might treat as rapidly as possible and so bring the war to a close, but meanwhile the war existed. Now, the treaty was a complex and intricate one, involving questions about rights and possessions in the East Indies, the West Indies, and North America, which could not be settled in a week or two. This was what De Witt had foreseen. He had sworn revenge for the burning of the Dutch shipping in their own harbours, and the ravaging of the Island of Schelling, in the preceding August; and the opportunity had come.

To save expense, the English Council, by the advice chiefly of Sir William Coventry, and against the will of the Duke of York, had laid up all their large vessels in dock, trusting that two squadrons of smaller vessels would be a

[1] Clarendon, 1190—1224, and 1277; Pepys, Oct. 13, 1666, and April 22, 1667.

sufficient protection; and, though some fortifications of the Thames and Medway had been ordered, there was such mutiny among the unpaid sailors and labourers that little or nothing of the kind had been done. It was in this condition of things that Ruyter and Cornelius de Witt, with a fine and orderly fleet of seventy sail, arrived for their revenge. They were off the Nore on the 10th of June, sending before them, up the river, to London and beyond, panic and confusion indescribable. "Everybody was flying, none knew why or whither." The questions were whether it was an invasion that was intended, or a general pillage of the coasts of the Thames, or an occupation and sack of London. Monk, who alone kept his head so as to be of much use, and who probably guessed the enemy's intentions better than the rest, was down the river "in his shirt," about Gravesend, Sheerness, and the mouth of the Medway, extemporising batteries, moving ships of resistance, sinking others to choke the channel, and driving out of his way "a great many idle lords and gentle-"men," who had accompanied him "with their pistols and "fooleries." On the 11th and 12th and 13th the main intention of the Dutch became apparent. While one part of their fleet was left in the Thames itself, as if for Gravesend and London, another advanced up the Medway, levelled with a few broadsides the unfinished fortifications of Sheerness, broke down or evaded the boom and other obstructions guarding the unrigged English ships that lay in the river, and deliberately set fire to all the ships they found there, reserving only as a trophy the half-burnt hull of the *Royal Charles* herself, the sacred ship that had brought Charles to England and had once been Cromwell's *Naseby*. Meanwhile the panic had not ceased. Orders were out inland for raising the militia; there had been beating of drums in London, calling the train-bands to arms, with money to victual themselves for a fortnight, under pain of death; citizens were packing up their valuables and sending them into the country; there had been talk of a removal of the Court to Windsor. But the Dutch had done all they meant to do in the Thames and Medway. Generously disdaining mere sack and pillage of the

towns at their mercy, they sailed down the river again with the *Royal Charles* in tow, and contented themselves for the rest with attempts on some other English ports, where there were ships to burn, and with a blockade of the Thames, which deprived the Londoners of coal from Newcastle for some weeks and put them to severe straits for fuel[1].

The popular indignation was ungovernable. While private politicians, like Evelyn, were saying that "those who advised "his Majesty to prepare no fleet this spring deserved—I "know what," and while Coventry and others thus pointed at were in corresponding alarm, the mob wreaked its wrath more promiscuously in outcries against Charles and his mistresses, and the shame of the unpaid wages of the sailors, and in recollections of Oliver. "In the evening comes Mr. "Povy about business," Pepys writes on the 22nd of June; "and he and I to walk in the garden an hour or two, and to "talk of State matters. He tells me his opinion that it is "out of possibility for us to escape being undone, there being "nothing in our power to do that is necessary for the saving "us: a lazy Prince, no Council, no money, no reputation at "home or abroad." Again on the 12th of July he writes: "It was computed that the Parliament had given the King "for this war only, besides all prizes, and besides the "£200,000 which he was to spend of his own revenue to "guard the sea, above £5,000,000 and odd £100,000; which "is a prodigious sum. It is strange how everybody do now-"a-days reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave "things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him; "while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers "and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs "of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates "than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon "that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so "much in so little time."

Above all, the fury ran against Clarendon. On the 14th

[1] Clarendon, 1210—1220 and 1224—1226; Pepys and Evelyn through June 1667; Marvell's *Last Instructions to a Painter*, p. 271 of Grosart's edition of Marvell's Works, Vol. I.

of June, just when the Dutch fleet had sailed down the river, the mob attacked Clarendon House, cutting down the young trees in front of it, breaking the windows, and leaving a gibbet painted on the gate, with this inscription:—

> "Three sights to be seen,—
> Dunkirk, Tangier, and a barren Queen."

In utter contempt of the mob, the grave Chancellor sat on among his books and pictures, and let the fury pass. No one who knew him, he says, could suppose that the mishap in the Thames and the Medway could be laid to his charge. He had but acquiesced in that policy of a reduction of the fleet to two light defensive squadrons which he had heard recommended at the Council Board by the best professional authorities; and, as to the river-fortifications, how could he have given any advice about them, "being so totally unskil-"ful in the knowledge of the coast and the river that he "knew not where Sheerness was, nor had ever heard the "name of such a place" till he had listened to Monk and the rest discoursing about it? In fact, for the prime minister, as for the King, the important question now was whether there should be an extraordinary meeting of the Parliament. The King had been told that this was essential in the emergency; and, though the Parliament had been prorogued to the 10th of October, and it was held unconstitutional to summon a prorogued Parliament again before the exact day to which it had been prorogued, means had been taken to overcome that objection. Mr. Prynne, who was thought a great authority in such matters, had been brought privately to the King, to assure him "that upon any extraordinary occasion he might do it." Mr. Prynne was now a nobody with either the King or the nation, having been first gagged with the Keepership of the Records at a salary of £500 a year, "purposely to employ his head from scribbling against the State and Bishops," and then tamed farther by two public reprimands in the House, one on the 15th of July 1661 for an incautious pamphlet, and one on the 13th of May 1664 for tampering with the wording of a bill after it had been committed. His advice now, however, was con-

venient. Clarendon, on the other hand, argued earnestly in Council against convoking the Houses again at that moment, not only because the proceeding would be unconstitutional, but because it would be inconvenient. He was imprudent enough, in his passion, he tells us, to advise rather the levying of men and means by prerogative "as in the late civil war," or, if a speedy meeting of Parliament were deemed absolutely necessary, then the dissolution of the present Parliament and the calling of another. Summonses, nevertheless, went out for an extraordinary meeting of the two Houses, to "consider of weighty affairs" arising from the unexpected invasion of the kingdom "during a treaty of peace."

On the day appointed, Thursday, July 25, the two Houses were assembled in sufficient numbers. The message from the King was that he deferred meeting them till Monday the 29th. The Lords at once adjourned, but the Commons first passed a unanimous resolution, "That his Majesty be humbly "desired, by such members of this House as are of his Privy "Council, that, when a peace is concluded, the new-raised "forces be disbanded." On the 29th his Majesty met the two Houses, and informed them that, as a peace had been concluded at Breda, their farther sitting was unnecessary, and they might return to their homes, not to meet again till the 10th of October, as by the formal prorogation. They obeyed unwillingly, especially the Commons, but not till threats had been heard against Clarendon for his recent advice of a dissolution. Peace had actually been concluded at Breda at last on the 21st of July, by three separate treaties, one with the United Provinces, one with France, and one with Denmark. The conditions for England were more favourable than might have been expected.

"The public no sooner entered into this repose than the "storm began to arise that destroyed all the prosperity, ruined "the fortune, and shipwrecked all the hopes of the Chancellor, "who had been the principal instrument in providing that "repose." The words are Clarendon's own. To the end of his life he seems to have retained his amazement at what followed. First, and suddenly, came the death of his wife. She

was his second wife, but married to him as long ago as 1634, and "the mother of all his children, and his companion in all "his banishment, and who had made all his former calamities "less grievous by her company and courage." She was buried in Westminster Abbey, August 17, "at the foot of the steps ascending to King Henry VII's chapel." The widower sat alone in his splendid house, where he was honoured by his Majesty a few days afterwards with a visit of condolence. But a few days after that his son-in-law the Duke of York came with a message from his Majesty that it was highly desirable on various grounds, but especially for his own safety, that he should resign the Chancellorship. "The Chancellor "was indeed as much surprised with this relation as he could "have been at the sight of a warrant for his execution." He refused to resign the seals till he should have another interview with his Majesty, with an explanation of reasons on both sides. The King was graciously pleased to signify that, as the Chancellor was in mourning, he would come again to Clarendon House for the purpose. Meanwhile the Duke of York remained manfully faithful to his father-in-law, and the Duchess of York, Archbishop Sheldon, and others, were imploring his Majesty to reconsider his decision. At moments it appeared that they had succeeded. The King did not go to Clarendon House after all, but appointed his own chamber in Whitehall for a private conference with the Chancellor. Thither Clarendon went at ten o'clock on Monday the 26th, and had a discourse with the King for two hours. The King seemed firm in his resolution, spoke of certain information he had of an intended impeachment of Clarendon by Parliament when it met again, professed his anxiety for the Chancellor on this account, and reminded him of the fate of Strafford. The Chancellor appealed to his Majesty whether "throwing off an old servant, who had served the Crown in some trust for near thirty years," would be to his honour or advantage. He distinguished his case from Strafford's, said he had no fears from Parliament for himself, and besought his Majesty, in his own interest, not to be "dejected with the apprehension of "the formidable power of the Parliament, which was more or

"less, or nothing, as he pleased to make it," adding that "it "was yet in his Majesty's own power to govern them, but, "if they found it was in theirs to govern him, nobody knew "what the end would be." Thereupon he made "a short relation" of the history of Richard II, but unfortunately, "in the warmth of this relation," found an opportunity to mention a certain "lady," with cautions and reflections that might better have been avoided. The King gloomed, and "rose without saying anything;" and the interview came to an end. As Clarendon was going away through the private garden, it was full of people, he says, and he saw Lady Castlemaine, Lord Arlington, and Mr. Baptist May, keeper of the privy purse, "looking together out of her open window with great gaiety and triumph." Pepys tells the same story, with the difference that Lady Castlemaine was in bed when the Chancellor left the palace, though it was twelve o'clock, but "ran out in her smock into her aviary looking into Whitehall Garden," where, her woman having brought her a dressing-gown, she "stood blessing herself at the old man's going away," and chatting with the gallants that came up. Two or three days of uncertainty yet passed; but on Friday the 30th of August Secretary Morrice came with a warrant under the sign-manual requiring Clarendon peremptorily to deliver up the great seal. He did so "with all the expressions of duty," and heard afterwards that, when Secretary Morrice took the seal to the King, Mr. Baptist May fell upon his knees, and kissed his Majesty's hand, telling him he was now really king, which he had never been before [1].

Clarendon remained in London till the Parliament did meet and an impeachment against him for high treason was actually in process. At length, on the 29th of November, he obeyed the King's orders by withdrawing hurriedly to France. Thither he was pursued by an Act of Parliament banishing him for life. He had left in England four sons,

[1] Clarendon, 1211—1212 and 1229—1236; Evelyn, June 28 and July 27—28, 1667; Pepys, June 14 and Aug. 27, 1667; Lords and Commons Journals, July 25—29, 1667; Wood's Ath. III. 851—852; Commons Journals, July 15, 1661 and May 13, 1664; Colonel Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 166, with note.

besides the Duchess of York and one other daughter. Of his eight grand-children of the blood-royal six had been born before his exile, of whom only three survived. One of these, a boy, was to die in infancy, as were two daughters yet to be born; but the two infant-girls he had seen and dandled were to live to be Queen Mary II. and Queen Anne of England. One of the accusations against him was that he had been too prescient of this sovereign destiny for his grand-children. Had he not provided a childless Queen for Charles; and, when this might have been remedied by a divorce of that Queen, and the marriage of Charles with the wary and eligible Miss Stewart, had he not contrived, in this very year 1667, the sudden marriage of Miss Stewart with the Duke of Richmond? It is certain that some such notions did mingle at last with Charles's other reasons for throwing him overboard, and that Clarendon did not think it beneath him to protest to Charles himself his innocence in the matter of Miss Stewart's marriage. The main thought he must have carried with him into his exile was that he had been the great instrument of the restoration of the dynasty of the Stuarts in the British Islands, and had, in a ministry of seven years, brought the Church and State of England as near to his ideal of perfection as the materials would permit. In this thought, and in the writing of the continuation of his History, to explain the facts to posterity, flowingly and without dates, but with all the confidence of impeccability and all the mastery of a man of genius, he seems to have been happy enough. He never saw England again, but died at Rouen, Dec. 9, 1674.

CHAPTER II.

DAVENANT'S REVIVED LAUREATESHIP AND THE FIRST SEVEN YEARS OF THE LITERATURE OF THE RESTORATION.

At the Restoration, Sir William Davenant, who had been poet-laureate to Charles I. after the death of Ben Jonson in 1637, resumed his nominal presidency in the English world of letters by becoming poet-laureate to Charles II. He was then fifty-four years of age, and he was to hold the place till his death, April 7th, 1668, at the age of sixty-two. Davenant's resumed Laureateship, therefore, almost exactly coincides with the period of Clarendon's Premiership; and the fact may be conveniently remembered. Clarendon himself, indeed, would have resented any such association of his name in the annals of England with that of the popular and play-writing knight. Long ago, when they were beginning life together in London, Hyde, slightly the younger man of the two, had been one of Davenant's greatest admirers, and had contributed a few lines to be prefixed to Davenant's first published play, in which it was predicted that the play and Davenant's muse generally would "outlive pyramids." But the lives of the two since then had greatly altered their relations to each other; and Hyde, as the statesman for Charles I. through the Civil Wars and for Charles II. through his exile, had ceased to think of himself and Davenant as in any way commensurable. Accordingly, we have seen his contemptuous estimate of Davenant in his account of Davenant's mission from Paris in 1646, on the part of Queen Henrietta Maria, to persuade the captive Charles I. at New-

castle to make peace with his subjects by abandoning Episcopacy. "An honest man and a worthy, but in all respects inferior to such a trust," says Clarendon of Davenant in that connexion, with an implied sneer at Davenant's profession of stage-poet and stage-manager. The sneer may have included something more. For Davenant's most unrespectable distinction, mentioned whenever his name was mentioned, and celebrated in squibs and epigrams about him for the last twenty years, was, as all the world knows, his want of nose.

> "They flew on him, like lions passant,
> And tore his nose, as much as was on't[1]."

Nevertheless, Davenant had as good claims, in the eyes of Charles II. and his courtiers, to be the first Laureate of the Restoration as Clarendon had to be its first Premier. He had been a staunch Royalist, both at home and in exile, both in camp and in council; he had twice been a prisoner and in danger of the scaffold for his Royalist activity; and, though of late years he had been living in London by Cromwell's indulgence, proprietor of an opera-house for musical and semi-dramatic entertainments, he had not purchased indulgence by any recantation of his allegiance to the Stuarts[2]. No one could grudge to Will. Davenant the recovery of his Laureateship, or any farther honours it might bring.

Davenant was not to contribute very largely to the literature of his own revived Laureateship. Author already of about a dozen comedies, tragedies, and tragi-comedies, and of several masques, all written before the Civil Wars, and author also of a poem called *Madagascar* (1648) and of *Gondibert, an Heroic Poem* (1651), besides other occasional short poems of various dates, he was to rest, in the main, on his acquired reputation. The performance of which he was proudest was his *Gondibert*, a vast unfinished epic, or romance of imaginary and unimaginable Lombard heroes and heroines, told in twenty cantos of four-line stanzas. The poem, the

[1] See ante, Vol. III. pp. 503—504; and Clarendon's History, p. 606.

[2] He had written, however, and published, in the end of 1657, an "Epithalamium upon the marriage of the Lady Mary, daughter to his Highness, with the Lord Viscount Falconbridge, to be sung to recitative music."

greater part of which had been written in Paris, when Davenant was constantly in the society of Hobbes, and which had been examined, corrected, and approved by Hobbes, "in parcels ere it arrived at its contexture," had originally been published with a long preface, addressed to Hobbes, expounding the author's ideas of Heroic Poetry in general, and the novelty and depth of his intentions in this specimen of it in particular. Hobbes had acknowledged the honour in a characteristic letter, in which, though confessing that poetry was not his special province, he had propounded his views of poetry confidently enough, criticised the ancient poets and modern poetical tendencies, and praised *Gondibert*. "I never "yet saw poem," he tells Davenant, "that had so much shape "of art, health of morality, and vigour and beauty of expres- "sion, as this of yours; and, but for the clamour of the "multitude, that hide their envy of the present under a "reverence of antiquity, I should say further that it would "last as long as the Æneid or the Iliad." That he had not read the poem carelessly is proved by his references to the parts of it that had struck him most. "To show the reader," he says, "in what place he shall find every excellent picture of "virtue you have drawn is too long, and to show him one "is to prejudice the rest; yet I cannot forbear to point him "to the description of love in the person of Birtha in the "seventh canto of the Second Book. There has been nothing "said upon that subject, neither by the ancient nor the "modern poets, comparable to it." One turns with some interest to the canto mentioned, to see what kind of verse pleased the old philosopher so much, and finds this description there of Birtha, the daughter of the wise seer and physician Astragon :—

"To Astragon heaven for succession gave
One only pledge, and Birtha was her name;
Whose mother slept where flowers grew on her grave;
And she succeeded her in face and fame.

Her beauty princes durst not hope to use,
Unless, like poets, for their morning theme;
And her mind's beauty they would rather choose,
Which did the light in beauty's lanthorn seem.

She ne'er saw courts, yet courts could have undone
With untaught looks and an unpractised heart;
Her nets the most prepared could never shun,
For nature spread them in the scorn of art.

She never had in busy cities been;
Ne'er warmed with hopes, nor yet allayed with fears;
Not seeing punishment, could guess no sin;
And, sin not seeing, ne'er had use of tears.

But here her father's precepts gave her skill,
Which with incessant business filled the hours;
In spring she gathered blossoms for the still,
In autumn berries, and in summer flowers."

Such, at the best, was the epic muse of Davenant, eulogised publicly not only by Hobbes ten years ago, but also by others then and since, such as Waller and Cowley. But *Gondibert* had, not unnaturally, had its detractors. It had been the subject of some clever criticism by wags who, careless of Hobbes and his backing, could not endure an epic so utterly without any real backbone of interesting story and so monotonously elegiac in its sing-song. They were quite right. Eminent modern critics have had a word of praise for *Gondibert*. Sir Walter Scott, for example, says that it "very often exhibits a majestic, dignified, and manly simplicity," and Hallam allows it the credit "due to masculine verse in a good metrical cadence." But, while passages of it may be read with a feeling that such praise is deserved, any attempt to read the poem continuously ends in gentle stupefaction. Hence, though *Gondibert* remained, in a very literal sense, Davenant's *pièce de résistance* among his contemporaries, his real popularity depended more on the recollection of his plays, masques, and miscellaneous poems. On that evidence, a very important place must even yet be assigned to Davenant among the English dramatists of the reign of Charles I. His comedies and tragedies produced in that reign may rank fairly above those of Shirley, and next to those of Massinger and Ford. His subjects are generally of the same kind as theirs, and sometimes, like theirs, frightfully repulsive; there is the same outrageous licence occasionally in the situations and phraseology; each play is rather a run of tumid dialogue than

a definite invention of real plot and character; but there is undoubted power, both humorous and poetical, with a remarkable inheritance of that language of light, elevated, profuse, and careless ideality which we recognise as the Elizabethan. The following is a characteristic passage from one of his comedies:—

THE LIFE OF COUNTRY LADIES IMAGINED BY TOWN WITS.

Thwack. Poor country madams, th' are in subjection still.
The beasts, their husbands, make 'em sit on three
Legg'd stools, like homely daughters of an hospital,
To knit socks for their cloven feet.
Elder Pal. And, when their tyrant husbands, too, grow old,
As they have still th' impudence to live long,
Good ladies, they are fain to waste the sweet
And pleasant seasons of the day in boiling
Jellies for them, and rolling little pills
Of cambric lint to stuff their hollow teeth.
Lucy. And then the evenings, warrant ye, they spend
With Mother Spectacle, the curate's wife;
Who does inveigh 'gainst curling and dyed cheeks,
Heaves her devout impatient nose at oil
Of jessamine, and thinks powder of Paris more
Profane than th' ashes of a Romish martyr.
Lady Ample. And in the days of joy and triumph, Sir,
Which come as seldom to them as new gowns,
Then, humble wretches! they do frisk and dance
In narrow parlours to a single fiddle,
That squeaks forth tunes like a departing pig.
Lucy. Whilst the mad hinds shake from their feet more dirt
Than did the cedar roots that danced to Orpheus.
Lady Ample. Do they not pour their wine too from an ewer,
Or small gilt cruise, like orange-water kept
To sprinkle holiday beards?
Lucy. And, when a stranger comes, send seven miles post
By moonshine for another pint?

Here is a graver passage, the dialogue of two lovers condemned to be put to death, and already kneeling together in expectation of their execution:—

DIALOGUE OF THE DOOMED LOVERS.

Scoperta. So much of various fate so soon expressed
Two lovers yet ne'er knew, since sympathy
First dwelt on earth.
Sciolto. Ere long we must be cold,
Cold, cold, my love, and wrapped in stubborn sheets

Of lead; housed in a deep, a gloomy vault,
Where no society will mix with us,
But what shall quicken from our tainted limbs.
Scoperta. Whilst still there's noise and business in the world,
Whilst still the wars grow loud and battles join,
And kings their queens salute in ivory.
Sciolto. But O! how many ages may succeed
In heaven's dark kalendar ere *we* again
Material be, and meet in the warm flesh!
Scoperta. And whether that our souls, when they're preferred
To taste eternity, will ever think
Upon the bargains of our human love
Is unto me a desolate suspense.
Sciolto. Philosophy doth seem to laugh upon
Our hopes, and wise divinity belies
Our knowledge with our faith. Jealous nature
Hath locked her secrets in a cabinet
Which Time ne'er saw.

All in all, in the style and verse of Davenant in his plays there is something from Ben Jonson, something from Massinger, but more from Shakespeare. The fact, at all events, is that veneration for the memory of Shakespeare was one of Davenant's ruling passions. The enthusiasm had taken a rather extraordinary form, if, as Aubrey hints, he did not, in later life, discourage the rumour that he was Shakespeare's natural son. The old Crown Inn at Oxford, in which Davenant had been born in 1606, had been, it seems, the very inn which was Shakespeare's habitual resting-place in his journeys between Stratford-on-Avon and London, as fine and comfortable an inn as there was in those parts, and with cellars full of Gascony and other wines; and John Davenant, the landlord of this inn, and for some time Mayor of Oxford, a man "of a melancholic disposition and seldom or never seen to laugh," but "an admirer and lover of plays and play-makers," and his wife, Davenant's mother, "a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation," were well-remembered persons long after they were both dead. Out of these facts foolish gossip in the London theatres, possibly while Ben Jonson was yet alive, had invented the pedigree for Sir William which he is said not to have disliked. More creditable to him, and more authentic, is the fact of his constant profession of literary allegiance to the great Elizabethan.

These lines, "In remembrance of Mr. William Shakespeare," by one who had seen the living man and had been patted on the head by him, are not uninteresting; and they are among the very earliest of Davenant's pieces:—

Beware, delighted poets, when you sing
To welcome nature in the early spring,
    Your numerous feet not tread
The banks of Avon; for each flower,
As it ne'er knew a sun or shower,
    Hangs there the pensive head.

Each tree, whose thick and spreading growth hath made
Rather a night beneath the boughs than shade,
    Unwilling now to grow,
Looks like the plume a captain wears,
Whose rifled falls are steeped i' the tears
    Which from his last rage flow.

The piteous river wept itself away
Long since, alas! to such a swift decay
    That, reach the map and look
If you a river there can spy,
And for a river your mocked eye
    Will find a shallow brook[1].

Ben Jonson, the first of the regular series of the English Laureates, had been confessedly a larger man than most of those who were nominally his literary subjects. The same cannot be said of his successor Davenant. Among the subjects of *his* laureateship there were some decidedly inferior, but not a few far superior, to himself.

What more massively notable figure in the English world of letters at that time than Davenant's nominal subject, but real master and mentor, Thomas Hobbes? In his seventy-third year at the Restoration,—a tall, strong-looking old man, of ruddy complexion, though with hands shaking from palsy,

[1] Davenant's Collected Works, folio edition of 1673; Aubrey's Lives, *Davenant*; Wood's Ath. III. 802—809; Ward's Hist. of English Dramatic Literature, II. 359—364; Dramatic Works of Sir William Davenant, in four volumes octavo, published in Edinburgh in 1872, as part of a series of new editions of the Dramatists of the Restoration. The Memoir of Davenant prefixed to this last by the editors, Messrs. Maidment and Logan, is the fullest and most careful known to me; and never before this publication can Davenant's Plays be said to have been properly edited. In Herringman's folio of 1673, issued five years after Davenant's death, enormous liberties were taken with the text of the plays. Some of the blank verse plays are reduced in that folio to a chaos of unsightly and nearly unreadable prose.

his head very bald atop, but with yellowish-grey hair in plenty at the sides,—Hobbes too had already accomplished the best part of his work. Known to the public before the Civil Wars chiefly by his translation of Thucydides, he had since then,—in a series of books, written either during his eleven years of voluntary retreat in Paris from the uncongenial strife at home (1641–1652), or afterwards in England during his renewed residence there by Cromwell's leave under the Protectorate,—taken the world by storm in his true character of philosopher, or systematic thinker. Called "the atheist Hobbes" as long ago as 1646, when only the first of this series of books, the *Elementa Philosophica de Cive*, had been published, he had become more and more "the atheist Hobbes," with all who found advantage in that style of epithet, by his *Human Nature* and *De Corpore Politico* of 1650, his all-comprehensive *Leviathan* of 1651, and some subsequent writings, while this dreadful fame of his for general Atheism had been fringed latterly by a special reputation for mathematical heterodoxy. We can now judge of Hobbes for ourselves. He was indubitably the most important philosophical or systematic thinker that England had produced since Bacon, and a bolder and more thorough thinker in some respects than Bacon had been; one descries him among his English contemporaries as a grim and very irascible old Aristotle; and one can trace the descent of his main notions through the whole subsequent course of English Philosophy.

And what *were* the notions? What was this Hobbism with which the English mind was said to be already infected through and through at the time of the Restoration, and which was alarming and rousing the clergy and all denominations of the orthodox?

Was it Atheism? Hobbes, most certainly, did not so describe his system himself, or want it to be so described. He expressly denies being an Atheist, and declares that any person professing Atheism would be justly punishable by God and the civil magistrate. In his own vocabulary no words are more frequent than God, Religion, our Blessed Saviour, the Holy Scripture, the Church, sin, immortality,

and the like. He is as ready to discuss these topics as any one else; they are parts of his encyclopædia; he can use every doctrine of the Christian creed, and every text or historical averment of Scripture, with perfect practical satisfaction, if you allow him a Hobbist interpretation. On the whole, however, he is emphatic in declaring that it is in the theological region of speculation that men have chiefly made fools of themselves, and have accumulated the greatest quantity of that nonsense which it is the business of philosophy to sweep away. For the clergy of all kinds, as the professional purveyors of such doctrine, and the inventors of its jargon, he manifests a very daring contempt. Moreover, though the names and phrases of Religion are retained in his own vocabulary, and the entities and objects to which they correspond do seem to belong somehow to his encyclopædia of what is real, they are represented as rather an influx of inconceivables, maintained there by sheer option or constitutional faith, than as matters with which human reason can comfortably or effectively concern itself. God, as the eternal cause of all that exists, "is not a fancy, but the most real substance that is," Hobbes distinctly admits; the existence of God might even be demonstrated by natural reason, though it would be by a very difficult and abstruse process, unintelligible to the many; but, practically, *God* is a name among men for the largest possible amount of the inconceivable. "The "name God is used, not to make us conceive him, for he is "incomprehensible, and his greatness and power are incon- "ceivable, but that we may honour him." Again, "By the "visible things in this world and their admirable order, a man "may conceive there is a cause of them, which men call God, "and yet not have an idea or image of him in his mind;" and, in fact, "men cannot have any idea of him in their mind answerable to his nature." As respects the supernatural, therefore, Hobbes was what we now call an Agnostic. But there are several schools of Agnostics; and, more precisely, Hobbes was an Agnostic of that school which admits, or does not deny, that the inconceivable God may, in sundry times and in divers places, have communicated to the human race by revelation

some hints of how he would will himself to be conceived and thought of, with a view to certain important effects upon the human spirit and upon human society, and that the conservation of such sacred tradition may be the business of some mystic or visible organization on earth called collectively the Church. What distinguishes Hobbes from some more recent Agnostics of this school, however, is the sturdy impassiveness with which, having made this admission of a possible deposit of revelation in the world, valid for practical ends only and apprehensible only by faith or trust, he turns away from that deposit, or supposed deposit, and addresses himself to what he thinks the real business of philosophy, viz. the rational investigation of the laws of that phenomenal or phantasmic world in which, God or no God, man lives and moves. "From the propagation of religion," he says in one place, "it is not hard to understand the causes of the resolution of "the same into its first seeds or principles; which are only "an opinion of a Deity and powers invisible and supernatural, "that can never be so abolished out of human nature but "that new religions may be made to spring out of them by "the culture of such men as for such purpose are in reputa-"tion." Again, having to touch incidentally on the Christian doctrine of immortality and future judgment, how does he express himself? "There is," he says, "*no natural* "*knowledge* of man's estate after death, much less of the "reward that is then to be given to breach of faith, but only "a *belief*, grounded upon other men's saying that they know "it supernaturally, or that they know those that knew them "that knew others that knew it supernaturally." Here there is almost a sneer at a religious belief which he admits to be legitimate on other grounds than those of natural reason. And so, throughout, there is no ardour in Hobbes, never any sentimental lingering over the notions of God, Christ, Heaven, Hell, or any of their cognates. It is as if, having entered these names in his vocabulary, and admitted some corresponding entities in a Hobbist sense into his encyclopædia, he felt that he had done enough to appease the clergy or to provide them with endless matter of minute logomachy with himself

in their own department, and so had cleared the decks for the real action. That was to answer the question, What can man rationally know of the world he lives in, of his own constitution in relation to it, and of his duties in it?

Here Hobbes is at home. The individual man, according to Hobbes, is a body with a brain, "a body-animated-rational," moving amid other bodies or appearances and perceiving them by his senses. "There is no conception in "a man's mind which hath not at first, totally or by parts, "been begotten upon the organs of sense. The rest are "derived from that original." The cause of sensation in every case "is the external body or object which presseth the "organ proper to each sense, either immediately, as in the "taste and touch, or mediately, as in seeing, hearing, and "smelling; which pressure, by the mediation of the nerves, "and other strings and membranes of the body, continued "inwards to the brain and heart, causeth there a resistance "or counterpressure, or endeavour of the heart to deliver "itself, which endeavour, because *outward*, seemeth to be "some matter without." What we call Imagination is simply decaying sensation, or the relics of former sensation in the form of the original nerve-vibrations continued, but growing weaker and weaker; and Memory is but another name for the same thing. Experience, again, is a name for "much memory or memory of many things," and consists, in every particular person, of the whole stock of decaying nerve-vibrations treasured up in that person's bodily organism. Thinking or mental discourse consists in trains of imaginations, whether spontaneous and unguided or ordered and regulated; i.e. in the coming together of some of the treasured-up relics of sensation at their own pleasure, or the bringing of such together more stringently and for a definite purpose. In neither case are the chains or successions of ideas arbitrary; they are determined by previous associations or successions among the first sensations. "Besides sense, and "thoughts, and the trains of thoughts, the mind of man has "no other motion." We cannot, therefore, have any idea, conception, or imagination of anything we call infinite.

Speech or verbal discourse is the generator of all science; and speech consists in the imposing of names upon recollected sensations or past trains of thought and in the connexion of these names. What are called *universals*, viz. common names, such as *man*, *tree*, as distinct from proper names, such as *Peter*, *John*, have nothing corresponding to them in real nature, but express only abstractions of the mind. Speech is liable to many abuses; and the right use of speech, and especially the art of strict definition of words, is the first necessity of Philosophy. "For words are wise men's counters,—they do but "reckon by them; but they are the money of fools, that value "them by the authority of an Aristotle, a Cicero, or a Thomas, "or any other doctor whatsoever." Reason, or the highest faculty of the mind, is not born with us, as sense and memory are, nor is it gotten by experience only, as prudence is; but it is "attained by industry, first in apt imposing of *names*, "and secondly by setting a good and orderly method in pro- "ceeding from the elements, which are names, to *assertions* "made by connexion of them to one another, and so to *syllo-* "*gisms*, which are the connexions of one assertion to another, "till we come to a knowledge of all the consequences of "names appertaining to the subject on hand: and that is it "men call SCIENCE." Geometry alone of the sciences had been brought to a tolerably satisfactory condition, for there men had begun "at settling the significations of their words;" but, by equally strict ratiocination, man might work out other sciences, or collections of true theorems, on all subjects. To formulate experience universally in such general theorems is man's highest excellence; "but this privilege is allayed by "another, and that is the privilege of absurdity." Of all men the most subject to absurdity are philosophers.

Such is the essence of the Psychology of Hobbes. It was a system, as will be seen, of thorough-going empiricism or sensationalism, rejecting every vestige of transcendentalism. It was also, and has been generally called, a system of Materialism or Materialistic Realism, inasmuch as it makes the world to consist of an aggregate of material bodies, with human bodies among them, acted upon by the rest through

the senses and nerves. But, though this is Hobbes's general conception of the world, there are passages in his writings which seem rather to propound a kind of modified Idealism. He declares that image, colour, sound, shape, and the other qualities by which objects are known and which seem to belong to these objects themselves, and indeed to constitute them, are not the objects or in the objects, but are only subjective affections of the mind, "apparitions unto us of the "motion, agitation, or alteration which the object worketh in "the brain, or spirits, or some internal substance of the head." As the soft white and grey mass we call *brain*, or *the internal substance of the head*, must itself, on this very principle, be regarded as only the apparition to us of the motion or agitation caused on our spirits by something unknown, having no resemblance in its own nature to the apparition it causes,—i. e. certainly *not* brain, and neither white nor grey, nor hard nor soft,—Hobbes might seem to be shut up here either to Idealism or to a highly refined variety of Natural Realism. Perhaps, however, unless we were to be allowed the somewhat self-contradictory phrase Materialistic Idealism or Idealistic Materialism, the name Materialistic Realism, or that of Materialism pure and simple, may be kept as defining Hobbes's metaphysical system best.

Proceeding from Hobbes's Psychology to his Cosmology, or System of Physics, we need remark little more than that he did propound a classification of the physical sciences and attempt something himself not only in mathematics, but also in astronomy, optics, meteorology, physiology, &c. In astronomy he was a Copernican, and so was in advance of most of his contemporaries. As to Creation, or the physical beginnings of the world and of animation and humanity on the earth, he is very cautious. Of the doctrine of evolution or development he seems to have had no glimpse; and hence his hesitation is between the hypothesis of the eternity of the world and that of its instantaneous creation or appearance at some point of past time. Out of that dilemma, however, he shakes himself very characteristically. "I purposely "pass over the questions of infinite and eternal," he says,

"contenting myself with that doctrine concerning the be-
"ginning and magnitude of the world which I have been
"persuaded to by the Holy Scriptures and fame of the miracles
"which confirm them, and by the custom of my country and
"reverence due to the laws." He will vote, therefore, with other people, that the world began about six thousand years ago, with Adam and Eve, in the way described in the Bible. And so we are brought to the most peculiar part of the Philosophy of Hobbes, viz. his Ethics and Politics.

For a long while mankind, a multitude of "bodies-animated-rational," moved over the earth, or inhabited different parts of it, in a state of nature, with no great differences of strength or ability between individual and individual, but with great and growing differences in respect of the nature and the intensity of their appetites. In this state of nature all men have equal right to all things, and each is sole judge of what will suit him best. *Good* is merely the name with every one individually for what he desires, and *Evil* merely the name for what he fears. Obviously, however, as there are many things, such as food, which all desire and must have, and other things, especially death and bodily injury, which all fear, a state of nature, in which each strives to get what he can and to keep it as long as he can, must be a mere scramble of all against all, or state of incessant mutual warfare. Gradually it begins to dawn upon people, or upon some, that this system of the right of all to all is incommodious, and might be rationally modified. Hence, out of natural craving for some amount of peace, the first glimmerings of the so-called laws of nature. The fundamental law of nature, according to Hobbes, is "That peace is to be sought after where it may "be found, and, where not, there to provide ourselves with "helps of war;" but he enumerates twenty other more special laws of nature, or inventions in the interest of peace. The first of these is "That the right of all men to all things "ought not to be retained, but that some certain rights ought "to be transferred or relinquished." All civil societies have had their origin in fear and in the striving after some amount of peace and self-security, ending at last in the surrender of

the right of all to all things and a contract to obey magistracy in some form. We may be swift and summary in following Hobbes through the rest. He recognises aristocracy and democracy as possible forms of magistracy, but prefers absolute monarchy, where the right of all is conveyed to one person. The king in a state is the fountain of all law; if he decree the moralities of true natural reason, well and good; but in that respect he is responsible to God only, and whatever he may decree is to be obeyed by his subjects. "All judi-"cature belongs to him;" "The legislative power is his only;" "The naming of magistrates and other officers belongs to "him;" "Also the examination of all doctrines;" "Whatso-"ever he doth is unpunishable;" "No man can challenge "a propriety in anything against his will." This doctrine is repeated again and again in similar strings of emphatic aphorisms. Even in RELIGION the king has the sovereignty. He may set up or establish what religion or forms of public worship he pleases, and resistance to him even in that department, on any plea of private liberty of conscience, is treason and rebellion. Opinions contrary to the established religion ought to be silenced; nay, "disobedience may lawfully be punished in them that, against the laws, teach even true philosophy." The king is head of the Church, and may do all the acts of the clergy. Church and State are one; the clergy have no powers but what they derive from the civil sovereign; not Pope Sylvester, but the Emperor Constantine, who made him Pope, was the supreme pastor of the Roman Church; and so, in modern communities, not to bishops or assemblies of clergy, but to the monarch, belongs the ultimate power ecclesiastical. Hobbes, though he has studied the history of Episcopacy, and thinks that it was a slow formation of political expediency only, and that the first bishops were simply the popularly elected presbyters or pastors of congregations, accepts modern English episcopacy as perhaps the best form of Church-government and the most consistent with monarchy, but would have the bishops and all other clergy watched by the civil power and taught their proper places. "None but kings can put into their "titles a mark of submission to God only, *Dei gratia Rex, &c.*

"Bishops ought to say, in the beginning of their mandates, *By "the favour of the King's Majesty, bishop of such a diocese*[1]."

Such was Hobbism. It was partly a reproduction, partly a most original version, of an eternally base philosophy. Yet in what a style, and with what vigour, this philosophy was taught! Among English writers there are few comparable to Hobbes for combined perspicuity and strength. Every sentence is as clear as can be, and yet full of independence and character. Happy and memorable expressions abound, and in page after page there breaks out the sarcastic humour of one who sees the faces of his readers as he writes, and of some readers in particular, and hits the harder the more they wince. There have been later philosophers presenting the same strange union of practical absolutism in politics with universal theoretical scepticism or remorseless reinquiry for themselves into all matters intellectual, though the most recent followers of Hobbes in metaphysics have generally gone the other way in politics; but Hobbes remains a kind of unique figure in English Philosophy, with a personality quite distinguishable from that of any forerunner or any successor. His very face in the portraits is one of the strongest and most astute ever seen. Strong and low, we may call Hobbes, but great in that kind.

From the Restoration onwards, Hobbes, whose connexion with the Devonshire family dated from as far back as 1607, lived much, as he had done before, at Chatsworth in Derbyshire, the honoured guest of William, the third earl, to whom, as to his father, he had been tutor. His method of life there was somewhat eccentric. He devoted the mornings to vigorous walking and exercise out-of-doors; returned to breakfast; and then "went round the lodgings, to wait upon "the Earl and Countess and all the children, paying some "short addresses to them," till about 12 o'clock, when "he "had a little dinner provided for him," which he always took alone. "Soon after dinner, he had his candle and twelve

[1] Hobbes's Collected Works, edited by Sir William Molesworth, Bart. (1839) in sixteen volumes. The quotations are chiefly from the *Elements of Philosophy concerning Body*, the *Human Nature*, the *Philosophical Rudiments concerning Government and Society*, and the *Leviathan*.

"pipes of tobacco laying by it; then, shutting his door, and "darkening some part of the windows, he fell to smoking, "and thinking, and writing, for several hours." So in the country; but he was also a good deal in London, living in the Earl's town-house in Bishopsgate Street Without, and going about with him daily. "I should sooner have given "you an account of an interview I had of Mr. Hobbes," writes Hooke to his patron Robert Boyle, "which was at Mr. Reeve's, "he coming along with my Lord Devonshire to be assistant "in the choosing a glass. I was, I confess, a little surprised "at first to see an old man so view me and survey me in "every way, without saying anything to me; but I quickly "shaked off my surprisal when I heard my lord call him "Mr. Hobbes, supposing he had been informed to whom "I belonged. I soon found, by staying that little while he "was there, that the character I had formerly received of him "was very significant. I found him to lard and seal every "asseveration with a round oath, to undervalue all other men's "opinions and judgments, to defend to the utmost what he "asserted, though never so absurd, to have a high conceit of "his own abilities and performances, though never so absurd "and pitiful, &c. He would not be persuaded but that "a common spectacle-glass was as good an eye-glass for a "thirty-six foot glass as the best in the world, and pretended "to see better than all the rest by holding his spectacle in "his hand, which shook as fast one way as his head did the "other; which, I confess, made me bite my tongue." This is from an unfriendly quarter, but it is trustworthy. We see the strong old fellow in the optician's shop, dogmatic even about the best glasses for telescopes, glaring at Hook ferociously because he knew him to be a client of Boyle's, and blaspheming like a Trojan. He had outlived all his vices, except those of temper, and seems never to have had many of an unphilosophical kind. One natural daughter, whom he called his *delictum juventutis* or "slip of youth," he had duly provided for somewhere[1].

[1] Wood's Ath. III. 1206—1218, with quotation from Kennet there; Boyle's Correspondence, Boyle's Works, V. 533. Hooke's letter is of date 1663, when

Hobbism, though Hobbes himself had fancied that the political part of it might be adjusted to the Protectorate if necessary, was expressly, in all its parts, the philosophy for the Restoration. Charles, who had been obliged by clerical influence to sever his connexion with Hobbes abroad, but who now showed him all favour, and allowed him a pension of £100 a-year, was as much a Hobbist as a crypto-Catholic; and, indeed, a mixture of Hobbism and crypto-Catholicism was the special court religion. Davenant himself was a kind of Roman Catholic Hobbist; and the scepticism that was so prevalent among the politicians and wits individually, while they abetted collectively the government policy of coerced national conformity to the Anglican Episcopal Church, was a modified or diluted Hobbism. Not, of course, that there were not vehement anti-Hobbists among the chiefs of the Restoration. The clergy, in a mass, were bound to hate Hobbes, not only for the heretical theology which they called his Atheism, but also for the sturdy Erastianism of his views about Bishops and the Church. Hence there was hardly an eminent clerical contemporary of Hobbes who did not think it part of his professional duty to gird at the great heretic on every possible occasion. Clerical anti-Hobbists, now of the Church of England, who had already distinguished themselves in this way before the Restoration, were Bramhall, Wallis, and Seth Ward, the two latter having assaulted Hobbes's mathematical pretensions as well as his theology. Hardly less conspicuous as a declared anti-Hobbist already, and writer against Hobbes, was the ever active Richard Baxter. The dislike of Boyle for Hobbes, theological and scientific, was to manifest itself in various writings of the Christian philosopher; and anti-Hobbism, as we have seen from Hooke's

Hobbes was seventy-five years old.—Aubrey's anecdotes about Hobbes, whom he knew intimately, confirm Hooke's description of his ferocious manner and his habit of swearing, but leave altogether a kindlier impression. "He had two kinds of looks," says Aubrey: "when he laughed, was witty, and in a merry humour, one could scarce see his eyes; by and bye, when he was serious and earnest, he opened his eyes round his eye-lids." When he appeared at Court, "Here comes the bear" the wits would say, and would gather round for a baiting-match; on which occasions "he would make his part good," says Aubrey, being "marvellous happy and ready in his replies, and that without rancour, except provoked." Aubrey adds that he was very charitable with his money.

description of Hobbes in his letter to Boyle, was a rooted sentiment among Boyle's associates. It remained to be seen whether the hatred of Hobbes among the theologians might not overbear the liking for him among the freethinking politicians and wits, and whether, in some swell of popular clamour, the clergy might not be able to bring the old heretic to the bar for judgment. Hobbes, who was, after all, a timid man, was never quite free from this dread of a writ *de heretico comburendo,* but was resolved to avoid martyrdom at the last by any required amount of retractation, attendance at chapel, or whatever else.

Hobbes thus left standing by himself, it will be enough if we enumerate more miscellaneously the rest of those whom Davenant, at the very beginning of his renewed Laureateship, could regard as his literary subjects. We shall take them in groups in the order of their ages.

Coevals of Hobbes, or over seventy years of age at the Restoration, were Robert Sanderson and George Wither. Sanderson was to live to 1663, as the respected Restoration Bishop of Lincoln, and was to add some new publications to the previous series of his sermons and other writings. Wither is still more astonishing. It seemed as if the literary career of this most fluent of poets and satirists, begun as far back as 1612, and continued, in volumes and sheets, through the reigns of James and Charles I., and through the Commonwealth and Protectorate, would never have an end. Impoverished by the Restoration, and imprisoned for some time on a charge of political libel, he was no sooner released than his pen was again busy in his poverty. *The Prisoner's Plea, Vox Vulgi, Verses intended to the King's Majesty, Proclamation in the name of the King of Kings, Tuba Pacifica, Three Private Meditations,* such are the titles of the last imbecile musings in prose and verse that were to come from the popular old Puritan and Parliamentarian before May, 1667, when they buried him in the Savoy church[1].

[1] Wood's Ath. III. 628—631 and 761—775.

Alive in 1660, and ranging then from seventy years of age to sixty, in this order of descent, were Herrick, Dr. Henry King, Dr. John Hacket, Dr. John Goodwin, Dr. John Bramhall, Izaak Walton, James Shirley, James Howell, William Prynne, Dr. Brian Walton, John Ogilby, Peter Heylin, Edmund Calamy, and Dr. Thomas Goodwin.

Of most of these we know enough already to understand how they were likely to comport themselves amid the conditions of the Restoration. King, Bishop of Chichester before the Civil Wars, returned to that See; Bramhall, formerly Bishop of Derry, became Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, and lived to 1663; the learned Brian Walton became Bishop of Chester, but died in November 1661; Hacket, so conspicuous an episcopal divine before the Civil Wars, was to be Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Heylin, one of the bitterest and most active enemies of the Puritans, and who had been living by miscellaneous literature, much of it historical and much of it scurrilous, since he had been voted a delinquent and deprived of all his spiritualities in 1643, had recovered those spiritualities, but was not thought fit for higher preferments. He died in May, 1662, only sub-dean of Westminster, after having published his last two or three books and pamphlets. And what of Herrick, the delicious Herrick, who had been ejected in 1648 from his Devonshire vicarage of Dean Prior, and had been living since then in his native London as a vague layman, with no thoughts of ever being a parson again, and asserting that fact by collecting and publishing, as "Robert Herrick, Esq.," those Anacreontics and other songs and poems which have made his name an evergreen? All that we know is that he did resume the clerical function, and return to spend his old age among his rude parishioners in Dean Prior, where there are fond traditions of him yet, and where his ghost is said to walk very contentedly now, though he had written of it during his former incumbency:—

> "More discontents I never had,
> Since I was born, than here,
> Where I have been, and still am, sad,—
> In this dull Devonshire."

The three other clergymen on our list, Calamy and the two Goodwins, went the opposite way, of course, from the Heylins and Herricks, and had to take the consequences. Of the five non-clerical sexagenarians mentioned, only Howell had compromised his original Royalism by turning Oliverian for a time. It was easy for him, however, to revert to his original principles; and so, though he was not restored to his Clerkship of the Council, he became historiographer to the King, and was the first who held that sub-presidency of letters, if we may so call it, under the poet-laureate. Prynne remained Prynne, a Royalist of the stiffest Presbyterian persuasion, taught submission at last, but pregnant still with pamphlets. The pious and peaceful Izaak Walton, long retired from his haberdasher's business, and having the eminent Bishop Morley for his son-in-law, was living in his own house in Clerkenwell, or sometimes with his son-in-law the bishop, a happy Royalist, angler, and Anglican. One thinks with peculiar interest of Shirley as one of the survivors of the Restoration. Called usually the latest of the Elizabethan dramatists, though in reality his first plays date from the beginning of the reign of Charles I., this Roman Catholic veteran could now consider his schoolmastering in Whitefriars, and his other recent shifts, as happily at an end, and could hope to see some of his plays reproduced on the stage and to write more. It was much the same with Shirley's friend, John Ogilby, hitherto less known to us.—Born in or near Edinburgh in 1660, but brought to London in his childhood, Ogilby had begun life in very hard circumstances. He had been a stage-dancer and dancing-master; which second profession he had been able to continue after having lamed himself by an accident in the first. He had been dancing-master in several noble families, and finally in that of Strafford; who took him to Ireland in some higher domestic capacity, and under whose auspices he had set up a prosperous theatre in Dublin. Driven back to England by the Irish Rebellion, he had set himself with the utmost determination, both in London and Cambridge, to the task of repairing in middle age the defects of his early education. He had made himself

such a master of Latin as to be able to bring out in 1649-50 his extraordinary *Translation of Virgil*. The book had been popular, and had been republished in more splendid form in 1654. Having by this time attacked Greek, and published *Fables of Æsop paraphrased in Verse and adorned with Sculptures*, Ogilby did not shrink from a yet bolder feat. *Homer his Iliads Translated, adorned with Sculptures, and illustrated with Annotations*, was the title of a folio of his, ready in 1660, and dedicated to King Charles. At the Restoration, accordingly, people were speaking of Mr. Ogilby as a kind of self-taught prodigy. He was to keep up his character of enterprising author-tradesman to the last. While not ceasing from poetry and the translation of poetry, he was to take more and more to geography, topography, and all kinds of matter-of-fact prose that would pay, and was to devise fresh ingenuities in the methods of printing, bookbinding, and book-illustration, and also in the art of vending and distributing books [1].

The English authors under sixty years of age and over fifty at the Restoration may, inasmuch as Davenant himself was midway between the two ages, be called the authors of Davenant's own wave. Milton also belonged to this wave, though among the juniors in it, being but in his fifty-second year. Others worth mentioning, in the order of seniority, are Dr. John Earle, Dr. John Lightfoot, Sir Kenelm Digby, Thomas Fuller, Jasper Mayne, Edward Pocock, Edmund Waller, Thomas Browne of Norwich, William Dugdale, Bulstrode Whitlocke, John Rushworth, Sir Edward Hyde (Clarendon), Sir Richard Fanshawe, Sir Aston Cockayne, Owen Feltham, and Dr. Benjamin Whichcote.

The excellent Fuller can hardly be reckoned among the Restoration writers at all. He had written duly, with the rest, his *Panegyrick to his Majesty on his Happy Return*, had been readmitted to his prebend of Salisbury, made chaplain extraordinary to the King, and D.D. of Cambridge by

[1] Authorities for the facts in this paragraph are numerous and scattered; but much is from Wood in the places to which reference may be found by the names in the Index. He brings in Ogilby under Shirley (Ath. III. 737—744).

royal command, and had a bishopric in certain prospect, when he was cut off by fever, August 1661. All his useful and delightful books had been already given to the world, save that his *Worthies of England* remained to be published in complete form the year after his death. Dr. John Earle, whose *Microcosmography* had been before the world since 1628, and who had published a few pieces of verse since, besides his Latin translation of the *Eikon Basilike*, done in exile, had returned with the King, to be Dean of Westminster, and ere long bishop of two sees in succession. The Cambridge Orientalist, Lightfoot, and the Oxford Orientalist, Pocock, were to live on as Orientalists still,—Lightfoot abating his Presbyterianism and his Westminster Assembly recollections so much as to be retained in the Restoration Church as conforming incumbent of Great Munden, in Hertfordshire; Pocock restored to his canonry of Christ Church and made D.D., but, for the rest of his long life, to be "overlooked or forgotten." Jasper Mayne, of some reputation as the author of a comedy and a tragi-comedy, the translator of Lucian, and a miscellaneous poet, had been known also since 1646 as D.D. and author of some published sermons. Having been deprived, in the Commonwealth time, of two vicarages he had held conjointly, he had been living meanwhile as chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, and so under the same roof with Hobbes, and not much in harmony with that philosopher. The Restoration delivered him by bringing him back his two vicarages, with the archdeaconry of Chichester in addition,—"all which he kept to his dying day, and was ever accounted a witty and a facetious companion." Whichcote, the only other clerical member of our group, and about the youngest person in it, may be noticed more fitly in a later connexion.

Of Whitlocke, Rushworth, and Hyde, among the laymen of the group, it is enough to remember that Hyde was now the first man in England, that Whitlocke's political days were over and he was living obscurely in Wiltshire, and that Rushworth, with capacities for business yet which were to procure him secretarial posts under the new powers, and even

bring him again into Parliament, was to sink lower and lower in the world. The first part of his *Historical Collections* had appeared in 1659; the rest was not to be published for many years. For the Royalist Dugdale, in reward for his faithful heraldic services to the late King, and for the vast historical industry which had enabled him to produce his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, the first volume of his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and his *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, all under the Protectorate, there was immediate appointment, at Chancellor Hyde's instance, to the office of Norroy King of Arms, with still higher heraldic posts to come, and, in due time, when he had given more of his learned volumes to the world, the honour of knighthood. That honour was also to come in time, but more accidentally, to Thomas Browne of Norwich, to whose *Religio Medici*, published in 1642, and his *Vulgar Errors*, published in 1646, there had been added, in the Protectorate, almost everything else by which he was to be known, including his beautiful *Discourse of Urn-burial*, and his *Garden of Cyrus*, printed together in 1658. For the present he was merely the well-known physician and scholar of Norwich, author of those works. A knight since 1623, and of a family in which knighthood had been usual, was Sir Kenelm Digby. Though he was to live on as a Londoner, and even a busy Londoner, for five years after the Restoration, he had already achieved the full sum of his distinctions. Handsome and gigantic in person, of "a wonderful graceful behaviour, a flowing courtesy and civility, and such a volubility of language as surprised and delighted," men thought of him now as the hero of the naval fight of Scanderoon against the Venetians in "the drowsy and unactive time" of 1628, as the man who had gone and come for thirty years between England and the Continent and had changed his religion and his politics with his climate, as the romantic husband and romantic widower of the beautiful and frail Venetia Stanley, as the chemist and natural philosopher, the inventor of the powder of sympathy and of other mystic medicines for warts and wounds, the author of many books of subtle theology and metaphysics,

"The age's wonder for his noble parts,
Skilled in six tongues and learn'd in all the arts."

Besides Sir Kenelm the only two of our group with titled names were Sir Richard Fanshawe and Sir Aston Cockayne, both of them baronets. Fanshawe had been in exile with his Majesty, had served him domestically and in various foreign embassies, had afterwards attended him to Scotland, and had been one of the prisoners from Worcester Battle. Having rejoined the King at Breda shortly before the Restoration, he had returned with him to be his Latin Secretary, or secretary for the foreign tongues, i. e. to hold exactly the same office for Charles II. that had been Milton's for the Commonwealth and for Oliver. His secretaryship was not to be so stationary, however, as Milton's had been, but was to lead to a Mastership of Requests and a Privy Councillorship, and to be varied and interrupted by embassies and diplomatic missions. He was a scholarly man, a good Latinist, and probably, from long residence abroad, Milton's practical superior in the foreign tongues. Nor was he without some independent reputation in literature. To his translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, published in 1646, he had added several translations from the Spanish, a translation of *The Lusiad* of Camoens from the Portuguese, and translations from and into Latin, besides pieces of original English verse. "A gentleman very well known and very well beloved," says Clarendon of Fanshawe. His brother baronet, Sir Aston Cockayne, had also travelled abroad and accomplished himself in foreign languages. He had been a friend of Sir Kenelm Digby, and had turned Roman Catholic, like that knight; for which, and for his Royalism, he had not escaped trouble. During the Commonwealth and Protectorate he had lived chiefly among his books on an estate of his in Warwickshire, known as the author of a masque, published in 1639, a translation of an Italian romance published in 1654, a comedy, published in 1657, and a tragi-comedy and miscellaneous poems and epigrams, published together in 1658.

Though we have named Owen Feltham in our present group, because he lived a good while after the Restoration,

one has little to tell of him since 1628. His collection of essays, with the title *Resolves, Divine, Political, and Moral*, published in that year, was in its sixth edition and still a popular book with the pious; but the only other thing going with his name was *A Brief Character of the Low Countries*, published in 1659. Far different had been the fates of Waller. What a history his had been since he was first known, in the end of James's reign and the beginning of the next! He was then the favourite of fortune, "nursed in Parliaments and already eloquent in them," praised for his juvenile poems and lyrics, admired by Hyde and by all for the graceful melancholy of his manners, and "the excellence and power of his wit and pleasantness of his conversation." The interval had been one long course of pusillanimity and time-serving. The very flagrancy of his time-serving, the very notoriety of his meanness, seem to have been his protection; for, after the Restoration, just as before, Clarendon tells us, "his company was acceptable where his spirit was odious." Still wealthy, after all his losses, he could come and go between the Court and his estate of Beaconsfield, not only as a pleasant man of society, of tallish, slender figure, brown-haired, "his face somewhat of an olivaster," to whose witty compliments no one could be indifferent, but also as one whose political abilities might make him of some consequence in Parliament and in public affairs to the very end of his life. Above all, he could be happy in the reputation he had acquired as "maker and model of melodious verse." Already among his contemporaries something of that strange opinion had been formed which, when it had been expressed more distinctly by Pope and other eighteenth century critics, was to make it a point of literary orthodoxy to regard Waller as the first, or one of the first, that taught the art of smoothness, sweetness, and harmony, in English metre. Though the opinion is absurd, we can see on what real characteristics it was founded. In his panegyrics and other poems of occasion, none of them very long, there is an easy elegance, not too artificial, with an occasional passage of strength or richness; his best lyrics are among

the gems of light and gallant verse in the language; and there is much in the whole mind and style of Waller to keep him among those few of our older poets who are voted to be modern and still readable. He did not overestimate his chances with posterity when he wrote:—

"Poets may boast, as safely vain,
Their works shall with the world remain:
Both, bound together, live or die,—
The verses and the prophecy.

But who can hope his lines should long
Last in a daily changing tongue?
While they are new envy prevails;
And, as that dies, our language fails.

When architects have done their part,
The matter may betray their art:
Time, if we use ill-chosen stone,
Soon brings a well-built palace down[1]."

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Under fifty years of age at the Restoration, but over forty, were James Harrington, Thomas Killigrew, Samuel Butler, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, Dr. Robert Leighton, Dr. John Pearson, Dr. Henry More, Dr. John Wilkins, Richard Baxter, John Denham, John Birkenhead, Roger L'Estrange, Dr. John Owen, Dr. John Wallis, Ralph Cudworth, Algernon Sidney, Dr. John Worthington, Abraham Cowley, William Chamberlayne, Marchamont Needham, Henry Neville, and John Evelyn.

At the age of forty a man has generally done a good deal of his work, however much more may have to follow. There is one extraordinary exception in the present list. Samuel Butler was forty-eight years of age, but the world had heard nothing of Samuel Butler. A man of peculiar temper, he had lived through the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, in a succession of clerkships or stewardships, in different country-houses, Presbyterian and Royalist, a great reader of books, and doubtless with a propensity to scribble,

[1] For this paragraph, as for the last, the authorities are too numerous and various to be specified. Wood's Athenæ and Fasti, Aubrey's Lives, and Anderson's Collection of English Poets are among the chief; but there have been references to Clarendon's Life, Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Ward's History of English Dramatic Literature, and other Literary Histories, as well as to Bohn's Lowndes, and to Biographical Dictionaries.

but occupying himself more with music and amateur portrait-painting. Whatever had been his previous phases of politics, he was sufficiently Royalist at the time of the Restoration to benefit by that event. Among the dignities of the old monarchy then revived by Charles was that of the Presidency or Vice-royalty of Wales, which had been in abeyance since it had been held, before the Civil Wars, by the Earl of Bridgewater. When that dignity was revived, who so fit for it as Richard Vaughan, Earl Carbery in the Irish peerage, and Baron Vaughan in the English, who had married, for his third wife, in or about 1653, the Lady Alice Egerton, the youngest daughter of the deceased Earl and former President? That this Lady Alice, the heroine of Milton's *Comus* in 1634, should, as Countess of Carbery, wife of the new President, have had to revisit Ludlow, the seat of the vice-royalty, and take up her abode once more in the old castle, mistress herself now of the great hall in which she had sung and acted her sweet girlish part in the masque so long ago, would have been remarkable independently; but it adds to our interest in the occurrence to find that the steward or secretary whom the Earl and Countess of Carbery took with them to Ludlow, or sent to take charge of the castle for some time in their absence, was the hitherto obscure Samuel Butler. Tradition at Ludlow still points out a room in the entrance-gateway to the castle where Butler kept his pen, ink, and paper for anything he had on hand. That he had something on hand we all know now very well; but not even the people of Ludlow were then in the secret. It was probably his marriage about this time with a lady of some means that was to break his connexion with Ludlow and bring him to London [1].

Of the ten divines on our list not one but had more or less established his celebrity before the Restoration, by writings or otherwise. Of Jeremy Taylor, indeed, all that was greatest and best had appeared between 1638 and 1660; his *Ductor Dubitantium* was ready for publication; and little was to come from him in his Irish bishopric. The celebrity of Leighton,

[1] Wood's Ath. III.; Johnson's Lives, *Butler*; Bell's Memoir of Butler, prefixed to his edition of Butler's Works.

on the other hand, did not at all depend as yet on authorship. Though well known as a preacher and religious thinker, he was to leave his sermons and discourses wholly for posthumous publication, and was to be distinguished, through the rest of his life, from the Restoration onwards, only as a Scottish bishop and archbishop, too saintly for his uneasy conditions. Pearson, who was to rise by rapid preferments to an English bishopric, was for the present only rector of a London parish, but had been known as a theological writer since 1644, had published in 1659 his famous *Exposition of the Creed*, and was now getting ready his next treatise, published in 1660, and entitled *No Necessity of Reformation of the Public Doctrine of the Church of England*. The literary and scientific reputation of Wilkins dated from 1638, when he had published his *Discovery of a New World, or a Discourse to prove that 'tis possible there may be another habitable world in the Moon;* and there had followed, before the Civil Wars, his *Discourse concerning the possibility of a passage to the World in the Moon*, and other similar ingenuities. Later writings, mathematical and theological, through the Civil War and the Commonwealth, had increased his credit; and, after having been D.D. and Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, since 1648, he had attained a kind of national notoriety by becoming the second husband of Cromwell's widowed sister, Mrs. French, and so one of the family props of the Protectorate. Just before the Restoration, Richard had removed him from Oxford and made him Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Of that preferment the Restoration had, of course, deprived him, and there seemed little chance of favour under Charles for a brother-in-law of Oliver. But, conforming to the new ecclesiastical system, and settling in London as preacher to Gray's Inn, Wilkins, "a lusty, strong-grown, well-set, broad-shouldered person, cheerful and hospitable," was again to rise in the world, and be a liberal and free-hearted English bishop when it suited the government of Charles to want such a prelate in counterpoise to others. With Wilkins we may associate his friend Wallis. First known to us when he was a young Presbyterian parish-minister in London and assistant-clerk to the West-

minster Assembly, Wallis had all but merged the divine since then in the mathematician, had been Savilian Professor of Geometry in Oxford since 1649, and had published his *Arithmetica Infinitorum* in 1655, his *Mathesis Universalis* in 1657, and other writings. Conforming, like Wilkins, and retaining his professorship and other appointments, he was to live on beyond all his early contemporaries, engaged in farther mathematical labours, and leaving the Westminster Assembly and the memories of the Commonwealth and of Oliver more and more comfortably behind him. Two divines who could not conform, and who did not conform, were the semi-Presbyterian Baxter and the Independent Owen. Baxter was but about midway yet in the series of 180 distinct publications that bear his name, while Owen was about the same point in *his* less numerous, though still formidable, series[1].

Dr. Henry More, founder and head of the celebrated school of the Cambridge Platonists, deserves a place by himself. His first book had been his large philosophical poem, *Psychodia Platonica, or A Platonical Song of the Soul*, published at Cambridge in 1642 and republished in 1647, and consisting of four parts, entitled respectively, (1) *Psychozoia, or the First Part of the Song of the Soul, containing a Christiano-Platonicall display of Life*, (2) *Psychathanasia, or the Second Part of the Song of the Soul, treating of the Immortality of Souls, especially Man's Soul*, (3) *Antipsychopannychia, or the Third Book of the Song of the Soul, containing a confutation of the Sleep of the Soul after Death*, (4) *Antimonopsychia, or the Fourth Part of the Song of the Soul, containing A Confutation of the Unity of Souls*. There had followed in 1646 another poem called *Democritus Platonissans, or An Essay upon the Infinity of Worlds out of Platonick Principles*, intended as an Appendix to the Second Part of the former poem; and among More's subsequent publications had been his *Antidote against Atheism* in 1652, his *Conjectura Cabbalistica* in 1653, his *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*, or Treatise on the nature, causes, kinds, and cure of Enthusiasm, in 1656, and his *Immortality of the Soul concluded from Reason*

[1] Authorities as before.

and Philosophy in 1657. Before the Restoration he had also ready his *Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness*, thought by some his greatest work. In these writings, all issued from Christ's College, Cambridge, the essential principles of his Platonic system of philosophy and theology had been abundantly set forth, partly in queer and rugged verse after the Spenserian model, and partly in abstruse prose reasonings, bristling with fantastic nomenclature from the Greek and Hebrew. Long ago, when he had first entered Christ's as a boy of seventeen, More had been firmly fixed by mere constitutional instinct, as we saw at the time from his own words (Vol. I. pp. 215–217), in the cardinal maxim of the Transcendental or Intuitional Philosophy in opposition to the Empirical,—to wit, "that every human soul is no *abrasa* "*tabula*, or mere blank sheet, but hath innate sensations and "notions in it, both of good and evil, just and unjust, true "and false, and those very strong and vivid." He had also at that early age shaken off, as he told us, the Calvinism which had been hereditary in his family, and was passionately in search of such a grander and richer theology as might satisfy his soul religiously, and yet be an irrefragable philosophy of pure reason. And by persistent musings, aided by readings in Plato, and in "the Platonic writers, Marsilius "Ficinus, Plotinus himself, Mercurius Trismegistus, and the "mystical divines," including "that golden little book," the *Theologia Germanica* of Tauler, the desired philosophy and theology had been found. Diffused from Christ's College, as More's Christian neo-Platonism or Cambridge Platonism, it had procured for the recluse author the reputation among his admirers and disciples of being one "raised up by a special "providence in these days of freedom as a light to those that "may be fitted or inclined to high speculations." More, in whom there was a vein of resolute and sometimes sharpish, though far from unamiable, egotism, did not refuse such a reputation, but could describe himself on occasion "as a fiery arrow shot into the world." In such a saying he cannot have thought merely of the novelty of his theology in relation to the ordinary Calvinistic theology of his time on the

one hand or to the ordinary Arminian theology on the other. His theology was indeed Latitudinarian, and contained matter of offence to both classes of the ordinary divines, as well as to most of the sects. For all systematic and rigid Christians, it glorified human reason too much, made the essence of religion to consist too much in a few great beliefs and in noble aspirations after a godly life in accordance with them, and it scouted too much the authority of definite and minute objective creeds.

It was, however, in the relations of his system to contemporary philosophic thought that More recognised most radically his own importance. He was the champion of that philosophic system of Transcendentalism or Spiritualism, rooting itself in supposed structural ideas of the human intellect, which had always been at war with Empiricism, or the philosophy deriving all knowledge from sensation and experience; and, just as this latter philosophy had in his time taken the form of Hobbism, so More might believe that he had provided the exact new form or version of Transcendentalism needed by England as an antidote to Hobbism. With the exception of Browne of Norwich, at all events, we do not now recognise any antagonist to Hobbes in his own generation comparable to More of Cambridge and his followers. While all the clergy were banded against Hobbes theologically, and some of them mathematically, Browne of Norwich and the Cambridge Platonists supplied the mind of England with the more subtle counteractive to Hobbism which consisted in expositions of a speculative philosophy of directly opposite principles. "Desert not thy title to a divine particle and union with invisibles;" "Let intellectual tubes give thee a glance of things which visive organs reach not;" "Have a glimpse of incomprehensibles, lodge immaterials in thy head, ascend unto invisibles, fill thy mind with spirituals": these aphorisms of Browne of Norwich, the condensation of all his teaching, were simply anti-Hobbism in its quintessence. The Cambridge Platonism of Henry More was a larger, more cumbrous, and more mystical and fantastic construction in the same interest of Spiritualism

against Materialism. The main or central principle, iterated and reiterated, is that there is a structural organ of metaphysical truth, a vital connexion with infinity, in the mind or reason of man, and that, wherever there is the necessary discipline of a pure and earnest life, this organ may be so strengthened and qualified that it shall become a kind of divine sagacity, discerning the invisible realities of the universe to their centre at the throne of God, and indeed entitled to regard its own dictates, or even its own dreamings, as certainties and incontrovertibles. Perhaps every form of the transcendental philosophy has been necessarily, in some sort, such a philosophy of constitutional postulation; but in More the liberty of constitutional postulation ran riot, and loaded his main doctrine with excrescences and learned whimsicalities which made his Platonism as a whole a far less effective counteractive to Hobbism than a simpler Transcendentalism might have been. He was devoutly deep in witchcraft and in the lore of angels and their possible and progressive intercommunion with man; he held that there was a cabbalistic tradition of the true philosophy from Moses on through Plato and the neo-Platonists; and the mere fact that he was a divine led him to pack into his Platonism all the fragments he could of school theology. Hence there may be some jocose significance in the saying attributed to Hobbes, that he would certainly adopt Dr. More's philosophy if ever he gave up his own. He may have meant, "You see mine, and you see the extraordinary jumble he calls his: well, there is no medium." More, it ought to be added, names Hobbes respectfully, and opposed him rather by continual implication than by overt attack[1].

At the Restoration, or any time afterwards, More might have had preferment in the shape of a college-mastership or an Irish bishopric. Nothing of the kind could induce him to

[1] More's autobiographic sketch in the form of the *Præfatio Generalissima* to the folio 1679 edition of his *Opera Omnia*; Ward's Life of More, 1710; Dr. Grosart's edition of *The Complete Poems of Dr. Henry More* in his Chertsey Worthies Library (1878); Cattermole's *Literature of the Church of England* (1844); and the full and valuable study of More in Principal Tulloch's *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (1872).

leave his quiet fellowship of Christ's College; and for many years to come his tall, thin, dignified figure, with the radiant eagerness of his look, was to continue familiar to all in Cambridge. There he was known and quoted as the Chrysostom of Christ's, while in London, we are told, his *Mystery of Godliness* and other works "ruled all the booksellers," such was the demand for them. Who reads them now?

The other Cambridge Platonists, so called in their philosophical character, but called also "the latitude-men" in respect of their ecclesiastical views, were those who, partly from More's influence upon them, partly by a similar but independent course of thought and study, had worked themselves out of the old Calvinistic Puritanism to the same general way of thinking, though without More's whimsies and extravagancies. Two of the young hopes of the school had died eight or nine years ago,—Nathaniel Culverwell, whose *Discourse of the Light of Nature* had been published in 1652, and John Smith, some of whose manuscript remains were yet to be published, under the title of *Select Discourses*, by his admiring friends. There remained Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, some years More's senior, and Dr. Ralph Cudworth and Dr. John Worthington, slightly his juniors. Whichcote, who had been provost of King's College since 1644 and had won golden opinions in that office, had been too much of a Commonwealthsman and Oliverian to be allowed to keep it; and after the Restoration he was to reside chiefly in London, as the incumbent of one parish after another, maintaining his great reputation by his masculine and impressive preaching. He had published nothing and was to publish nothing; and it was only by his preaching and conversation that he exerted the influence which makes him so memorable. "He was "much for liberty of conscience," says Burnet, "and, being "disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he "studied to raise those who conversed with him to a nobler "set of thoughts." His Platonism altogether was of a simpler kind than More's. The same may be said of Cudworth's, who was also to give the cast of his personality to the system of views common to the school. After having been

Master of Clare Hall and Regius Professor of Hebrew, he had been made Master of Christ's in 1654, and had thus been for some years in daily intercourse with More; and, though his Oliverianism had been even more pronounced than Whichcote's, he was left undisturbed in his mastership after the Restoration. He had published little yet, but was preparing for the great works in which, with such a combination of thought and learning, he was to set forth his Platonic transcendentalism and wrestle openly with Hobbism. Worthington, who had been Master of Jesus College since 1655, when he succeeded Milton's first preceptor, Thomas Young, in that post, was less fortunate at the Restoration than Cudworth. Deprived of his mastership, he removed, like Whichcote, to London, where he was to live on as a preacher, illustrating Cambridge Platonism in a practical way in his sermons and some theological writings. Minor Cambridge Platonists, younger than any that have been mentioned, and not included formally in our literary enumeration, were George Rust, Fellow of Christ's College, afterwards an Irish bishop, and Simon Patrick, who had recently left Cambridge to become Vicar of Battersea, and who, conforming at the Restoration, was to rise ultimately to an English bishopric. Cambridge Platonism had reached Oxford; and young Joseph Glanvill, of Lincoln College in that University, hitherto a zealous Commonwealthsman, and a follower of Baxter in theology, had contracted an admiration for Henry More and begun to veer into Platonism and Latitudinarianism. He was to distinguish himself by a long series of writings, of which his *Vanity of Dogmatising*, published in 1661, was the first [1].

From the divines in our list we may pass to the lay political thinkers. Of these the eldest and most important, Harrington, was practically defunct. Imprisoned for a while as a dangerous fanatic, he was to spend part of the rest of his life abroad, and part in his house in Westminster, still talking

[1] Cattermole and Tulloch as before; with references to Wood and to Bohn's Lowndes. Principal Tulloch's second volume is our best History of Cambridge Platonism.

of his Rota notions and Republican models to any who would listen, but growing more and more crack-brained till he settled in a "deliration or madness." His faithful pupil and admirer, the free-thinking Henry Neville, had also to undergo a term of imprisonment and self-banishment, but was to be of some mark in London by occasional new publications through the whole reign of Charles and beyond. The Republican Algernon Sidney, avoiding at present by exile the fate that was to overtake him at last, was not yet known by his speculative political writings, but was thought of more as a possible plotter abroad, with Ludlow and others, for the subversion of the restored monarchy on any opportunity. Birkenhead and L'Estrange, the Royalist journalists and pamphleteers, were reaping their rewards, and we shall hear more of both. Needham's career of journalism was, of course, at an end; and he was to live henceforth, as he had done in his youth, by the practice of physic, venturing into print again only at intervals and on safe topics. The wealthy and artistic Evelyn, whose first book had appeared in 1649, and whose *French Gardener* had appeared in 1658, but who had distinguished himself politically by his *Apology for the Royal Party* and his *Late News from Brussels unmasked*, both published on the eve of the Restoration, was now a much-honoured man at Court[1].

There remain, of our list, Thomas Killigrew, John Denham, Abraham Cowley, and William Chamberlayne.—Killigrew, the oldest of the four, was one of a family of Killigrews, all distinguished by their Royalism, and some others of them also by literary pretensions. His eldest brother, Sir William Killigrew, a Royalist soldier, had written several plays, not yet published; and another brother, Dr. Henry Killigrew, a clergyman, was the author of a tragedy, published as long ago as 1638, when he was a mere youth. But Tom Killigrew was the favourite. He could date his authorship from 1641, when he had published two tragi-comedies; and, after having

[1] Wood (for Harrington, Neville, Birkenhead, and Needham); Aubrey (for Harrington); Bohn's Lowndes, Evelyn's Diary, &c.

been the companion and household buffoon of Charles all through his exile, he had returned with him, to be groom of the bedchamber and the licensed jester of the Court, a thousand times wittier in table-talk than he had been, or ever could contrive to be, with his pen. Of a higher and more serious genius was Chamberlayne, whose *Love's Victory*, a tragi-comedy, had been published in 1658, and his *Pharonnida, a Heroic Poem*, in 1659. He had fought on the Royalist side in the Civil Wars, and was now living as a physician in Shaftesbury, complaining of his poverty. Denham, most certainly, had no such cause for complaint. His poetical celebrity, assured since 1642, when he had published his tragedy called *The Sophy*, had been increased by his short poem called *Cooper's Hill* in 1643, and by some subsequent occasional pieces. For his past sufferings and plottings, with occasional exile, in the King's cause, he had stepped at once into the rich office of surveyor-general of the royal buildings, held formerly by Inigo Jones; and, having been made a knight of the Bath at the coronation, he was to be pointed out thenceforth as the distinguished Sir John Denham, recognisable by his long, stooping figure, light flaxen hair, and absent-minded look, as he walked to and from his official place of business near Whitehall, often in company with his deputy, Mr. Christopher Wren. Though he did not cease to write verse, he was to produce nothing making good his well-known aspiration in his *Cooper's Hill*, where, addressing the Thames, he had said—

> "O could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
> My great example, as it is my theme!
> Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full."

Although the greater intellect of Cowley had not worked itself out so completely as Denham's, even Cowley could regard his best as perhaps already accomplished. To his boyish *Poetical Blossoms*, published so long ago as 1633, the earliest additions had been his pastoral comedy, *Love's Riddle*, and his Latin comedy, *Naufragium Joculare*, both published in

1638; and there had followed his *Satire against Separativity* in 1642, his satire called *The Puritan and the Papist* in 1643, his *Mistress, or several copies of Love Verses*, in 1647, his *Four Ages of England* in 1648, his comedy called *The Guardian* in 1650, and his first folio edition by himself of his *Collected Poetical Works* in 1656, containing reprints of a good deal of the preceding, but suppressing much that was political, and adding things not before published, such as some of his *Pindaric Odes* and his sacred epic called *Davideis*. Most deservedly by this series of publications had Cowley earned the reputation of being one of the finest minds of his time, really a man of genius and a poet, though too much of his so-called poetry consisted less in poetry proper than in the subtle and ingenious intellection in metre which often passes for poetry. As he had been an eminent Royalist, it might have been expected that they would be proud of him at Court after the Restoration, and that he would fare at least as well as Denham. But there rested on him the recollection of his semi-apostacy under the Protectorate, when he had submitted to Cromwell as the ruler by right of victory and possession, giving up the cause of the Stuarts as utterly lost, and even announcing the fact by implication in the preface to his volume of collected poems. In vain had he tried to recover himself by his *Ode upon the Blessed Restoration and Return of his sacred Majesty Charles the Second*; in vain was he to renew the strain again and again both in verse and in prose; his lot through the rest of his life, as far as Charles and the Court were concerned, was to be respectful neglect. In retirement, farther and farther from town, first at Battersea, then at Barnes, and finally at Chertsey, he was to be heard of more and more as "the melancholy Cowley," with sufficient wealth for his comfort, and with occupation enough still in poetry, essay-writing, and the botanical studies to which he had been attracted since they made him Doctor of Physic at Oxford in 1657, but restless and unsatisfied. Nowhere is his general mood after the Restoration so well described as in his own ode of complaint, where he supposes himself lying mournfully under the shade of yews and willows on the banks of the

Cam, where he had first begun to write, and hearing himself addressed thus by his Muse:—

"Go, renegado! cast up thy account,
And see to what amount
Thy foolish gains by quitting me:
The sale of knowledge, fame, and liberty
The fruits of thy unlearn'd apostasy.
Thou thoughtst, if once the public storm were past,
All thy remaining life should sunshine be.
Behold, the public storm is spent at last;
The sovereign is tossed at sea no more,
And thou, with all the noble company,
Art got at last to shore:
But, whilst thy fellow-voyagers I see
All marched up to possess the promised land,
Thou still alone, alas! dost gaping stand
Upon the naked beach, upon the barren sand[1]."

Our direct enumeration hitherto has included fifty-seven writers who had passed the climacteric of their lives at the Restoration. Worth mentioning together, in a single supplementary sentence, as also alive at the Restoration and then more or less veterans in literature, though means for dating them exactly are deficient, are these:—Richard Flecknoe, an Irishman and Roman Catholic priest of grotesque reputation, who had published a religious poem so long ago as 1626, and many other poems and miscellanies at intervals since, some of them written during an obscure and poverty-stricken residence in Rome; Ludovick Carlell, who had been a gentleman of the household to Charles I. and had published five plays between 1629 and 1657; Sir Samuel Tuke, another courtier of literary pretensions, not to be confounded with the Presbyterian Sir Samuel Luke to whom Butler had been secretary; and Sir Robert Stapylton, who had also been of the royal household, had been knighted in the beginning of the Civil Wars and had fought in them, and was the author of poems, a translation of Juvenal, and other things, published between 1644 and 1660.

[1] Wood's Ath. IV. 621 and 691 (the Killigrews), and III. 823—827 (Denham); Johnson's Lives of Cowley and Denham, with Cunningham's notes; Ward's Dramatic Literature; Bohn's Lowndes; Anderson's Collection of British Poets. See also Vol. V. pp. 83–84, and ante, pp. 13–14.

The following is a list of those younger writers alive at the Restoration of whom it seems necessary to take note in the present chapter:—

Andrew Marvell: *ætat.* 40:—Milton's colleague in the Latin Secretaryship to the Protectorate from 1657 onwards, Marvell, now permanent M.P. for Hull, a stoutish man, "round-faced, cherry-cheeked, hazel eye, brown hair," had been, as we know, a poet from his youth. Stray pieces of his had appeared as early as 1649, and his lines on *The First Anniversary of the Government under his Highness the Lord Protector* in a separate broad-sheet in 1655; but most of his pieces, English and Latin, were still in manuscript, or only in private circulation. His courage, and his ability in rough satire as well as in finer verse, were known to his friends; but his public literary reputation was yet to make. He was rather shy in company, and liked a bottle by himself.

Henry Vaughan: *ætat.* 40:—*Poems, with the Tenth Satire of Juvenal Englished* (1646), *Olor Iscanus, a collection of some select Poems and Translations* (1650), *Silex Scintillans, or Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* (1650–5), *The Mount of Olives, or Solitary Devotions* (1652), *Flores Solitudinis* (1654): such, in addition to some medical writings, had been the publications hitherto of a physician living in his native Wales and calling himself "The Silurist." He is remembered under that name yet with peculiar regard by lovers of rare old English poetry, and was esteemed "an ingenious person, but proud and humorous."

Alexander Brome: *ætat.* 40:—He was an attorney in London, the son or other relative of Ben Jonson's disciple, the dramatist Richard Brome, who had died in 1652. He had not only preserved and published most of this Richard Brome's plays, but had himself published a comedy, *The Cunning Lovers*, in 1654. He had also written a number of Royalist songs and squibs in a "jovial strain" for "sons of mirth and Bacchus."

Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, Earl of Orrery: *ætat.* 40:—A man of culture and of literary tastes, this eminent Oliverian soldier and politician, now a convert to Charles, had made his first appearance in literature in an instalment of a great prose romance called *Parthenissa*, published in 1655.

Sir William Petty: *ætat.* 38:—He was a much more considerable man now than when we first saw him as the friend of Hartlib and one of the chiefs of the invisible college of scientific and experimental philosophers (Vol. III. 664–666). He had lived from 1647 to 1652 in Oxford, where he became M.D. in 1649, and was elected Professor of Anatomy. In 1652 he had gone to Ireland as one of the surveyors of Irish lands for the Commonwealth; and, living in Ireland through the Protectorate in this great employment, he had become enormously rich. He had served in Richard's Parliament; and, just before the Restoration, his

proceedings in the Irish survey had been called in question. The Restoration quashed the inquiry; and Dr. Petty, his previous Oliverianism notwithstanding, became a great favourite with Charles II. He was knighted in 1661, and carried many schemes in his great head.

Margaret Cavendish, Marchioness of Newcastle: *ætat.* 38:—This celebrated lady, daughter of Thomas Lucas, Esq., of Colchester, Essex, had gone abroad with Queen Henrietta Maria as one of her maids of honour, and had thus met and captivated the great Marquis of Newcastle, an exile since the battle of Marston Moor, and a widower by the death of his first wife in 1643. They were married at Paris in 1645, the Marquis being then in his fifty-fourth year, and she in her twenty-third. Never such a mutually admiring couple as they during their fifteen years at Rotterdam, Antwerp, and other places, living meagrely, yet grandiosely, on his shattered fortunes, and waiting for better times. A series of books published in London,—to wit, *Philosophical Fancies* in 1653, *Poems and Fancies* in the same year, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions* in 1655, and *The World's Olio* in the same year,—had announced to the English world of the Protectorate what a learned and literary lady the exiled Marchioness was; and, when the Restoration brought her and her husband back, she became an object of no small curiosity on account of this literary reputation, and on account of her extremely fantastic behaviour and dress. It then appeared that she had a great many plays in manuscript or designed. No fewer than twenty-one were to appear in 1662 in a folio volume, dedicated to her husband; and there were to be *Orations of Divers Sorts*, *Philosophical Letters*, *Sociable Letters*, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy*, and another volume of plays, all between 1662 and 1668, besides her Life of her husband, still alive, eulogising him as if he had been a Julius Cæsar. They were then Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, by special letters-patent granted in 1664–5.—The Marquis himself, as might have been expected of one who had been a Mæcenas of Literature in the reign of Charles I., was not unknown as an author. He had published two comedies at the Hague in 1649, and his splendid treatise on the management of horses in its first or French form at Antwerp in 1657.

George Fox: *ætat.* 37:—It is well to remember at this point the incessant activity of Fox, and of other Quakers, for the last ten years, in writing and publishing. A large mass of Quaker literature was in existence before the Restoration, and more was to come.

Thomas Sydenham: *ætat.* 37:—He was a younger brother of the Oliverian Colonel Sydenham, had been himself a Commonwealthsman and Oliverian, and had held for some time a fellowship of All Souls' College, Oxford. He had studied medicine at Oxford, and had taken the degree of M.B. Already at the Restoration he

was settled as a physician in London, with a large practice. His medical writings were yet to come.

THOMAS STANLEY: *ætat.* 37:—He was a country gentleman of good estate, who had been educated at Cambridge. Between 1647 and 1652 he had published poems of his own, besides translations from Theocritus, Anacreon, Bion, and from Italian and Spanish writers; but more recently he had been engaged on a *History of Philosophy*. Of this work the first volume had appeared in 1655, and the second in 1656; the third appeared in 1660.

JOHN AUBREY: *ætat.* 35:—Also a gentleman of considerable country estates, but living chiefly in London, where his antiquarian, literary, and scientific tastes gave him an unusually large circle of acquaintance. Hobbes was his chief hero, but he knew many others. He had published nothing yet, and was to publish nothing within our range of time, but was using his opportunities for the collection of literary and miscellaneous gossip.

GEORGE DALGARNO (Scottish): *ætat.* 35:—Born and educated at Aberdeen, he had settled in Oxford in 1657, and set up a private grammar-school there. He continued in that obscure occupation for thirty years, but was to be heard of by a book entitled *Ars Signorum*, published in 1661, and containing ingenious speculations as to the possibility of a Universal Alphabet and Language, anticipating those of Bishop Wilkins. Much later in life, beyond our range of time, he was to put forth another ingenious book on the art of teaching the deaf and dumb.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD: *ætat.* 35:—He was a younger son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, and had been educated at Oxford. A Royalist, like the rest of his family, he welcomed the Restoration in *A Paneyyric to General Monk* and a *Panegyric to the King*, both published in a collection of his poems in 1660; and he was to be known as a busy author thenceforward, a member of Parliament, and holder of various posts about Court.—With him may be associated his brothers, the HON. JAMES HOWARD and the HON. EDWARD HOWARD, also to be known as writers.

JOHN WILSON *ætat.* 35 (?):—Little more is known of him than that he was a Royalist lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, who had been called to the Bar in 1646, and was the son of the Rev. Aaron Wilson of Plymouth, a Scotchman or of Scottish descent. He may be imagined for the present as an unemployed barrister in London, with a liking for literature.

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM: *ætat.* 34:—With his reputation for wit and wild ability of many kinds fully established, the Duke had still to prove his powers in authorship.

ROBERT BOYLE: *ætat.* 34:—Though Boyle had some finished writings by him, including his *Seraphic Love*, written in 1648, his chemical speculations and his thoughtful views about things in general had hitherto been propounded rather by conversation and correspondence. His career of avowed authorship, even

more than his brother Lord Broghill's, was to date from the Restoration.

JOHN BUNYAN: *ætat.* 33:—Here and there, up and down the country, people had heard of a vehement Baptist preacher of this name, who had been a tinker, a Parliamentarian soldier, and one knew not what else. Here and there too some pious Christians may have been deriving edification from such specimens of the tinker's marrowy theology as were in print, e. g. his *Few Sights from Hell, or the Groans of a Damned Soul,* published in Sept. 1658, and his *Doctrine of the Law and Grace,* published in May 1659. It was in Bedford jail, however, where they were to keep him, more or less closely, a prisoner from November 1660 to March 1672, that Bunyan was to begin his immortal dreamings.

WILLIAM TEMPLE: *ætat.* 32:—Educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, under the tutorship of Cudworth, Temple, after travelling abroad, had returned to reside in Ireland, where his father was Master of the Rolls. Not till 1663 was he to come to London, to begin his career as statesman, diplomatist, and political essayist, and be famous as Sir William Temple. His publications were to be later incidents in his life.

ISAAC BARROW: *ætat.* 31:—The son of the King's linendraper, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrow had lived as a fellow of that College from 1649 to 1655, known as a Royalist and Anglican at heart, and distinguished by his great industry and universal scholarship. From 1655 to 1659 he had travelled and resided in the East and in Italy; but, having returned and taken orders, he was to settle again in Cambridge for the rest of his life, to be successively Professor of Greek (1660), Lucasian Professor of Mathematics (1663), and Master of Trinity College (1672), and to become a wonder equally for his preaching and his mathematical and theological authorship. He was only M.A. at the Restoration, but became B.D. in 1661, and D.D. in 1670.

JOHN TILLOTSON: *ætat.* 31:—He also was a Cambridge man, having been educated at Clare Hall, and fellow of that College from 1651 to 1657. Though of strongly Puritan parentage, he had adopted in the University the more moderate or latitudinarian theology professed by men like Wilkins, and had contracted an especial friendship with that divine. He had been for some time tutor in the family of Cromwell's attorney-general Prideaux, and had only recently taken orders and begun to try in a modest way, before London congregations, the style of pulpit oratory for which he was to be so celebrated. Having conformed at the Restoration, he was soon to rise from a mere curacy to a parish rectorship and the preachership of Lincoln's Inn. His publications and his higher ecclesiastical promotions were yet in the future.

JOHN HOWE: *ætat.* 31:—Educated both at Cambridge and at Oxford, this Independent divine, after taking his M.A. degree

in 1652, had been minister of Great Torrington in Devonshire through the Protectorate, but had been brought to London by Cromwell to be for some time his chaplain and a preacher in St. Margaret's, Westminster. On the abdication of Richard, he had returned to his Devonshire parish; but, as he could not conform at the Restoration, he was to be driven, as one of the ejected clergy, to various shifts and wanderings for many years to come. It was a matter of regret with many of the Church of England clergy that a man of such culture, suavity, and polish should have thrown in his lot with the Nonconformists. Though he was already in high repute as a preacher, his writings had yet to be published.

Charles Cotton: *ætat.* 31:—A gentleman of Staffordshire, educated at Cambridge, Cotton had welcomed the Restoration in *A Panegyrick to the King's most Excellent Majesty* (1660); and he was to be farther known by poems and other writings, including *Scarronides, or Virgil Travestie* (first book in 1664), a translation of Montaigne, a translation of one of Corneille's plays, and an addition to Izaak Walton's *Complete Angler*.

Edward Phillips, *ætat.* 31, and John Phillips *ætat.* 30:—Of the pre-Restoration lives of these two nephews of Milton we know enough; but more about them will come hereafter.

Anthony Wood: *ætat.* 30:—Not to be known till fourteen years hence as author of the great *History of the University of Oxford*, nor till two and thirty years hence as the author of the still greater *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses*, Wood was busily engaged in his vast preparations for those works of his life, reading, collating, and transcribing in his chamber in Merton College, or going about among the other colleges and libraries, or perambulating the neighbourhood for the purpose of copying from parish registers and from the monuments in parish-churches. He was known to all Oxford as a large-boned man, of crabbed temper and surly habits, whose recreations, amid his hard antiquarian labours, were ale and tobacco in moderation and music to any extent. No man had more heartily welcomed the Restoration, with the deliverance it brought from those he called "the Presbyterians and Phanatics."

John Dryden: *ætat.* 30:—Our first glimpse of Dryden was in the autumn of 1657 (Vol. V. p. 375). He had then come up to London, a light-haired, fresh-complexioned squireen from Northamptonshire, of short and stoutish figure, to attach himself to his cousin Sir Gilbert Pickering, Oliver's councillor, and seek, under Sir Gilbert's patronage, some addition to his small patrimonial income by employment of some kind for the Protector. He had actually been paid £50 by Thurloe in October that year for some piece of work already done; and he was probably still hanging on about Thurloe's office at the time of Cromwell's death. Hence those *Heroic Stanzas to the Memory of Oliver*, written after the great funeral, which are the first known verses of Dryden, with two insignificant exceptions. They had been an unfortunate

beginning, and had been cancelled, as far as possible, after the Restoration, by his next piece, the *Astræa Redux*. Who could be hard on such a wheel by a needy young man who had no longer an influential cousin to trust to, but saw he must make his way in the new reign by his own wits, and the use of such learning as he had acquired at Westminster School under Dr. Busby, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge? Even at the end of 1660 he had hardly attracted attention.

> "Great Dryden did not early great appear,
> Faintly distinguished in his thirtieth year."

Katherine Philips: *ætat.* 30:—This lady, daughter of a London merchant named Fowler, was the wife of a Welsh squire, James Philips of Cardigan, and was known among her private friends as "the matchless Orinda," on account of her poems of occasion. These had for the present only a limited circulation in manuscript; and the good lady, though she had been in Ireland, and was not a stranger at Court, led a quiet and domestic life in her Welsh abode. She died in London in 1664, just after the appearance of a surreptitious edition of her poems, collected by a bookseller, under the title of *Poems by the Incomparable Mrs. K. P.*; and there were verses of regret by Cowley and others. An authorised edition of her poems, with translations from Corneille, &c., appeared in 1667.

Henry Stubbe: *ætat.* 30:—Born in Lincolnshire, the son of very indigent parents, Stubbe had been carried by them into Ireland, whither they had migrated for a livelihood. In 1641, on the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion, his mother had brought him and another child back, landing in Liverpool and walking with them on foot all the way to London. Supporting them there with the utmost difficulty by her needle, she yet contrived to send Henry to Westminster School; where Busby, the head-master, finding him excessively clever, did what he could for him. One day Sir Henry Vane, visiting the school, had the boy introduced to him by Busby; and from that moment Stubbe recognised Vane as the man to whom he was most indebted in the world. By Vane's interest he was admitted in 1649 into Christ Church, Oxford, where he remained till 1653, when he took his B.A. degree. Never had there been in the college an undergraduate at once so remarkable for scholarship, and so pragmatical, forward, and unruly in conduct. He was "often kicked and beaten" and once "whipt in the public refectory." It was in this time of his undergraduateship (1651) that he published his first book, entitled *Horæ Subsecivæ*, and consisting of translations of Jonah and other parts of the Old Testament, and of Latin epigrams by Randolph and others, into Greek. From 1653 to 1655 he had been with the English army in Scotland; and after his return he had published two more

volumes of Latin and Greek verse. Having graduated M.A. in the end of 1656, he was appointed, in 1657, by Owen's influence, under-keeper of the Bodleian Library; and it was in a series of writings published by him while he held this post that he had revealed himself most characteristically. Admiring and knowing Hobbes, he had flung himself ferociously, in 1657 and 1658, into the controversy between that philosopher and Dr. Wallis, publishing two pamphlets against Wallis and heading an opposition to him in the University; besides which he had published, in 1659 or the beginning of 1660, some six or seven pamphlets on the political questions then in agitation. Originally a kind of Independent and Republican of the Vanist School, Stubbe still appeared in these writings as a strenuous Republican and antagonist of the Royalists, but with much in him of the extreme free-thinker, advocating "a democracy of Independents, Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy men, and Quakers," and assailing the Established Clergy. To a considerable extent his theories in Church and State just before the Restoration seem to have agreed with Milton's. But, after the Restoration, Stubbe, who had meanwhile lost his under-librarianship of the Bodleian, and gone to practise physic in Stratford-on-Avon, veered round fast enough. Having received confirmation by his diocesan Dr. Morley, he reannounced himself thus:—"I have "joined myself to the Church of England, not only on account of "its being publicly imposed (which in things indifferent is no small "consideration, as I learnt from the Scottish transactions at Perth), "but because it is the least defining, and consequently the most "comprehensive and fitting to be national." Henceforth, accordingly, though pugnacious as ever, and a Hobbist or free-thinker at heart, with an undying affection for Vane, he was to be known as Stubbe metamorphosed. After trying the West Indies, he was to return to Stratford-on-Avon, resume medical practice there, remove subsequently to Warwick and to Bath in the same practice, and publish a great many more writings, chiefly scientific and medical, but some of them political. His end, like his life, was tragi-comic. He was drowned in crossing a shallow stream near Bath, on the 12th of July 1676, "his head being then intoxicated with bibbing, but more with talking and snuffing of powder," says the punctual Wood, whose character of him, all in all, is that he was "the most noted person of his age that these late times have produced[1]."

John Locke: *ætat.* 29:—A year younger than Stubbe, the course of Locke hitherto had been in the very track of that eccentric.

[1] Wood's Ath. III. 1067—1083. Wood seems to have had a peculiar liking for Stubbe, and to have done his best to immortalise him. The impression produced on myself by such of Stubbe's writings as I have glanced over by no means answers to Wood's extraordinary estimate of him. I have been struck chiefly by his persistent loyalty after the Restoration to the memory of his benefactor Vane. There are interesting passages to that effect in some of his latest pamphlets.

He had been at Westminster School while Stubbe was there; he had followed Stubbe to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1651; and in that college he had devoted himself much, as Stubbe had done, to "the new philosophy", as taught in the writings of Bacon and Des Cartes. He had also chosen the profession of physic rather than go into the Church. There, however, the parallel ends. The son of a Parliamentarian in Somersetshire, Locke, though not dissatisfied with the Restoration, did not swerve from his principles; and, unlike Stubbe, he was in no haste to come before the world. He was, for the present, merely a young Oxford physician in weak health, capable of taking an interest in affairs, and thinking about them seriously and deeply[1].

Samuel Pepys: *ætat.* 29:—Do we not see him, a young navy official, Clerk of the Acts, Clerk of the Privy Seal, trudging about Westminster and London, as shrewd and honest a soul as ever lived, observing everything, knowing everybody, taking his notes, and keeping his diary?

Robert South: *ætat.* 28:—A Londoner by birth, South had been educated in the track of Stubbe and Locke, i.e. first at Westminster School, and then at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1654, when he was an undergraduate, he had contributed some Latin verses to a collection of Oxford University pieces addressed to Cromwell on the conclusion of peace with the Dutch; and in the following year, when he took his B.A. degree, he had published a little poem, called *Musica Incantans*. In 1657 he had taken his M.A. degree; by which time he had distinguished himself in his college as a resolute young Anglican, persisting in the use of the Prayer Book in spite of Dr. Owen, the head of the College. He had been ordained privately in 1658 by one of the ex-bishops, and was known before the Restoration as an eloquent and witty preacher. Immediately after the Restoration he was chosen Public Orator at Oxford; and, having had the good fortune, in that capacity, to please Hyde, on his installation in the chancellorship of the University in Nov. 1660, he became domestic chaplain to that great man, and was on the way to farther preferment. He became D.D. in 1663, and is generally remembered as Dr. South.

Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon: *ætat.* 28:—To be known as a poet later in life, this Irish peer, the nephew and godson of Strafford, was for the present a mere spendthrift courtier, alternating between England and Ireland, though tending on the whole to England. He had been educated mainly in France and Italy, where he had become a *dilettante* in art and letters.

Thomas Flatman: *ætat.* 28 (?):—He was a young barrister of the Inner Temple, who had left Oxford without taking his degree, and was a dabbler, says Wood, in "the two noble faculties of poetry and painting or limning."

Edward Stillingfleet: *ætat.* 26:—Recently a graduate and

[1] Wood's Ath. IV. 638—640.

fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and since 1657 rector of a parish in Bedfordshire, this young divine had sprung suddenly into great reputation by his *Irenicum, a Weapon Salve for the Church's Wound: or the Divine Right of particular forms of Church Government Examined*, published in 1659. It was distinctly a Latitudinarian treatise, breathing the spirit of Whichcote and the other Cambridge latitude-men, and expressly advocating a comprehension of Presbyterians and others in a National Church of a broad semi-episcopal model, on the principle that no *jus divinum* can be shown for any one form of Church Government, and that the constitution of a Church is therefore a matter of expediency. The Restoration having come, and this somewhat Oliverian theory of a national church having gone down under the blows of Clarendon and Sheldon, Stillingfleet found his *Irenicum* a stumbling-block in his own path; and, though he did not positively recant it, he was to apologise for it very considerably on every opportunity and speak of it as a juvenile performance. His career thenceforward was to be that of an orthodox ecclesiastic in the Anglican Church as re-established, and an able and famous polemical theologian. His *Origines Sacræ, or Rational Account of the Christian Faith*, published in 1662, was his first important work after his *Irenicum*, and is accounted his greatest. He became rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in 1665, on his way to higher preferments.

George Etherege: *ætat.* 25:—To be known ultimately as Sir George Etherege, he was for the present a young man of wit and fashion about town, who had been at Cambridge, had travelled, and had read for the Bar, without intending to practise.

Thomas Sprat: *ætat.* 25:—Of Devonshire birth, and recently a graduate and fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, Sprat had made his first appearance in print in *A Poem on the Death of his Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector*. He had also published in 1659 a Pindaric Ode, after Cowley's style, called *The Plague of Athens*. Wheeling at the Restoration with so many others, he had taken orders, and was chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham, chaplain to the King, D.D., &c., on his way to a bishopric at last.

George Mackenzie (Scottish): *ætat.* 25:—Soon to be Sir George Mackenzie, and very notorious under that title in Scottish history, he was known in the first years of the Restoration only as a young Scottish advocate of scholarly and literary tastes. *Aretina, or the Serious Romance* (1661), *Religio Stoici* (1663), *A Moral Essay, preferring Solitude to Public Employment and all Appanages* (1665), *Moral Gallantry, a Discourse proving that point of honour obliges man to be virtuous* (1667), *A Moral Paradox, maintaining that it is much easier to be virtuous than vicious* (1667):—such were the titles of those publications of Mackenzie which won him some reputation even with London critics within the seven years of our present chapter. Mackenzie admired Cowley, and was a writer of verses.

Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst: *ætat.* 24:—He was the son of Richard, Earl of Dorset, and was afterwards himself Earl of Dorset and Middlesex. He had just returned from his travels, was a member of Parliament, and one of Charles's favourite courtiers. Inheriting the poetic traditions of his family, he was to be a poet himself.

Sir Charles Sedley, Bart.: *ætat.* 23:—Another young man who had just returned from his travels to be about Charles's Court. "He lived mostly in the great city, became a debauchee, set up for "a satyrical wit, a comedian, poet, and courtier of ladies, and I "know not what," is Wood's convenient account of him.

Thomas Shadwell: *ætat.* 21, and William Wycherley: *ætat.* 21:—These two, coupled together in a well-known line as "hasty Shadwell and slow Wycherley," may close our list, though their public authorship was hardly to be begun within the range of our present chapter. Shadwell, a Staffordshire man, educated at Cambridge, was a student of the Middle Temple. Wycherley, the son of a Shropshire gentleman, had been for some time in France, and had there become a Roman Catholic; but, having returned and entered himself nominally as a student at Oxford, he had turned Protestant again. Leaving Oxford in 1660, without ever wearing the gown, he was to lead for the next few years the life of a man about town and a member of the Inner Temple. He had written one of his comedies at the age of nineteen, and was engaged on another about the time we are now first mentioning him.

Adding the forty-two mentioned in the last list to the sixty-one previously enumerated, we have over one hundred persons alive in 1660 as potential contributors, in greater or less amount, according to age and other circumstances, to that Literature of the Restoration of which Davenant was the first Laureate. Indeed, even if we take the phrase The Literature of the Restoration in the wider sense in which it is generally and very properly understood, as including all English Literature produced between 1660 and the Revolution of 1688, it will still be found that to the very end of that term the effectives were supplied in large proportion from our present hundred of 1660, and there were few important recruits through the coming twenty-eight years. While in the rest of the present chapter, therefore, we shall speak directly only of the Literature of the Restoration as far as to the end of 1667, much of what is to be said will apply to the Restoration Literature as a whole.

In the first place, one has to correct a misconception which the very use of the phrase THE LITERATURE OF THE RESTORATION in our literary histories, necessary as the phrase is, has originated and is apt to foster. The phrase suggests fresh outburst and abundance at the Restoration after a period of sterility or poverty. Nothing can be farther from the fact.

The misconception arises in part from the habit of regarding many of the veterans of our hundred as Restoration writers merely because they were not defunct at the Restoration, and so of crediting the Restoration with all that they had done in the previous portions of their lives. Our enumeration and datings ought to have helped, in this respect, towards the required correction. Hobbism, Cambridge Platonism, Theological Latitudinarianism, Quakerism, an association of almost national dimensions for the promotion of the Mathematical and Experimental Sciences, Harringtonian and other theorisings in Politics and Economics, speculative free-thinking and pamphleteering generally and an organized Newspaper Press in particular,—all these had been growths of the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. So if we look at the individual lives of not a few of those of our hundred now accounted most memorable. The best of old Hobbes, the best of Sanderson, nearly all Wither, all Herrick, nearly all Bramhall, the best of Izaak Walton, all Brian Walton, the best of Howell, the best of Shirley, the whole of Fuller, a great deal of Waller, all of Browne of Norwich, nearly all of Jeremy Taylor, the best of Dr. Henry More, a full half of Baxter and Owen, much of Wilkins and Wallis, nearly the whole of Denham, the best of Cowley, the best of Henry Stubbe, and at least the fully announced beginnings of a number more, lie chronologically on the other side of the Restoration. Jeremy Taylor the Bishop belongs to the Restoration, but the Jeremy Taylor of English Literature belongs to the twenty years of the Civil Wars, the Republican Government of the Rump, and the sovereignty of Cromwell.

That the Restoration was not characterised by any new burst or abundance of literature may be proved statistically.

The Registers of the Stationers' Company of London are not an infallible source of information as to the quantity of literary production in England in any one year or in any term of years. Much depends on the stringency of the press-laws and of the execution of them at any particular time. Hence a most remarkable fluctuation in the numbers of the book-transactions registered annually in the books of the Stationers' Company from 1640 to the Restoration. The number registered in 1640 was 259, and that in 1641 was 240; in 1642, when all press-regulation was broken down by the beginning of the Civil War, it fell to 76; in 1643, when the Parliament found it necessary on their own account to attend to the press, it rose again to 368; in the three following years the numbers were 447, 652, and 526, respectively; thence again through the seven years between 1646 and 1653, including the triumph of the Independents and the time of Republican rule, there was a fall, the highest number in any one of those years being 293 and the lowest 156; and again in the Protectorate there was a rise. It would be impossible from these figures to calculate the actual number of books published in any one year of the twenty, inasmuch as, though in every year the number actually published must have greatly exceeded the number registered, especially in those years when there were shoals of small pamphlets, yet the proportion of the registered to the published was utterly inconstant. Still, the statistics of the Registers, when studied with some knowledge of the state of the Press Laws in particular years, are very instructive; and, if there is any range of time for which they ought to be particularly instructive, it is just after the Restoration. Under a government like Clarendon's, when vigilance at head-quarters was at its keenest, and new brooms were out, the possibility of clandestine publication must have been reduced to a minimum. From May 1662, when the new Press Act of the Cavalier Parliament came in force, if not from the very entry of Charles into London, the Registers of the Stationers' Company ought to represent, more accurately than they had done through the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the annual quantity of literary production.

The following is a comparison of the registered book-transactions of the last seven years before the Restoration with those of the first seven years of the Restoration. I use the phrase "book-transactions" because, though most of the entries in the registers are of new books or pamphlets, some are only of assignments or transfers from one bookseller to another of copyrights of single books or batches of books already in the market[1]:—

Last Seven Years before the Restoration.		*First Seven Years of the Restoration.*	
1654. Registered book-transactions	181	1661. Registered book-transactions	108
1655. „ „	357	1662. „ „	76
1656. „ „	562	1663. „ „	104
1657. „ „	384	1664. „ „	86
1658. „ „	327	1665 (Plague Year). „	58
1659. „ „	247	1666. „ „	141
1660. „ „	258	1667 (after Great Fire). „	60

Here, certainly, is no proof of fresh outburst and abundance after the Restoration, but rather of arrest and paralysis. As one ought not to be satisfied, however, with general impressions, some farther investigation may be necessary. We shall attend, in the first place, to that department in which the paralysis was most immediate and obvious. This was the department of Newspaper and Pamphlet Literature, the Literature of Public Affairs.

The history of the Newspaper Press proper from the beginning of the Civil Wars to the Restoration has already been sketched in these pages[2]. The *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, published on Mondays, and the *Mercurius Publicus*, published on Thursdays, both under the editorship of Giles Dury and

[1] The figures are from my notes from the Stationers' Registers, taken at various times, and extending continuously from 1638 to 1682. As my counting of the entries year by year was only incidental to my note-taking, and was rapidly performed by running my finger along the margins, my figures may not be absolutely correct, and it might have been safer to give the computation approximately in tens thus—"about 180" instead of 181, "about 360" instead of 357. I prefer adhering strictly to my notes. The miscountings in any case can be but by a digit or two, and cannot affect the inferences in the least.—The year in each counting is from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.—The year 1660 divides itself between the Anarchy preceding the Restoration and the Restoration itself. Of the 258 registrations of that year, 162 belong to the first half of the year, between Jan. 1 and July 4, and 96 belong to the latter half, between July 4 and Dec. 31; which would indicate that the King's return (May 29) began to tell immediately on the book-trade.

[2] See Vol. IV. pp. 37—39, pp. 116—118, pp. 324—335; and Vol. V. pp. 51—52, pp. 670—672.

Henry Muddiman [1], were, as we saw, the sole regular newspapers for London, and indeed for all England, at the time of the King's return. The printer of the first few numbers of both was John Macock; but, before the King's entry into London, Milton's and Needham's printer, Newcome, finding that the days of Commonwealth typography were over, and that as a tradesman he ought to rat in time, had associated himself with this Macock, bringing his newspaper experience, acquired under Milton and Needham, to the aid of the new undertakings. Muddiman and Dury, as editors, and Macock and Newcome, as printers and publishers, represented the newspaper-press of England when the reign of Charles and the administration of Hyde began [2].

Hardly had Hyde's administration settled into routine when the newspaper-press thus already in existence was organized more definitely for the purposes of the new reign by the appointment of Mr. John Birkenhead to be the superintendent of Muddiman and Dury. It was a peculiarly fit recognition of the past services of that Royalist. Had he not edited at Oxford, from 1642 to 1646, with help from Peter Heylin and others, the famous *Mercurius Aulicus*, the chief organ of the Court and King's party through the Civil War; and, since his ejection from his fellowship of All Souls' College in 1648, had he not been living by his wits in London, "helping "young gentlemen out at dead lifts in making poems, songs, "and epistles, on and to their respective mistresses, and also "in translating and writing several little things, and other "petite employments"? Who so qualified as Birkenhead to initiate the real journalism of the Restoration by licensing, and partly editing, the two newspapers, the *Public Intelligencer* and the *Mercurius Publicus*, nominally under the charge of Muddiman and Dury? He began that congenial occupation, I find, in November, 1660, and he continued it, and also the function of occasional licenser of books, with much satisfaction to the Government, till 1663. But Birkenhead, a man "of

[1] The last number of Needham's *Mercurius Politicus* I find registered in the Stationers' Books is for March 29, 1660.

[2] Stationers' Registers from March to October 1660. See also the valuable History and List of English newspapers in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, IV. 33—97.

middling stature, great goggle eyes, not of a sweet aspect," as Aubrey describes him, was receiving too many promotions in other ways to remain reconciled to such drudgery for ever. Created LL.D. of Oxford in April, chosen a member of the House of Commons in the same year, knighted in November 1662, and with a Mastership of Requests promised him, he was glad to hand over the censorship of newspapers to a successor[1].

The general censorship of the press having by this time come into effect, in accordance with the new Press Act of the Cavalier Parliament, about half-a-dozen persons were already in employment as official licensers of books. There can have been no lack of candidates, therefore, for the succession to Birkenhead. The selection fell on one whose antecedents had been not unlike Birkenhead's own. He was that Roger L'Estrange who had been sentenced to be hanged in 1644 as a Royalist spy and conspirator (Vol. III. p. 185), had helped in stirring up the Royalist insurrection in Kent at the beginning of the second Civil War in 1648 (Vol. III. p. 594), and, after a vague intermediate life, partly of exile and partly of submission to the Protectorate, had signalized his Royalism again just before the Restoration by his attack on Milton entitled *No Blind Guides* (Vol. V. pp. 689–691). Immediately after the Restoration he had written one or two pamphlets in a revengeful Cavalier strain, attacking the Act of Indemnity as too indulgent by far, and advocating severer penal proceedings against the Commonwealthsmen and Nonconformists[2]. But the most characteristic of L'Estrange's

[1] Wood's Ath. III. 1203—1206.

[2] One of these, published June 6, 1660, was entitled, *L'Estrange his Apology, with a short view of some late and remarkable transactions leading to the happy settlement of these nations under the Government of our lawfull and gracious Soveraign Charles the II., whom God preserve.* From this pamphlet I find that L'Estrange was the author of the anonymous pamphlet of the previous 3rd of April, entitled *Treason arraigned in answer to Plain English*, in which the Republican Letter to Monk of March 22, 1659–60, called *Plain English*, was attributed to Milton or Needham or both (ante, Vol. V. pp. 664—666). He has since then been informed, he says, that the obnoxious pamphlet *Plain English* was written by "a renegado parson," though he had taken it at the time to be "either Need-"ham's or Milton's, a couple of curs of "the same pack." In the same *Apology* he mentions Milton and his last protests for the Commonwealth ironically thus: —"I could wish his excellency [Monk] "had been a little civiller to Mr. Milton; "for, just as he had finished his model "of a Commonwealth, . . . in come the

pamphlets was one licensed by Sheldon's private chaplain, Dr. George Stradling, May 28, 1663, and published six days afterwards, with this title, "*Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Press; together with Divers Instances of Treasonous and Seditious Pamphlets, proving the Necessity thereof. By Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed by A. C., June 3rd,* 1663." The pamphlet is really a curiosity. In a dedicatory epistle to the King he speaks of it as presenting to his Majesty's view "that spirit of hypocrisy, scandal, "malice, error and illusion that actuated the late rebellion," and also "a manifestation of the same spirit, reigning still, "and working not only by the same means, but in very many "of the same persons and to the same ends." He complains especially of the reprinting or continued sale of certain anti-Episcopal and Republican pamphlets which he names or describes, and of the recent issue of a very large edition of collected farewell sermons preached to different congregations over England by thirty or forty of the most eminent of the ejected Nonconformist ministers. Such a book he regards as "one of the most audacious and dangerous libels "that hath been made public under any government;" and against such and similar press-offences in future he sees no protective but the severest discipline of the book-trade, as including not only authors and printers, but also "the letter-"founders, and the smiths and joiners that work upon presses," "with the stitchers, binders, stationers, hawkers, mercury-"women, pedlars, ballad-singers, posts, carriers, hackney-"coachmen, boatmen, and mariners." He thinks, for example, that the number of master-printers in London, which he reckons as then sixty, might at once be reduced with advantage to twenty, with a corresponding reduction of the number of printing-offices, and of the number of apprentices to be allowed in the printing industry. He recommends that the printing-offices should be under inspection, and that none of them should have back-doors. He enumerates with approbation

"secluded members and spoil his pro-"ject."—In a later publication of L'Estrange, in the form of a letter to Chancellor Clarendon, dated Dec. 3, 1661, he repudiates indignantly the imputation of having received money from Cromwell for revealing the King's secrets in his exile.

"the ordinary penalties" for treasonable or seditious publications, viz. "death, mutilation, imprisonment, banishment, corporal pains, disgrace, pecuniary mulcts," but thinks it might be a useful addition if culprits of the lower grades were "condemned to wear some visible badge or mark of ignominy, "as a halter instead of a hatband, one stocking blue and another "red, a blue bonnet with a red T or S upon it." He proposes also that the censorship of the press, as re-established by the Act of May 19, 1662, should be regularly organized by being put into the hands of six paid surveyors or licencers, under the great state-officers charged with the duty by the Act itself. He recommends that the punishment for all press-offences should be certain and severe, and that informers should be encouraged and liberally rewarded [1].

Whether on account of this pamphlet, or because he had already been thought peculiarly well qualified, certain it is that, in August 1663, Roger L'Estrange, Esq., was appointed to the new office of "Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing-presses," with the right of "the sole licensing of all ballads, charts, printed portraictures, printed pictures, books, and papers," except such as had already been otherwise provided for by the Act of May 1662, and with a grant also of "all "the sole privilege of writing, printing, and publishing all "narratives, advertisements, mercuries, intelligencers, diur-"nals, and other books of public intelligence, and printing all "ballads, plays, maps, charts, portraictures, and pictures, not "previously printed, and all briefs for collections, playbills, "quack-salvers' bills, custom and excise bills, post-office bills, "creditors' bills and tickets, in England and Wales, and "with power to search for and seize unlicensed and treason-"able, schismatical and scandalous books and papers [2]." He was thus constituted, (1) sole journalist of England and Wales, (2) one of the licencers of books for the press, (3) inquisitor-general of the press, and of all printing-offices, shops of booksellers, and vendors or hawkers of books, pamphlets, or newspapers.

[1] L'Estrange's *Considerations and Proposals* of June 1663.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, IV. 54—55, footnote.

L'Estrange lost no time in assuming his functions as sole journalist, for on Monday, the 31st of August, there appeared No. 1 of *The Intelligencer, published for the satisfaction and information of the People: with privilege.* This was Roger L'Estrange's own newspaper, superseding and abolishing those that had been managed by Birkenhead. The prospectus of the new undertaking, prefixed to the first number, was in L'Estrange's own strain.—He declares that his ideal of the proper state of things is that there should be no newspapers at all. "Sup- "posing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and "news or no news to be the question, a public Mercury should "never have my vote; because I think it makes the multi- "tude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their supe- "riors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not "only an itch, but a kind of colourable right and license, to be "meddling with the Government." In the actual state of things, however, a newspaper being considered indispensable, he sees that there may be uses for it, if it is prudently managed. It may help to "redeem the vulgar from their former mistakes and delusions, and to preserve them from the like for the time to come;" it is "none of the worst ways of address to the genius and humour of the common people, whose affections are much more capable of being tuned and wrought upon by convenient hints and touches in the shape and air of a pamphlet than by the strongest and best notions imaginable under any other and more sober form whatsoever;" and, at the very least, it may serve "to detect and disappoint the malice of those scandalous and false reports which are daily contrived and bruited against the Government." On the whole, therefore, he undertakes the editorship willingly enough, and will do his best in it. He cannot say yet whether his paper will appear once a week or twice a week, but will make it twice a week if he finds matter enough. He reserves also the consideration of the best means of vending and circulating the paper; because, though the most profitable plan for the proprietor of a newspaper hitherto has been "to cry and expose it about the streets by mercuries and hawkers," he knows that "under countenance of that employment is carried

on the private trade of treasonous and seditious libels," and he is resolved to stop that trade. There follow, accordingly, some intimations of the methods he means to adopt in his general inquisitorship or surveyorship of the Press. He still thinks that a great reduction of the numbers employed in the printing business would be the most effective remedy; but meanwhile he will encourage the detection of press offences as much as possible by rewards to informers. Let any one who knows of "any printing-press erected and being in any private place, hole, or corner, contrary to the tenor of the late Act of Parliament," come to Mr. L'Estrange's office at the Gun in Ivy Lane, and he shall have 40*s.* for the information if it leads to proof, "with what assurance of secrecy himself shall desire." Should the information amount to the discovery of any seditious or unlawful book actually in course through such a printing-press, then, if the informer shall "give his aid to the seizing of the copies and the offenders," the reward shall be £5; but the smallest information will be welcome, and even the discovery of the printing by any one of any book without a licence shall be rewarded with 10*s.*, and that of the selling of any unlawful book by any hawker with 5*s.*—— L'Estrange did make his paper a bi-weekly one, for on the following Thursday, September 3, 1633, there appeared "*The Newes, published for satisfaction and information of the People: with privilege.* No. 1." It was, in fact, the second number of the *Intelligencer*, but with an alternative name [1].

L'Estrange's bi-weekly quarto sheet, in its alternative forms of *The Intelligencer*, published on Mondays, and *The News*, published on Thursdays, was the sole English newspaper in existence from the end of August, 1663, to November, 1665. In this last month, Charles and the Court being then at Oxford, whither they had removed a good many weeks before, to avoid the Great Plague, then ravaging London, it was found desirable, for the convenience of those gathered in Oxford, not to depend on the coming of copies of *The Intelligencer* or *News* from the plague-smitten city. Accord-

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, IV. 55—58.

ingly, on Tuesday the 14th of November, 1665, just after the rising of that short fifth or Oxford session of the Cavalier Parliament which passed the Five Miles Act, there appeared the first number of *The Oxford Gazette*, a folio half-sheet, printed by the University printer, Leonard Litchfield, licensed by Lord Arlington as Secretary of State, and written, Wood thinks, by Henry Muddiman. This *Oxford Gazette*, published twice a week in Oxford, and reprinted in London by Thomas Newcome, "for the use of some members and gentlemen who desired them," was an infringement on L'Estrange's rights which he seems to have been unable to resist. He continued indeed to issue his *Intelligencer* and *News* simultaneously with the *Oxford Gazette* and its London reprint till January 29, 1665–6; but then he retired from the competition, allowing his bi-weekly quarto to become extinct in favour of a continuation of the *Oxford Gazette* under the new name of *The London Gazette*, naturally thought more suitable after Oxford had ceased to be the head-quarters of the King and Court and the cessation of the Plague had permitted their return to Whitehall. The first number of *The London Gazette*, calling itself No. 24 of the original Gazette, appeared on Monday the 5th of February, 1665–6, and the paper continued to appear regularly twice a week thenceforward, the printer and publisher being Thomas Newcome and the licencer always Lord Arlington. On the 4th of June, 1666, there appeared the first number of another paper, called *The Current Intelligencer;* which, I find, was also an official journal, licensed by Secretary Morrice or his deputies, and published by John Macock. It seems to have had but a short existence, however; and the *London Gazette* remained in possession, substantially undisturbed by any competitor, official or non-official, to the end of the term of the present chapter, and a good way beyond. Wood's information is that, soon after the numbers of the *London Gazette* had begun to appear, "Mr. Joseph Williamson, under-secretary of State, "procured the writing of them for himself, and thereupon "employed Charles Perrot, M.A., and fellow of Oriel College "in Oxon, who had a good command of his pen, to do that

"office under him; and so he did, though not constantly, "to about 1671." Wood adds that the business of writing and editing the *Gazette* continued to belong to the office of the Under-Secretary of State to the Revolution of 1688; and we learn otherwise that Thomas Newcome was still the printer of the paper in that year[1].

Clearly for newspaper and pamphlet literature at least the Restoration was an arrest and paralysis. Not only was the number of newspapers kept at the lowest possible minimum; but, that minimum being under Government management far more strictly than at any time during the preceding eighteen years of the Revolution, and free pamphleteering having ceased or nearly so, all heart, all pith, was taken out of English journalism. The *Intelligencers* and *Gazettes* and occasional political pamphlets of the Restoration are meagre and insipid things after the best of those newspapers and pamphlets of the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, in which political ideas and political passions on both sides were in such ferment and tumult.

While it has been proved that the Restoration was not a time of fresh outburst and abundance in the literature of England, but actually of arrest and diminution, in certain departments at least, it remains nevertheless true that the Restoration did bring in a literature of its own, and that our historians are not wrong in speaking so definitely as they do of The Literature of the Restoration. What justifies this phrase is that, though there was a diminished quantity of literary production on the whole from and after 1660, yet such literature as did appear, and especially the popular literature favoured at Court, was marked by very strong characteristics, and included a notable revival in one department.

The prevailing characteristic of the Restoration literature proper was Anti-Puritanism. From 1660 onwards it became the rule in English authorship to take revenge for the past twenty years of Puritan ascendancy by every possible form

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, IV. 58—59; Wood's Ath. III. 1185; and my notes from the Stationers' Registers.

of insult to whatever had worn a Puritan guise, or been implied in Puritanism, and by every possible assertion and laudation of the opposite.

Signaling the wheel of the public mind at the very instant of the return of the Stuarts had been that burst of odes on the Blessed Restoration, by Waller, Cowley, Davenant, Dryden, and others, of which we have heard enough. There was to be no end to the fulsome series while Charles lived, or to the reprints of such Cavalier songs and poems as were already in stock before the Restoration, or the production of others in the same vein to satisfy the increasing demand. *The Rump: or an Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs relating to the late Times*, is the title of one book, edited by Alexander Brome, published in June 1660, and republished with additions in 1662, which served for a good many years as a manual of anti-Puritan lyrics for ordinary convivial purposes. With that book, or any similar collection, at hand, a thousand clubs of jolly fellows could make themselves happy simultaneously for hours together in a thousand different London taverns or village inns, by singing over the whole history of the past reign of Puritanism in successive snatches of verse to popular tunes and choruses. Thus:—

"To make Charles a great king and give him no power,
To honour him much and not obey him an hour,
To provide for his safety and take away his Tower,
And to prove all is sweet, be it never so sour,
Is the new order of the land and the land's new order."

"Your fond expounding corrupts the Bibble;
Yet you 'll maintain it with your twibble.
Oh, Roundheads, Roundheads, damnable Roundheads,
What do you mean to do?"

"What though the zealots pull down the prelates,
Push at the pulpit, and kick at the crown!
Shall we not ever strive to endeavour
Once more to purchase our royal renown?
Shall not the Roundhead first be confounded?
Sa, sa, sa, sa, boys! ha, ha, ha, ha, boys!"

"Sirs, Jocky 's a man held a mickle note;
Sing heome agen, Jocky, sing heome agen, Jocky.
The breach o' the Covenant stuck in his throat;
Sing heome agen, heome agen, O valiant Jocky."

"Taffy was once Cottamighty of Wales,
Put her cousin O. P. was a creater;
Was come in her country, catspluttery nails!
Was took her Welsh hook and was peat her;
Was eat up her sheese,
Her tuck and her geese;
Her pick, her capon was tie for 't;
Ap Richard, ap Owen, ap Morgan, ap Stephen,
Ap Shenkin, ap Powell was fly for 't."

"A Brewer may be a Parliament-man,
For there the knavery first began,
And brew most cunning plots he can:
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may put on a Nabal face,
And march to the wars with such a grace
That he may get a Captain's place:
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may speak so wondrous well
That he may raise great things to tell,
And so be made a Colonel:
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may make his foes to flee,
And raise his fortunes, so that he
Lieutenant-General may be:
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer he may be all in all,
And raise his powers both great and small,
That he may be Lord General:
Which nobody can deny.

Methinks I hear one say to me,
Pray, why may not a Brewer be
The Chancellor o' the University?
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be as bold as Hector
When he has drunk off his cup of nectar,
And a Brewer may be a Lord Protector:
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may do what he will,
And rob the Church and State, to sell
His soul unto the Devil of Hell:
Which nobody can deny."

"Drunken Dick was a lame Protector,
And Fleetwood a backslider:
These we served as the rest,
But the City's the beast
That will never cast her rider.
Then away with the laws
And the good old cause;
Ne'er talk o' the Rump or the Charter,
'Tis the cash does the feat;
All the rest's but a cheat;
Without that there's no faith nor quarter."

"But I hope by this time
You'll confess 'twas a crime
To abet such a damnable crew,
Whose petition was drawn
By Alcoran Vane,
Or else by Corbet the Jew:
By it you may know
What the Rump meant to do
And what religion to frame;
So 'twas time for Old George
That Rump to disgorge,
And to send it from whence it first came,
And drive the cold winter away."

"We are sensible now that there is no one thing
Can full satisfaction to all interests bring,
But only Charles the Second, our known lawful King:
Which nobody can deny.

Let's dally no longer, but like Britons stand
For God and King Charles and the laws of the land;
Let's up and be doing and do't out of hand:
Which nobody can deny."

In such rough popular lyrics, as in the more elaborate Restoration odes of Cowley and the rest, we have the expression of what may be called the direct form of the anti-Puritanism which had come into the ascendant. It consisted

in perpetual recollection of the persons and transactions of the foregoing twenty years for burlesque, invective, and execration. Always, of course, and in the midst of all, and engrossing the entire retrospect for most, was the figure of Cromwell, the Brewer Cromwell, the copper-nosed Cromwell, the supreme villain Cromwell. Hence, in fact, the most intense and specific exhibition of the direct form of anti-Puritanism was in loathing, or pretended loathing, of the memory of Oliver. To name Noll, and repeat the name Noll, and go on repeating it with every new ludicrous or opprobrious epithet that ingenuity could invent, was half the art of being witty in any company for a quarter of a century after the Restoration.

Indubitably the finest literary expressions of this mood of anti-Puritanism and reprobation of Cromwell between 1660 and 1663 were in certain pieces of Cowley, continuing or repeating his first Restoration ode. In particular, his *Discourse by way of Vision concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell* is deservedly regarded as the most eloquent of his prose-writings. It was published in 1661, and originally with this longer title: *A Vision concerning his late pretended Highness, Cromwell the Wicked; containing a Discourse in Vindication of him by a pretended Angel, and the Confutation thereof by the Author, Abraham Cowley.* It was, in fact, another studied attempt by poor Cowley to retrieve his character for loyalty and reinstate himself at Court. Skilfully enough, the Discourse or Vision is thrown back to the very day of Cromwell's funeral, so that the author might be supposed not to have needed the Restoration to produce the sentiments he was now expressing, but to have entertained them while the Cromwell dynasty seemed secure.

Having been a spectator, he says, of the sombre funeral pageant, which had "brought some very curious persons as far as from the Mount in Cornwall and from the Orcades," he had retired back to his chamber, weary and melancholy. There, beginning "to reflect on the whole life of this prodigious man," he had gradually fallen asleep or dreamt a waking dream. He found himself, as he thought, "on the

top of that famous hill in the island Mona which has the prospect of three great, and not-long-since happy, kingdoms." For two or three hours, recalling to memory all the late miseries of those kingdoms, he wept bitterly; and at length he broke out in a passion of verse, beginning,

> "Ah, happy Isle, how art thou changed and curst
> Since I was born and knew thee first!"

He has not ended this metrical plaint, but has just invoked the spirit of the Royal Martyr, when he is interrupted by "a strange and terrible apparition." It is the figure of a gigantic man, whose naked body is tattooed with warlike figures and representations of battles, whose eyes were like burning brass, and on whose head were three crowns of the same metal, also seeming red-hot. In his right hand he held a bloody sword, and in his left a thick book of Acts, Ordinances, Protestations, Covenants, and Engagements. This figure introduces himself as the guardian angel of the three kingdoms, and the colloquy begins, Cowley suspecting from the first that the pretended angel is Cromwell himself, but concealing the suspicion as long as he can, that he may be the more frank in his utterances. And his frankness is unbounded. He has already had one paragraph of abuse of the dead Protector when farther discourse is brought on by some observations of the phantom in reply, to the effect that, though he has "no personal concernment for his late highness," yet, as guardian angel of the British Islands, he has naturally taken some interest in him and his rule, and has come to the conclusion that he was "the greatest man that ever was of the English nation, if not of the whole world." This, followed by a defensive sketch by the phantom of Cromwell's whole life, sets Cowley on at full torrent on the other side. There is a long and highly eloquent indictment of Cromwell and all his misdeeds, growing more and more eloquent as the phantom occasionally irritates the speaker by questions and interruptions. Even Cromwell's abilities are depreciated, and reduced to craft, dissimulation, and extraordinary industry. The prose once or twice lifts itself again into verse. Thus:—

"Cursed be the man (what do I wish? as though
The wretch already were not so;
But cursed on let him be) who thinks it brave
And great his country to enslave,
Who seeks to overpoise alone
The balance of a nation."

On the whole, the phantom has kept his temper admirably through all this, only smiling or laughing grimly. At last, telling Cowley he is a mere pedant or Platonical dreamer, and evidently not a man of property, or a man of the world in any sense, with his "old obsolete rules of virtue and conscience," the phantom propounds his own ethical system in a metrical sermon which is a compound of Biblical references with the rankest Machiavellianism. It ends,

"'Tis godlike to be great; and, as they say
A thousand years to God are but a day,
So to a man, when once a crown he wears,
The coronation-day's more than a thousand years."

Made furious by this blasphemy, Cowley loses self-command, and lets the fiend know that he is perfectly aware it is with Cromwell himself he has the honour of discoursing. The dreadful figure then loses temper too, tells Cowley he is "an obstinate and inveterate malignant," hints at a power of imprisoning and hanging even in the Inferno, and rushes at him ravenously. The poet felt himself, he says, "almost in the very pounces of the great bird of prey," when lo! what?

"When, lo! ere the last words were fully spoke,
From a fair cloud, which rather oped than broke,
A flash of light, rather than lightning, came,
So swift, and yet so gentle, was the flame.
Upon it rode (and, in his full career,
Seemed to my eyes no sooner there than here)
The comeliest youth of all the angelic race;
Lovely his shape, ineffable his face."

This radiant and comely youth is the true genius of England, and you are also to suppose him to be Charles the Second as much as you can. He goes up to Fiend Cromwell, and whispers some few words to him, which Cowley did not un-

derstand, though he was sure that one of them was the name of Jesus. The fiend immediately collapses, roars, and flies:—

> "He knows his foe too strong, and must be gone:
> He grins as he looks back, and howls as he goes on."

No one could match Cowley in this finely poetical style of anti-Cromwellian and anti-Puritan invective. But it was too good, too serious, aggrandized Cromwell and his part in British history too evidently in the very act of execrating his memory, to please the general taste, or be much to Cowley's advantage where he had hoped it might chiefly help him. Rougher and coarser things pleased better.

November 11, 1662, "Richard Marriott entered for his copy, "under the hand of Dr. Birkenhead, and Mr. Pakeman, war- "den, a book intituled HUDIBRAS, THE FIRST PART, written "in the time of the late war by MR. BUTLER;" and, again, just a year after, November 5, 1663, "Mr. John Martyn and "Mr. James Allestry entered for their copy, under the hand of "Mr. Roger L'Estrange and Mr. Warden Fawne, a book or "copy intituled HUDIBRAS, THE SECOND PART, by the author "of the First." Such were the entries in the Stationers' Registers of those two parts of Butler's immortal burlesque which were all that the world was to have of it till the year 1678, when a third part was published, still leaving the poem incomplete[1]. How the first two parts were received we learn from Pepys. "Hither come Mr. Battersby," writes Pepys on the 26th of December, 1662, "and, we falling into "discourse of a new book of drollery in use, called *Hudibras*, "I would needs go and find it out, and met with it at the "Temple: cost me 2/6*d*. But, when I come to read it, it is

[1] Though the first part of *Hudibras* was not registered till Nov. 11, 1662, it must have been already out for nearly a year. In *The Kingdom's Intelligencer* for the week ending Jan. 5, 1661–2, there is this advertisement:—"There is stolen "abroad a most false imperfect copy of "a Poem called *Hudibras*, without name "either of printer or bookseller, as fit "for so lame and spurious an impression. "The true and perfect edition, printed "by the author's original, is sold by "Richard Marriott, under St. Dunstan's "Church in Fleet Street; that other "nameless impression is a cheat, and "will but abuse the buyer, as well as "the author, whose poem deserves to "have fallen into better hands."—The new Press Act, requiring books to be licensed, having come into operation in 1662, a few months after the date of this advertisement, Marriott had availed himself of it for the protection of his rights.

"so silly an abuse of the Presbyter knight going to the wars "that I am ashamed of it; and, by and bye, meeting at "Mr. Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18*d*." Pepys found very soon that he was in a minority of one on that subject. The King was reading *Hudibras*; the Court was reading *Hudibras*; all the world was reading *Hudibras*. Accordingly, Pepys tried the book again. "And so to a bookseller's in the "Strand," he writes, Feb. 6, 1662–3, "and there bought "*Hudibras* again, it being certainly some ill humour to be so "against that which all the world cries up to be the example "of wit; for which I am resolved once more to read him, and "see whether I can find it or no." When the second part came out, he repeated the experiment. "To St. Paul's Church-"yard," he writes, Nov. 28, 1663," and there looked upon the "Second Part of *Hudibras*; which I buy not, but borrow to "read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world "cried so mightily up, though I had tried but twice or three "times reading to bring myself to think it witty." Again, less than a fortnight afterwards, giving a list of books he had been looking at, he mentions "*Hudibras*, both parts, the book "now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, "I confess, see enough where the wit lies." To the end Pepys found himself singular in his estimate of the book. All the world continued to read *Hudibras* and to talk of this extraordinary Mr. Samuel Butler, hitherto utterly unknown, who had made himself famous by it at one bound; and Pepys, who came afterwards to meet Butler in society, expressly tells us that it seemed unpleasantly strange to him, in the year of the Great Plague, to hear a Parliament man quote *Hudibras* as if it were the book in the world that everybody ought to know best.

No wonder at the sudden and immense popularity of *Hudibras*. No wonder that the King and Clarendon sent for the author on the appearance of the first part, and gave him hopes of "places and employments," and so that people, meeting him afterwards in society, a middle-sized man, strong-built, of sanguine complexion, and with "sorrel" or "leonine-coloured" hair, watched and still watched for "the golden

shower" that was expected to descend upon him [1]. The book was an embodiment of the anti-Puritanism of the Restoration era exactly suiting the general taste, and was far fitter, in that respect, to be a *vade mecum* for the courtiers and cavaliers than anything that had been provided by Cowley or others.

Little depended on the story. The general idea, indeed, was good even in that respect, though it was a very profane desecration of the noble fiction of Cervantes. As in that fiction Don Quixote and his squire Sancho go out on adventures over sunny Spanish scenery, the one a high-toned though crazed idealist, the other a sturdy materialist, so in this Butler sends forth the knight Hudibras and his squire Ralph, the one a representative of Presbyterianism and the other of Independency and New Lights in Theology, to find their adventures on English ground. The adventures themselves are nothing. Who cared for them, or even much for any of the hobby-horse grotesques, in the form of personages and characters, which they bring round Hudibras and Ralph, for the purpose of thrashing them, putting them in the stocks, assailing them with rotten eggs, and all the rest of it, from the bear-owner and the dog-owning butcher, and the wooden-legged fiddler Crowdero, and the tinker Magnano, and his female companion Trulla, at the beginning, on to the confusion-causing widow, and the astrologer Sidrophel, and the astrologer's man Whackum? It was the plenitude of wit and quaint learning of all sorts embroidered on the narrative, like patches of pearl-work on leather, the abundance of quotable passages and phrases, the mercilessness and yet oddity of the satire on the Puritans and all their belongings, that made the book such a favourite. One had not read ten pages, for example, when this presented itself, the very tit-bit of the whole book, as a popular expression of anti-Puritanism, from that day to this:—

THE RELIGION OF HUDIBRAS.

For his Religion, it was fit
To match his learning and his wit.
'Twas Presbyterian true-blue;

[1] Aubrey's Lives, *Butler*; Wood's Ath. III. 875; Johnson's Life of Butler.

For he was of that stubborn crew
Of errant saints whom all men grant
To be the true Church Militant:
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;
Decide all controversies by
Infallible artillery,
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks;
Call fire and sword and desolation
A godly, thorough Reformation,
Which always must be carried on,
And still be doing, never done,
As if Religion were intended
For nothing else but to be mended:
A sect whose chief devotion lies
In odd perverse antipathies,
In falling out with that or this,
And finding something still amiss;
More peevish, cross, and splenetic
Than dog distract or monkey sick;
That with more care keep holiday
The wrong than others the right way;
Compound for sins they are inclined to
By damning those they have no mind to.
Still so perverse and opposite,
As if they worshipped God for spite,
The self-same thing they will abhor
One way, and long another for;
Free-will they one way disavow,
Another nothing else allow;
All piety consists therein
In them, in other men all sin.
Rather than fail, they will defy
That which they love most tenderly;
Quarrel with mince-pies, and disparage
Their best and dearest friend, plum-porridge;
Fat pig and goose itself oppose,
And blaspheme custard through the nose."

There are two respects in which Butler's *Hudibras*, consistently enough with its general character as a satire of the Puritans and Puritanism for direct and temporary purposes, represents tendencies of the Restoration Literature not so apparent in the serious muse of Cowley[1].

[1] To prevent mistake, I may say that in my account of Butler, as in one or two places besides in the present chapter, I have adopted phrases from papers of my own, published anonymously.

In the first place, the tendency to a prevalence of the burlesque or mock-heroic in form connects itself with the anti-Puritan reaction of the reign of Charles the Second. It was the reign of the Merry Monarch, and all things must correspond. Not only to laugh, but to do nothing else than laugh, was the rule with the London multitude; not only to promote laughter, but to promote nothing else than laughter, was the rule of most of the London wits. I am not sure but the degradation of the name "wit," as applied to a person, from its original meaning of "man of intellect" to that of "a maker of jests," dates properly from the Restoration. To make jests, to live and move in the ludicrous, to find fun in everything under heaven and over hell, or even within those realms themselves, so far as they were voted to exist, was the business of the popular Restoration writers. It was, naturally, hard work; and hence, while so much of the literature of the Restoration was of the kind called generally the comic, and there was plenty that was genuinely humorous, hearty, and convivial, yet not a little was in that austere form of the comic in which there is no heart whatever, but only sneering and sarcasm. When, in Rabelais, the meditative giant Pantagruel hears the story of the miraculous announcement of the death of Pan and the birth of the great shepherd Christ, as it was made to the Egyptian Thamuz, off the Island of Naxos, by a voice from heaven sounding over the ship, the giant reels and trembles with the sense of the awe and the grandeur, and tears roll down his cheeks "as big as ostrich's eggs." The story of the death of Pan, or any similar story would have had no such effect at the Court of Charles the Second. The shrunken Pantagruelism of that Court, represented at its best in the Hudibrastic genius of Butler, was incapable of such heights. Not only to burlesque and ridicule Puritanism, but to burlesque and ridicule whatever, in or out of Puritanism, was abstract, ideal, earnest, spiritual, remote from common appetite or common apprehension, was the fashion in the popular Restoration literature. Cowley had not yielded to it, nor had others of the more religious intellects in the Anglican or anti-Puritan ranks; but these were exceptions.

Another quality of the Restoration literature, not necessarily inherent in the tendency to the burlesque or mock-heroic, though generally accompanying that tendency, is the quality called coarseness. Under this name we need not imply any special pandering to what is known as the licentious. It would be unjust to Butler to do so. The coarseness which we see in him has nothing of that accompaniment, though the same cannot be said of many of his contemporaries. With or without that accompaniment, coarseness consists in an unabashed familiarity of the imagination with things and processes which the taste of civilized mankind in all ages has agreed to keep as much as possible out of sight and unmentioned, though their existence runs through the daily life of all, and there are names for them in every national vocabulary. Taste in this respect, it is true, is very variable in particulars. The standard of euphemism or fastidiousness in speech has changed from age to age, and has never been the same, even in the same age, for all classes of persons or for all kinds of literature. In Chaucer's time the churl's "manere" in literature was recognised as distinct from the knight's or lady's. A writer who practised both, as Chaucer did, could inform his readers when he was about to pass from the one to the other, and could warn them, if the next tale was to be a churl's, to turn elsewhere for some "storial thing that toucheth gentilesse." It had been much the same through the age of the Elizabethans. The difference after the Restoration, however, is enormous. Even Clarendon, looking about him in the popular Restoration literature, must have confessed himself disappointed in his expectation of a general return of what he regarded as the old English "good manners." In Clarendon's own speeches, as in most of Cowley's writings, and also, of course, in those of the best of the Restoration divines, there is all proper decorum and fastidiousness; but, to a great extent, it was "the churl's manere" that had established itself in and round the Court for the regulation both of talk and of literature. This was the case especially in that literature of the comic order which was now so much in request. The coarse had become the accepted equivalent

for the comic. For making fun and causing laughter the method in favour was to bring in as frequently as possible, out of the churl's dictionary, and from every letter of the alphabet there, those anatomical and physiological words which startle us in the streets by their nudity and vigour. There is no lack of illustration in the pages of Butler, but even they do not convey an adequate idea of the extent of this form of the facetious in some portions of the literature of his time. Let me speak out plainly. The familiar representation of the Court of Charles the Second as a Court of fine and gracious manners, a Court in which "vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness," is a lying tradition. The principal men and women of that Court, though dressed finely and living luxuriously, spoke and thought among themselves in the language of the shambles and the dissecting-room. How far such coarseness of speech in and round the Court of Charles is to be regarded as necessarily part and parcel of the anti-Puritan reaction we need not inquire minutely. Sincere religious fervour, whatever the theology professed, is always an education of the taste; and, if English Puritanism had not cultivated the graceful, it had certainly discouraged the more positive forms of the coarse. The taste of the tinker Bunyan, in matters of speech, was more fastidious and cleanly, I should say, precisely on account of his Puritanism, than that of a good many of the Restoration scholars and men of letters who had been educated at the universities. But I will dare a more public parallel. The great-hearted Christian gentleman who had been the soldier of Puritanism from the first, and had held the sovereignty of the British Islands for five years in the name of Puritanism, as he himself had generalized that theory of things, liberalised it, and determined that it might last—this great man, figuring now in Royalist diatribes as the brewer, the hypocrite, the copper-nosed saint and ruffian, had written much and had spoken much. What he had thus written and spoken through a long tract of years he had left lying carelessly about, to be examined when the world should please, and there should be some future man, above the rest in an unknown posterity, to bring it all together and make the

examination possible. Well, what of those letters and speeches, hurried, numerous, and variously occasioned, of one whom we know independently to have been no pedant, no straight-laced ascetic, but even boisterous in his fits of humour, and fond of horse-play? This or that may be objected to in them, from the literary point of view or from the political; but from first to last no one will find in them a really unbecoming word. It must have been the same, I believe, in Cromwell's most private and intimate conversation. Both Clarendon and Cowley, indeed, have made the most of one reported saying of Cromwell in a moment of irritation, when one of his words was of the kind that would require a dash in modern printing. But even that single instance is doubtful; and, were it true, the commemoration of it by Clarendon and Cowley may surprise us. For what was *their* hero and royal master, Charles the Second, the theme of their eulogies? What, in manners and in speech was this lazy coffin-faced lout, this Louis Kerneguy of Scott's novel, this Lord's anointed of Juxon and Sheldon, that had been brought back to sit upon the throne of England, and of whose grace and good humour we hear so much, as he jested with his courtiers in Whitehall, or went about with his spaniels and fed the ducks in the Park? In the particular of manners, as distinct from morals or abilities, I will peril the whole impression on one of his preserved letters to his sister, the Princess Henrietta. There is nothing immoral in it; but it is brutally and disgustingly dirty. Puritanism or anti-Puritanism, what but coarseness could there be in a Court where Louis Kerneguy was King?

The various characteristics of the Restoration literature, whether anti-Puritanism or others that may seem more special and accidental, are best seen in combination in the Drama of the Restoration.

By the Ordinance of the Long Parliament, at the beginning of the Civil Wars, enacting that, "while these sad causes and set times of humiliation do continue, public stage-plays shall cease and be forborne," the Drama had been practically extinguished in England from 1642 to 1656. Occasionally in that

interval there had been an attempt in London to act regular plays; private theatricals, which the ordinance did not reach, had been kept up in some great houses; and "the incorrigible vitality of the theatre," as Mr. Ward calls it, had asserted itself in an itinerant perseverance, chiefly under the management of an old actor named Robert Cox, in the custom of "drolls," or mixtures of tight-rope dancing and farcical dialogue, performed at country fairs. In the main, however, the stage and all its appurtenances had gone down. The dramatists of the reign of Charles I., bereft of their craft of play-writing, were keeping schools; and the old actors, some of whom may have trod the boards with Shakespeare, were keeping tap-rooms and village-inns, actors no more, but excellent in anecdote as they poured out the ale. Not that the drama had ceased to exist as a form of literature. Through the Civil Wars, and still more through the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, there continued to be a demand for dramas for private reading, and there was a considerable activity among some London booksellers in supplying this demand by selling and re-printing popular old plays. Indeed some plays which had been performed before the Civil Wars were first published in the time of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, and some new plays were written in those years, when there was no chance of their being acted [1].

The first gleam of a returning theatre had been in 1656, the third year of Cromwell's Protectorate, when Davenant was allowed to set up his so-called Opera, for recitations with musical and scenic accompaniments, at the back of Rutland House in Aldersgate Street (ante, Vol. V. p. 81). There, or afterwards at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, Davenant had gone as near to a reproduction of the regular drama as he could. In the year before the Restoration he had abandoned the pretence of opera altogether and had begun to put regular plays on the stage. Nor had he been left without competition in the business. In the winter of 1659–60, when Monk was on his

[1] Genest's Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830, in ten volumes (1832), Vol. I.; Ward's Hist. of English Dramatic Literature, II. 444—446; Notes from Stationers' Registers from 1642 onwards.

march from Scotland and the Republic was tottering, a bookseller named Rhodes, formerly wardrobe-keeper in a theatre, had gathered about him as many promising young actors as he could, and had set up a theatre of his own, whether in Whitefriars or in the Cockpit beside Davenant's seems uncertain. About the same time some of the surviving old actors, not to leave all the profits to Rhodes and his young people, had associated themselves in the Red Bull theatre in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell. The fact therefore is that the Londoners were again in full enjoyment of the drama before they saw the face of Charles the Second [1].

It was fitting, however, that the stage should be re-organized formally as one of the national institutions of the Restoration. This was done in August 1660 by the grants of two theatrical patents, constituting the two companies that were thenceforth to have the right of supplying the public with dramatic amusement. One was given to Thomas Killigrew, and the other to Davenant. Killigrew's company, consisting at first of "the old actors" from the Red Bull with additions from Rhodes's, was to be called "The King's Company"; Davenant's, consisting of a combination of his own staff with part of Rhodes's, was to be known as "The Duke of York's Company," though the name of "The Opera Company" still adhered to it for some time. Killigrew's theatre, opened in November, 1660, was in Gibbons's Tennis Court, Vere Street, Clare Market, off the Strand; but in April 1663 he removed to a new theatre, called "The Theatre Royal," in the part of Drury Lane, near Covent Garden, famous ever since as the site of Drury Lane Theatre. Davenant's theatre, after some shiftings from the Cockpit to other temporary premises between 1660 and the spring of 1662, was in Lincoln's Inn Fields from the latter date onwards. Although the two companies had been sworn in by the Lord Chamberlain as "The King's Servants" and "The Duke of York's Servants" respectively, and their patents authorized them and them only to act, there was some difficulty at first in suppressing Rhodes

[1] Genest and Ward as before, with notes about Davenant's operatic entertainments from the Stationers' Registers.

and others. One hears accordingly of stray performances both at the Red Bull and in Whitefriars, neither by Killigrew's people nor by Davenant's, for some time after 1660[1].

In Davenant's patent, and doubtless also in Killigrew's, there was this clause: "Whereas the women's parts in plays "have hitherto been acted by men in the habits of women, at "which some have taken offence, we do permit and give leave "for the time to come that all women's parts be acted by "women." As the clause is permissive only and not compulsory, the public performance of women's parts by boys, as had been the English custom before the Civil Wars, did not cease immediately; but it ceased so soon that Mr. Ward's statement that "from the Restoration women's parts were invariably acted by women" may be taken as substantially correct. It is a proof, indeed, of the popularity of the change that, when women, in the exercise of their new profession, took revenge for their long exclusion from it by acting frequently in boys' parts, even that excess was welcomed. This was by no means all. From 1660 onwards there were to be many important social consequences from the re-institution of the drama in London, represented in two theatres, each with its numerous company, and each company consisting of actors and actresses mixed[2].

The following is an enumeration of the actors and actresses connected with the two theatres at one time or another between 1660 and 1668, and some of them through the whole of that period:—

WHITECHAPEL PUBLIC LIBRARY

KILLIGREW'S OR THE KING'S COMPANY.

ACTORS:—Michael Mohun, Edward Kynaston, Theophilus Bird, Charles Hart, John Lacy, Nicholas Burt, William Cartwright, Walter Clunn, William Wintershall, Robert Shatterel, William Shatterel; with Allington, Bateman, Blagden, Duke, and Hancock, associated with them in inferior parts from the first, and Beeston, Charleton, Goodman, Griffin, Haines, Tyddoll, and Sherly, as later additions.

ACTRESSES:—Ann Marshall, Rebecca Marshall, Mrs. or Miss

[1] Baker's Biographia Dramatica (edit. 1782), *Introduction*; Genest; Articles *Cockpit, Drury Lane Theatre, Gibbons's Tennis Court, Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre*, and *Red Bull Theatre* in Cunningham's London; with references to Pepys.

[2] Genest, and Ward, II. 448—449.

Corey, Mrs. Knepp, Miss or Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. or Miss Rutter, Miss E. Davenport, Miss F. Davenport; with four other ladies, called Eastland, Quin, Uphill, and Weaver; to whom were added Miss Boutel, Eleanor Gwynn, and three others, called James, Reeves, and Verjuice.

DAVENANT'S OR THE DUKE'S COMPANY.

ACTORS:—Thomas Betterton, Joseph Harris, Cave Underhill, James Nokes, Robert Nokes, William Betterton (younger brother of Thomas, and a promising young actor, who came to an early death by drowning); with the following from the first or soon:—Angel, Dacres, Dixon, Floyd, Lillieston, Lovel, Medbourne, Moseley, Norris, Price, Richards, Sandford, Sheppey, Smith, Turner, Young.

ACTRESSES:—Miss Davenport, Miss Saunderson (afterwards Mrs. Betterton), Miss Mary Davis, Miss Long; with five other ladies, called Gibbs, Holden, Jennings, Norris, and Shadwell.

Killigrew's chief star was, undoubtedly, Mohun, called also Major Mohun, because he had held a King's commission abroad; next to whom, in that company, and accounted his rivals, or more than rivals, in some important parts, or kinds of parts, were Bird, Hart, Lacy, Burt, Cartwright, Kynaston, and Clunn. Hart, who is believed to have been Shakespeare's grand-nephew, was a man of handsome presence and a fine actor in stately characters; Lacy, originally a dancing-master, but who had held a lieutenant's commission somewhere, was inimitable in low and eccentric comedy; Cartwright, who had been a bookseller and was a man of culture, was the best Falstaff of his time; and Kynaston, the loveliest boy-lady on the London stage so long as ladies' parts were acted by boys, grew up to be majestic and even lion-like in kingly parts. None of the actors in this company, however, was so great, all in all, as Betterton, the chief man in Davenant's company. Like Kynaston, he had been apprentice to Rhodes the bookseller, and had begun his performances in the theatre set up by Rhodes; but Davenant had secured the young man, and it was in Davenant's theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, between 1662 and 1668, that he first fully acquired that extraordinary reputation, both in tragedy and in high comedy, which lasted for fifty years, and is one of the most cherished traditions yet of the English stage. Next to him, in Davenant's company, for high parts and some of light comedy, was Harris, a man of intelligence

and accomplishments, with a charming voice; but in low comic parts the company depended chiefly on Underhill and James Nokes, each so admirable in his kind that his very appearance before he spoke always set the house in a roar. So much for the actors; a word or two now for the actresses. In Davenant's company the chief were Miss Davenport, Miss Saunderson, Miss Davis, and Miss Long, all of whom, it appears, were lodged at first in Davenant's own house, under the charge of Lady Davenant. The arrangement does not seem to have answered the intended purpose. Miss Saunderson, indeed, became the wife of Betterton in 1663, and shared thenceforward the theatrical fortunes and the high social respectability of that great actor; but in the same year Miss Davenport was withdrawn from the stage by a shameful mock-marriage with the Earl of Oxford, while Miss Davis had become known as Moll Davis, and had broken bounds without any mock-ceremony. This Miss Davis, splendid in singing and dancing, was perhaps the most popular, as she was to rise the highest in a certain kind of celebrity, of all the actresses in Davenant's theatre. At the head of those in Killigrew's at first were the two Marshalls, or at all events the elder, Ann Marshall, who was great in tragic parts. They were the daughters of Stephen Marshall, the famous Presbyterian divine and Smectymnuan, and had inherited something of their father's energy and ability, applying it now, brave girls! in an occupation he had never foreseen for them when he looked his last upon them from his death-bed. Mrs. or Miss Corey, Miss or Mrs. Hughes, Miss Boutell, and Mrs. Knepp, the last of whom was married, and was an intimate acquaintance of Pepys and his wife, were all thought good in light or comic parts. Not till 1664 were they eclipsed in such parts by a new comer. Then it was that the world first heard of a strange, wild, bewitching, kind-hearted creature, called Nell Gwynn, born one knows not where, and brought up one need not inquire how. From selling oranges in the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, she had been promoted to the stage at the age of fifteen, or more probably seventeen; and thenceforward the chief applauses in that theatre were

divided between her and Ann Marshall. Nelly was irresistible in comic and witty parts, while the statelier Marshall still shone in tragedy[1].

At first, of course, both theatres had to depend for the most part on old plays. It is significant of the increased demand for such immediately after the Restoration to find the bookseller Humphrey Moseley on the alert to turn to account such dramatic copyrights as he already possessed, or saw means of acquiring. In one registration of his in the books of the Stationers' Company, of the date June 29, 1660, he enters as his property, in addition to all the unpublished remains of Suckling, no fewer than thirty-six old plays, including three by Beaumont and Fletcher, ten by Massinger, three by Glapthorne, one by Shakerly Marmion, two by Chapman, three by Ford, two by Rowley, two by Decker, and three which he attributes to Shakespeare under these titles—*The History of King Stephen*, *Duke Humphrey*, a tragedy, and *Iphis and Iantha, or a Marriage without a Man*, a comedy. From Moseley's stock, in fact, or printed stock in other hands, or stock in manuscript form, Killigrew and Davenant could choose plays for performance from week to week. Naturally, however, industry in dramatic production had revived with the theatres themselves. Accordingly, not only did Killigrew and Davenant republish former pieces of their own, to take their chance among the older plays of the dead dramatists; but entirely new plays, some of them by entirely new hands, began soon to insert themselves in the series.

With the help of Pepys's Diary and other records, it would be possible even now to present the reader with the series complete or nearly so, in the form of a list of plays, old and new together, to the number of about a hundred, known to have been produced in London, at Killigrew's theatre or at Davenant's, or elsewhere in some cases, in the seven years between August 1660 and August 1667. That will not be

[1] Genest, Vol. I., with help from passages in Pepys; Cunningham's London; Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*; Memoir of Davenant by Messrs. Maidment and Logan (prefixed to their edition of Davenant's Dramatic Works, 1872); and Memoir of John Wilson by the same editors (prefixed to their edition of the Works of that dramatist, 1874).

expected; but here are a few dated glimpses, chiefly from Pepys, of the ongoings in the K. T., or King's or Killigrew's Theatre, and the D. T., or the Duke's or Davenant's, through that period:—

Nov. 1660: *The Beggar's Bush*, a comedy (Beaumont and Fletcher): K. T. in Vere Street, opened that month, "the finest playhouse, I believe, that ever was in England," says Pepys. He first saw "one Moone," i. e. Mohun, acting in this play, Nov. 20, "who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over "with the King."

Jan. 1660–61: *Epicene, or the Silent Woman*, a comedy (Ben Jonson): K. T. in Vere Street. "Among other things here," says Pepys, "Kynaston the boy had the good turn to appear in three "shapes: first, as a poor woman in ordinary clothes, to please "Morose; then in fine clothes, as a gallant, and in them was clearly "the prettiest woman in the whole house; and lastly as a man, "and then likewise did appear the handsomest man in the house."

Feb. 1660–61: *The Changeling*, a tragedy (Middleton): D. T. in Cockpit. "It takes exceedingly," says Pepys; who adds "I see "the gallants do begin to be tired with the vanity and pride of the "theatre actors, who are indeed grown very proud and rich."

Sept. 1661: *Bartholomew Fair*, a comedy (Ben Jonson): K. T. in Vere Street. Pepys, who saw the play on the 7th, notes that it had not been performed for forty years: "it being so satirical "against Puritanism, they durst not till now; which is strange "they should already dare to do it, and the King do countenance "it." His Majesty, the Duke, and Mrs. Palmer were present; "which was great content," says Pepys, "and indeed I can never "enough admire her beauty."

Nov. 1661: *The Bondman* (Massinger): D. T. in Opera House. Betterton "the best actor in the world" thought Mr. and Mrs. Pepys.

Sept. 1662: *Midsummer Night's Dream*: K. T. in Vere Street. "Which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again," says the irreverent Pepys, "for it is the most insipid ridiculous play that "ever I saw in my life."

Feb. 1662–3: First performance of *The Wild Gallant*, a comedy, Dryden's first play: K. T. in Vere Street. Pepys, who saw it on the 23rd, reports very badly. "It was ill acted, the King did not "seem pleased at all, the whole play, nor anybody else; my lady "Castlemaine was all worth seeing to-night, and little Stewart."

June 1663: *The Committee*, a comedy (Sir Robert Howard): K. T. in Drury Lane. "To the Royal Theatre," writes Pepys under date the 12th of this month, "and there saw *The Committee*, a merry but "indifferent play; only Lacy's part, an Irish footman, is beyond "imagination. There I saw my Lord Falconbridge, and his lady,

"my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, "and well clad; but, when the house began to fill, she put on her "vizard, and so kept it on all the play." Little wonder! One hardly expected to find Cromwell's daughter in the King's theatre at all; but she may well have kept her mask on when the play was such a pointedly anti-Puritan one as this. All through, people must have been looking at her to see how she in particular took the jests; e. g. when Mrs. Day says to her husband, the Chairman of the Committee of Sequestrations, "By bringing this to pass, husband, we shall secure ourselves if the King should come; you'll be hanged else."

Jan. 1663–4: *The Indian Queen*, a tragedy (Sir Robert Howard, assisted by Dryden): K. T. in Drury Lane. The play was very successful and attracted crowds. "A most pleasant show and beyond "my expectation," says Pepys of it; "the play good, but spoilt by the "rhyme, which breaks the sense. But, above my expectation most, "the eldest Marshall did do her part most excellently well as I ever "heard woman in my life."—Dryden's own second play, a tragi-comedy, called *The Rival Ladies*, was produced about the same time in the same theatre, though Pepys did not see it till the following August, when he thought it "a very innocent and most "pretty witty play."

June 1664: *Henry V* (not Shakespeare's, but by the Earl of Orrery): D. T. in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Pepys's account of the play is enthusiastic. "A most noble play, writ by my Lord Orrery," he says; "wherein Betterton, Harris, and Ianthe's parts "most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most "full of heights and raptures of wit and sense that ever I heard."

April 1665: *Mustapha*, a tragedy (the Earl of Orrery): D. T. in Lincoln's Inn Fields. "All the pleasure of the play," says Pepys, "was the King and my lady Castlemaine were there; and pretty "witty Nell of the King's house, and the younger Marshall, sat "next us, - which pleased me mightily." These two actresses were in the audience on the occasion.

— About this time was produced at the K. T. in Drury Lane Dryden's third play, a tragedy, *The Indian Emperor, or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards: being the sequel of the Indian Queen.* It was the first thoroughly successful play of Dryden, and established his reputation.

Interruption of eighteen months by the Great Plague and Great Fire:—Dryden's *Indian Emperor* at the King's Theatre and Orrery's *Mustapha* at the Duke's, were the plays principally running when, in May 1655, the Plague brought horror into London, theatre-going ceased, and the theatres were shut up. Even after the subsidence of the Plague in the winter of 1665–6 there was no hurry to resume stage-amusements. In March 1666, when the vast mortality was over, and the town had again filled, the theatres remained closed. On the 19th of that month Pepys visited the King's

Theatre at Drury Lane out of curiosity. "All in dirt," he reports, "they being altering of the stage to make it wider; but God "knows when they will begin to act again. But my business here "was to see the inside of the stage, and all the tiring-rooms and "machines; and indeed it was a sight worth seeing. But to see "their clothes and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things "there was,—here a wooden leg, there a ruff, here a hobby-horse, "there a crown,—would make a man split himself with laughing; "and particularly Lacy's wardrobe and Shatterel's. But then "again to think how fine they show on the stage by candle-light, "and how poor things they are to look at near at hand, is not "pleasant at all." Months more passed; and, the Great Fire of September 1666 having added new desolation, it was not till the last week in November 1666 that the public theatres were effectually again at work.

Feb. 1666–7: *The Chances*, a comedy (Beaumont and Fletcher, altered by the Duke of Buckingham): K. T. in Drury Lane. "A good play, and the actors most good in it," says Pepys, "and "pretty to hear Knepp sing in the play very properly 'All night "'I weep'; and sung it admirably. The whole play pleases me "well, and most of all the sight of many fine ladies; among others, "my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Middleton: the latter of the two "hath also a very excellent face and body, I think. And so home "in the dark, over the ruins, with a link."

March 1667: *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*, a tragi-comedy (Dryden): K. T. in Drury Lane.—This is Dryden's fourth play, or his fifth if we include his share in Sir Robert Howard's *Indian Queen*.—Pepys's account of the performance (March 2) is as follows:—"After dinner with my wife to the King's house to see "*The Maiden Queen*, a new play of Dryden's, mightily commended "for the regularity of it and the strain and wit; and the truth "is there is a comical part done by Nell, which is 'Florimel,' that "I never can hope ever to see the like done again by man or "woman. The King and Duke of York were at the play. But so "great performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the "world as Nell do this;—both as a mad girl; then, most and best "of all, when she comes in like a young gallant, and hath the "motions and carriage of a spark the most that ever I saw any "man have. It makes me, I confess, admire her." Pepys saw the play again on the 25th of the same month: "which indeed the "more I see," he then notes, "the more I like; and is an excellent "play, and so done by Nell her merry part as cannot be better done "in nature."—The King also was very much disposed to admire Nelly; but her promotion to semi-royalty had yet to come.

— Dryden's first and unsuccessful play, *The Wild Gallant*, revived at the K. T. in Drury Lane, considerably altered, and with a new prologue and new epilogue. The success of his *Maiden Queen* had emboldened him to that experiment.

Aug. 1667: Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-All, or the Feigned Innocence*, a comedy: D. T. in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Dryden, having hitherto written only for the King's theatre, had preferred not giving his name at once for this play at the Duke's; but (save in so far as he may have used a version of Molière's *L'Etourdi* by the Duke of Newcastle) it was wholly his own—the fifth of his dramas, or the sixth if we include his share in *The Indian Queen*. The play was most successful. "It is the most entire piece of "mirth," says Pepys, "a complete farce from one end to the other, "that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life, "and at very good wit therein, not fooling."

— Dryden's *Indian Emperor* revived at the King's theatre in Drury Lane, to balance the attraction of his new play at the other house. Pepys was at the King's house on the 22nd; "where I "find Nell come again," he says, "which I am glad of, but was most "infinitely displeased with her being put to act the Emperor's "daughter, which is a great and serious part, which she does most "basely." To explain this, it may be mentioned that, about a month before, Nelly had gone to live with Lord Buckhurst, and had signified her intention of retiring from the stage altogether. There had been a quarrel, however; and Nelly had come back, moneyless, and decidedly under a cloud for the moment. Lord Buckhurst was saying dreadful things of her; the actor Hart, her former admirer, now hated her; even Lady Castlemaine, who had been her great friend, had thrown her off; there was a general agreement to neglect her. It could not last long, and she was to bewitch them all again. The spirit of the little thing, it appears, had risen in her temporary adversity. It was about this time, at all events, that she had an encounter of wits in the green-room with her fellow-actress Beck Marshall. That lady, with the rest, having upbraided Nelly with the Lord Buckhurst affair, Nelly's retort was that, though she was not "a presbyter's praying daughter," but had been brought up in very bad society, "filling out strong waters to the gentlemen," yet she had a right to consider herself the more virtuous courtesan of the two[1].

Who does not feel the charm of such glimpses? What a world of pleasure, long unnecessarily withheld, had been restored in the reopened theatres, each with its boxes, pit, and galleries, where a thousand people or so could sit every evening, from about three o'clock till nine, seeing and hearing a play of Shakespeare's once more, or any later Elizabethan comedy or tragedy, or whatever else of newer sorts might be produced by living talent!

[1] Genest and Pepys, with references to Scott's edition of Dryden's Works and Christie's edition of Dryden's Poems.

Charles preferred Comedy and Farce to Tragedy, and recommended the dramatists about his Court to take their plots for farces and comedies from the recent or contemporary continental drama, but above all from the Spanish. Royal influence, therefore, may have had something to do with the undoubted fact of the preponderance of comedy and farce in the drama of the Restoration, and also with the fact that not a few of the Restoration comedies and farces were copies, or even translations, of French and Spanish originals. An importation of foreign literary tastes, and especially of French literary tastes, was, however, almost a necessary incident of the Restoration. Many of the courtiers of Charles, it is to be remembered, including some of the first aristocratic contributors to the Restoration drama, had been long resident in France, and had acquired French habits in literary matters during their exile, as well as a knowledge of the current French literature. These brought their knowledge and their acquired tastes back with them to England, and so assisted in that substitution of the French influence for the older Italian, as the paramount foreign influence in English literature, which our historians agree in dating from the reign of Charles II. Nevertheless, in essentials, the English comedy of the Restoration remained still English. Molière, whose dramatic activity had begun in 1653 and who lived till 1673, was known, referred to, quoted, translated in parts, and pillaged from at pleasure; but much of him, and the best of him, could not be transferred. In the humorous coarseness of the native English farces and comedies of the Restoration, or even of those that Molière suggested, there is little of the peculiar genius of his wit and gaiety. So, though there were translations from Moreto, Calderon, and other contemporary Spanish dramatists, and plots for English comedies were freely borrowed from them or from their Spanish predecessors, the effect was but superficial. In body and in spirit the English comedy of the Restoration retained its characteristic nationality[1]. Among

[1] On the Spanish and French influences on the English Drama of the Restoration see Professor Ward's *English Dramatic Literature*, II. 462—478; where, besides independent discussion of the subject, there is a valuable accumulation of facts in the text and in the footnotes.

the most characteristic of the Restoration comedies all in all one might name Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street*, Sir Robert Howard's *Committee*, Killigrew's *Parson's Wedding*, and Lacy's *Old Troop* and his *Sawney the Scot*. While all the five agree in being distinctly anti-Puritan in theme and feeling, the cleverest of the five are Howard's and Lacy's. Poor Cowley had rather failed to please the Court by his recast of an old play of his under the new name of *The Cutter*, and had in fact produced an absurd, ill-tempered thing, coarsely worded, and utterly unworthy of his genius. There is more of real character and real humour in Howard's *Committee*, with less of coarseness, and indeed hardly any. Lacy's *Old Troop*, with much stir and humour in it, is incredibly coarse in its plot and its language; his *Sawney the Scot*, a new version of the *Taming of the Shrew*, is coarse only in the incidental expressions of the imperturbable Sawney himself, in a dialect meant for Scotch of the Aberdeen variety, though these are startling enough. Killigrew's *Parson's Wedding* is simply abominable. It was one of eleven plays he had written abroad, and seems to have been the only comic piece of his he ventured to try even on his own stage. He did his utmost for its bestiality by having it acted wholly by women.

Though Comedy was in the ascendant, there did not cease to be a demand, of course, for something that could be called Tragedy. Not only were tragedies or tragi-comedies of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Shirley, and other old dramatists occasionally revived; there were also some stray attempts on the part of new authors to produce fresh tragedies on the traditional Elizabethan model, with the customary use of blank verse, wholly or mainly, for the dialogue. But the peculiar tragic drama of the Restoration was one of a new kind, bred by the conditions of the Restoration itself, and belonging exclusively, we may say, to that particular period of English literature. This was the so-called *Heroic Play* or *Tragedy of Rhymed Declamation*.

The *Heroic Play* was a combination of several novelties. In the first place, it proceeded on a new notion that had crept into the literary mind of Europe as to what constitutes the poetical

or ideal in matter. One may trace the phenomenon as far back as to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. In that pastoral romance, or romance pastoral and heroic, if I may trust to my own recollection of it, we are introduced, at first, to two shepherds, Strephon and Claius, in a Greek island, both in love with the beautiful shepherdess Urania; and, as we read on, we find a Musidorus, a Pirocles, a Kalander, and other Arcadians, till the story expands itself, "bringing in kings and "queens, and the war between the Lacedæmonians and the "Helots, and leading to combats in armour, new friendships "and jealousies, many adventures and surprises, songs and "soliloquies of lovers, and extremely high-flown conversa-"tions." This kind of ideal, a bastard prose-cognate of Spenser's wondrous Pastoralism and Arthurianism in verse, and barely tolerable even from the fine hands of Sidney, had reappeared, with degenerate features, in those voluminous French heroic romances of Gomberville, Calprenède, Georges de Scudéri, Madeleine de Scudéri, and others, which were the delight and torture of French readers between 1650 and 1660, as they came out in instalments, and of English readers also in translations of the successive instalments. The heroes and heroines were Pharamonds, Cleopatras, Mustaphas, Bassas, Cassandras, or other kings, queens, and warriors of historical or quasi-historical names; you were supposed to be on historical ground, and among Greeks, Romans, or Turks and other orientals; and yet you were nowhere on this earth as it ever was or ever will be, but in an impossible land of eternal fighting and love-making, bombazine gallantry and muslin magniloquence. As far as was consistent with the briefer space and the dramatic form, it was this kind of ideal world that was assumed for the purposes of the new English *Heroic Tragedy*. There must be kingly personages, and their wars, battles, and sieges; but the ladies for whom they languish must be on the stage to the battle's edge and the cannon's mouth, inspiring the feats of valour, or leading to the truces and treaties, and the real business must be the love-making. Now, as in such "love and honour" histories the tendency necessarily was to incessant rhetoric in

expression of those sentiments, there resulted a second difference of the heroic play from the old English tragedy, in the subordination of character, thought, and even action, to declamation. The declamation might run to sonorous extravagance and still be only in keeping with the matter. And so, what with the natural instinct of the unreal kind of matter which composed the heroic plays to seek refuge and justification in verse of the most artificial kind, and what with the special fitness of rhyme as a trick of emphasis in declamatory dialogue, there came to be that third peculiarity of this class of plays which was the most obvious of all and occasioned most comment. Abandoning the law or tradition which, since the beginnings of the great Elizabethan drama, had prescribed blank verse, or blank verse with the right of rhyme now and then, as the proper language for tragedies, histories, and serious plays generally, the new heroic play reverted boldly to the rhymed verse which had previously claimed possession of all English poetry whatsoever, dramatic or non-dramatic.

In nothing was the French influence on the English literature of the Restoration more specifically visible than in this revolt from the established English custom of blank verse for the drama. Since 1635, when Corneille produced his first tragedy, the classic French drama had come fully into being in the successive masterpieces of that author, followed by some of Molière's in comedy; precisely in those pre-Restoration years when the English national drama was extinct or in abeyance, this classical French drama of Corneille and Molière was the most striking thing in the literature of Europe; and the tragedies of Corneille, as all the world noted, and such of the comedies of Molière as were in verse at all, were systematically in rhyme. The contagion had spread into Italy, where there had appeared, in 1655, a discourse by an eminent Italian critic recommending rhymed verse only as proper for tragedy. Nor could England avoid the effects. In 1658 and 1659, just when Corneille had produced all his best tragedies, and was employing his decaying powers in the composition of those critical essays in which he expounded his notions of the drama

in general, tragedy in particular, and the law of the three dramatic unities, his name and authority had come to be of no small consequence in England. When the Drama was revived in England, immediately before the Restoration, it came therefore to be a very natural question whether the old Elizabethan style of blank verse should be resumed for plays, or whether it would not be better to conform to the French example of Corneille and Molière. The decision, with some at least, was that, with all respect for Shakespeare and the other Elizabethans, tragedies and serious plays, and especially the kind of play called the heroic, ought certainly to be written in rhyme. The peculiar rhymed verse of the French dramas, however, being those Alexandrines or Iambic senarian couplets which had never been very popular in England, and could hardly reconcile themselves to the English ear, it was voted that the old English decasyllabic couplet, familiar and common since Chaucer's time, and occasional in the English drama itself hitherto, should be the verse of the new English drama. Hence the rule of so called rhyming heroics as part and parcel of the English heroic play. Still, even with this deviation from the strict French fashion, the English heroic plays, from their first introduction, were regarded as direct derivatives from Corneille and the French. "Corneille, the great dra- "matic author of France, wonderfully applauded by the present "age, both among his own countrymen and our Frenchly "affected English," is the phrase of a contemporary English critic, who also expressly refers more than once to "the French way of continual rhyme and interlarding of history with adscititious love and honour" as the characteristics of the English heroic play[1].

As the English heroic rhyming tragedy was an invention or importation of Davenant's revived Laureateship, so part of the credit of it, such as it was, might have been claimed by Davenant himself. His operatic drama of *The Siege of Rhodes*, the first part of which was produced in 1656, and also to some

[1] Professor Henry Morley's *First Sketch of English Literature*, pp. 633–4 (a very luminous passage on Corneille's influence); Ward's *Dram. Lit.* II. 473–476; Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum* of 1675, Articles *Corneille*, *Earl of Orrery*, and *Dryden*.

extent his two operatic pieces, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* and *The History of Sir Francis Drake*, likewise produced under the Protectorate, are in the approved "love and honour" vein of the heroic play, and are written in rhymed heroics, intermixed with rhyming lyric stanzas. Davenant, however, had been forced into this rhyming style of heroic declamation by the exigencies of his situation at the time. It was not the regular drama that he had been allowed to revive in London under Oliver, but only the peculiar kind of dramatic entertainment he called an opera, telling the story in recitative, and filling out the rest with song, instrumental music, and pageant; and each of the pieces of his we have named ought to be regarded therefore rather as a *libretto* for an operatic performance than as a drama proper. They are very good and careful in that kind, far better than the wording, whether recitative or song, provided for most operas now; but there is every reason to believe that, for the regular drama, had that been permissible, Davenant would have persisted in his allegiance to the Elizabethan method.

The introduction of the rhymed heroic tragedy upon the English stage may be attributed more properly, therefore, to another person. This was our old friend, Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, now Earl of Orrery. There must have been a constitutional proclivity in this member of the Boyle family to the heroic or "love and honour" species of fiction; for one of the celebrated books of the Protectorate had been Lord Broghill's heroic prose-romance, *Parthenissa*, of which several portions had appeared, at intervals, before the Restoration, though it had not then been completed. Retaining his liking for this style of the poetic, but taking to the dramatic form of authorship after the Restoration, Orrery had written, between 1660 and 1665, at least three heroic rhyming plays, *The Black Prince*, *The History of Henry the Fifth*, and *Mustapha, the Son of Solyman the Magnificent*. The last two had been acted at Davenant's theatre; and the *Tragedy of Mustapha* in particular, the subject of which was suggested by Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, seems to have been the most successful and frequently repeated thing in the shape of tragedy on the English stage

between 1663 and 1665. The opening of the first act will be a sufficient specimen of the verse. The scene is Solyman's camp with his pavilion :—

Rustan. What influence, mighty Sultan, rules the day
And stops your course where glory leads the way?
Th' Hungarian armies hasten from the field,
And Buda waits for your approach to yield;
Yet you seem doubtful what you are to do,
And turn from triumphs when they follow you.
Pyrrhus. We at the sun's one moment's rest should more
Admire than at his glorious course before.
Glory, like time, progression does require:
When it does cease t' advance it does expire.
Solyman. You both mistake. My glory is the cause
That in my conquest I have made a pause.
Whilst Hungary did powerful foes afford
I thought her ruin worthy of my sword;
But now the war does seem too low a thing
Against a mourning Queen and infant King.
Pyrrhus, it will unequal seem in me
To conquer and then blush at victory[1].

The Earl of Orrery's rank, and his acquired reputation both in state and in war, recommended the new style of the heroic rhyming drama. One of the first to follow him in the practice was Sir Robert Howard, whose rhymed tragedy of *The Indian Queen*, in which he was assisted to an unknown extent by Dryden, was produced with much success at the King's theatre early in 1664, and was published, together with his two comedies, and another tragedy called *The Vestal Virgin*, in 1665. Sir Robert, however, was not an absolute convert to the theory of rhyme only for the serious drama. His other tragedy, *The Vestal Virgin*, is partly in rhyme and partly in blank verse; and in the preface to his volume containing his four plays, where he distinctly refers to "the dispute between "many ingenious persons whether verse in rhime or verse "without the sound (which may be called blank verse, though "a hard expression) is to be preferred," he ventures on the opinion that, upon the whole, rhyme is "proper for a poem or copy of verses," but "unnatural" for a drama, inasmuch as it

[1] Ward's *Dram. Lit.* II. 492—495; and Herringman's 1669 edition of Orrery's *Henry the Fifth* and *Mustapha*.

would seem strange "when a servant is called or a door bid be shut in rhyme[1]."

In the preface to *The Usurper*, a tragedy by Sir Robert's brother, the Honourable Edward Howard, which was acted at the King's theatre in or before 1667, that member of the clever Howard family also declares his general preference for blank verse in plays. The tragedy itself, accordingly, is in a kind of limping blank verse. Though of little or no merit, it is interesting on account of its theme. Damocles, the usurper in the play, is clearly Cromwell; his son Dionysius is Richard Cromwell; Charles appears as "Cleander, the true King, disguised like a Moor;" the other characters represent Royalists or partisans of the Protector; and among them is Hugo de Petra, "a parasite and creature of the usurper," i. e. Hugh Peters. Here is a portion of the concluding scene; in which Damocles, overthrown at last, appears, in a kind of stupefied trance, in the restored King's presence, and Hugo de Petra is brought in guarded :—

Hugo. Ha! the King! I am blasted, Sir; I most
Humbly beg that you would hang me.
Cleander. The laws may fit you, Sir.
Hugo. I have deserved it.
Cleander. I make no question.
Remove this horrid traitor from my sight:
This day be sacred to our kingdom's peace;
And let *him* dream on till the laws and death
Awake him.
Alexius. Ask the King mercy: speak for yourself, Hugo.
Hugo. To what purpose? Let me say what I will, I
Know they will hang me [*They lead him off*].
Damocles. Then I will wake myself.
The next wound's his that dares approach me.
Cleander, I will do thee justice.
[*Wounds himself with a poniard*].
Cleander. Restrain him.
Damocles. 'Tis too late. I scorn your canting forms of law;
'Tis in my power to deceive all your policy. Ha!
I do begin to be awake. This wound has don't;
But I shall sleep again, I fear, and quickly vanish
I know not whither.

[1] Sir Robert Howard's "Four New Plays": Herringman's edition of 1665.

My eyes grow dim o' the sudden: 'tis a trouble
Now to look upwards. Heaven's a great way off;
I shall not find my way i' the dark. Farewell!
Alexius. He's dead.
Cleander. But left his name behind: a glorious villain[1].

The English Drama of the Restoration, we have thus seen, included (1) comedies and farces in prose, (2) comedies in verse, or in prose and verse intermixed, the verse either blank or blank and rhyme intermixed, after the native English fashion, (3) tragedies or serious plays in blank verse, with occasional rhyme, after the native English fashion, and (4) tragedies and histories of love and honour in the peculiar new fashion of rhyming heroics.

Among the contributors to this composite drama whom should we recognise now as the men of greatest literary ability?—Had DAVENANT worked more in the drama after the Restoration, he would have held his own easily, and even in the little that he did produce he continued to prove his trained and versatile faculty. His *Playhouse to Let* is a clever medley and worth reading, especially the part of it which consists of a condensed translation from Molière in a kind of broken French English.—Then, among the dramatists who had obtained some footing on the London stage between 1660 and 1667, but do not seem to have taken permanent hold there or to have been widely appreciated by the public, there was no one whose plays are entitled to rank higher now, as plays for reading, than that JOHN WILSON whom we have barely had occasion to name hitherto in our literary survey. His two comedies, *The Cheats* and *The Projectors*, the first mainly in prose and the second wholly, both published in 1664, after having been acted, and his tragedy in blank verse called *Andronicus Comnenius*, published in the same year, but without having been previously acted, are perhaps the very best things in the early dramatic literature

[1] "The Usurper, a Tragedy. As it was acted at the Theater Royal by his Majestie's Servants. Written by the Honourable Edward Howard, Esq. Licens'd Aug. 2, 1667, Roger L'Estrange. London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1668." In this and in other books printed by Herringman, e.g. Sir Robert Howard's comedies, one is struck by the fact that the sheerest prose, or matter not far off from prose, is presented mechanically as a kind of lawless blank verse.

of the Restoration, the most original, compact, and full-bodied. Professor Ward, who has lately done justice to Wilson's long-forgotten merits, discerns in him more of Ben Jonson's copiousness and ripeness of wit than in any of his contemporaries, and says justly that "he draws character with "clearness and strength, and that the manliness of his serious "as well as of his comic writing refreshes and invigorates the "student of the literary period in which, unfortunately "perhaps for his literary reputation, it was his lot to live." There was wanting only a certain electric something more in his genius to place him very high[1].—And so the man who did emerge as the supreme dramatist of the Restoration was, as all the world knows, not John Wilson, but John Dryden.

Between 1660 and 1663 Dryden had been living in London as a bachelor of very moderate means, often seen in coffee-houses in a homely suit of Norwich drugget, and much in the society of Sir Robert Howard and other persons of note, but doing nothing in literature higher than some now untraceable prose hack-work for the bookseller Herringman and some new copies of complimentary verses. *To my Honoured Friend Sir Robert Howard on his excellent Poems*, *To his Sacred Majesty: A Panegyric on his Coronation*, *To my Lord Chancellor: presented on New Year's Day*, and *To my Honoured Friend Dr. Charleton on his Learned and Useful Works*:—these, added to the *Funeral Panegyric on Cromwell* in 1658, and the atoning *Astræa Redux* of 1660, were the sum and substance of Dryden till the appearance of his *Wild Gallant* on the boards of the King's theatre in Vere Street on the 5th of February, 1662–3. The failure of that play will astonish no one that tries to read it now. It is a comedy in prose, with confused and ill-drawn characters, very heavy wit, and a preposterous plot, in which

[1] Wilson lived to about 1696, and was in public employment in Ireland in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. and through that of James II. He was the author of some legal and political writings in addition to his dramas, the last of which, a tragi-comedy in prose and blank verse, entitled *Belphegor, or The Marriage of the Devil*, was not published till 1691. His four plays have recently been published together in a single volume as part of the Edinburgh series of the Dramatists of the Restoration, edited by Messrs. Maidment and Logan.

an old lord is persuaded, by the help of a pillow, that his daughter is with child, and also that he is with child himself. Dryden bore the disappointment patiently enough, and had some consolation in knowing that Lady Castlemaine liked the play and defended it at Court. He had also continued encouragement from Sir Robert Howard and the Earl of Orrery, both of whom had conceived a friendly interest in his fortunes. Between Howard and Dryden indeed the relations became closer now than they had been before. Hitherto they had been those of aristocratic patron and needy client; but on the 1st of December, 1663, Dryden became Howard's brother-in-law, by marrying his sister, Lady Elizabeth Howard. The marriage, which was not only favoured by Sir Robert and his brothers Edward and James, but had also the public consent of their father the Earl of Berkshire, caused some surprise at the time; and Dryden's biographers are obliged to account for it now by supposing that, as the lady's reputation was not unblemished, her family were glad to see her respectably married to any one. Such as it was, the connection with the Berkshire family was not without important effects on Dryden's career. While it was being arranged, he and Sir Robert Howard had formed a kind of literary copartnership for the production of a heroic tragedy in rhyme; and what is called Sir Robert Howard's tragedy of *The Indian Queen*, brought out with such good success at the King's theatre in Drury Lane in January, 1663–4, was the result of this copartnership. Meanwhile Dryden had written his own second play, *The Rival Ladies*, a tragi-comedy, mainly in blank verse, but with intermixed rhyme and prose; and, this play having also had good success at the same theatre about the same time, Dryden published it in 1664, with an interesting dedication to the Earl of Orrery, highly eulogistic of his lordship's genius and taste in literary matters, and expounding critically some of Dryden's own notions of English style and verse. From that year he felt his footing surer; but his complete mastery of the stage-art may date from the beginning of 1665, when his rhymed tragedy of *The Indian Emperor*, avowedly a sequel to *The Indian Queen*, eclipsed with its

success at Drury Lane not only that previous performance there, but all in rhyming tragedy that had yet been produced at either house, Lord Orrery's best included. Great pains were taken in bringing the play on the stage, even to the distribution among the audience of a printed handbill explaining the connection of the play with its predecessor. In *The Indian Queen* the subject had been the acquisition of the throne of Mexico by Montezuma before the arrival of the Spaniards in America; but in *The Indian Emperor* the audience were to see Montezuma in his imperial glory twenty years later, and the intermingling of Mexicans and Spaniards, ending in his fall and death and the Spanish conquest of his kingdom. And, what with the poetic merits of the piece itself, what with the splendid dresses, what with the splendid acting of Mohun as Montezuma, Hart as Cortez, and Ann Marshall as Almeria, the audience were abundantly satisfied, and the applauses of *The Indian Emperor* would have gone on indefinitely but for the interruption of the Great Plague. Through that interruption Dryden,—having published his *Indian Emperor*, or at least registered it for publication,—lived in retirement at Charlton in Wiltshire, the seat of his father-in-law Lord Berkshire; and there his first son was born. He was not idle in his retirement, however; and in 1667, when the theatres were re-opened, he had a new play for each of them. To the King's house, early in the year, he gave his comedy, or tragi-comedy, partly in verse and partly in prose, called *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*. The merits of the play, and Nell Gwynn's acting in the part of Florimel, made the success triumphant; Charles liked it so much that Dryden called it ever afterwards "the King's own Play" and would dedicate it to no subject; and under cover of its great success, and of the renewed applauses of *The Indian Emperor*, now revived and running a second course, even *The Wild Gallant* slipped itself in again without protest. While they were thus all but cloyed with Dryden at Drury Lane, lo! unexpectedly, in August of the same year, the other house in Lincoln's Inn Fields had his uproarious prose-comedy or farce of *Sir Martin Mar-all*. The triumphant success of this

play was also owing largely to the acting in one of the parts. What Nell had done for Dryden in his last play in the King's theatre was done for him by Nokes in this at the Duke's. In the part of Sir Martin, the blundering knight who is always spoiling by his own awkwardness and stupidity the cleverest schemes that can be devised in his interest by his servant Warner, till that subtle-brained plotter is driven mad with shame and marries the lady himself, the acting of Nokes was something superb. Colley Cibber, who saw him long afterwards in the part, has commemorated his performance of it as the very perfection of that kind of comic acting which, by dumb show and play of feature suited to the situations and the words, kills an audience by a continued fatigue of laughter. Nokes and Nell Gwynn between them, we can see, had helped greatly to win for Dryden that supremacy in the London dramatic world which was certainly his in the year 1667. The supremacy had been won on the boards. Of his five dramas, only *The Rival Ladies* and *The Indian Emperor* had then been published[1].

Dryden was one of those writers who get better and better, richer and mellower, as they grow older. He was by no means at his best in 1667, had not even then found out his vein of highest excellence; and this is to be remembered while we estimate for ourselves, without Nell's acting or Nokes's acting to dazzle us, the real merits of those five plays which had established his reputation so far.

Their most obvious merit is that they had been written to suit and had succeeded. Dryden was a man of very easy conscience. His notion of literature was not that rare one which would insist on administering to the public what they need, whether they like it or not; nor was it that which would first

[1] Sir Walter Scott's Life of Dryden, forming Vol. I. of his edition of Dryden's Works in eighteen volumes (1808); Mr. Christie's Memoir of Dryden, prefixed to the Globe Edition of Dryden's Poetical Works, with the notes in that edition to the Prologues and Epilogues of Dryden's first Plays; Stationers' Registers for registrations of the first Plays. *The Rival Ladies* was registered by Herringman, under licence from L'Estrange, June 27, 1664. *The Indian Emperor* was registered by the same publisher, also by licence from L'Estrange, on the 26th of May, 1665; but, as I find 1667 generally given as the year of the publication of that play, I suppose Herringman kept it back on account of the Great Plague.

let something fashion itself freely and constitutionally, with more or less of art and elaboration, in the author's own thoughts and genius, and then publish the same courageously to the winds and the chances. It was simply the grocer's notion of finding out the articles immediately in demand with the best customers and competing for the supply of these. Having turned a Restoration writer, he would go at once to all extremes in that character. He avowed that he wrote for Charles II. and his Court, and that he recognised no higher standard than the tastes of that Court; and his adulation, not only of Charles himself, but of all persons, things, or tendencies that had gathered round Charles, was boundless and unblushing. There was nothing that Dryden would not say without shame to please any important person. How had he written to Lady Castlemaine?—

> "True poets empty fame and praise despise;
> Fame is the trumpet, but your smile the prize.
> You sit above, and see vain men below
> Contend for what you only can bestow;
> But those great actions others do by chance
> Are, like your beauty, your inheritance:
> So great a soul, such sweetness," &c.

That Dryden had taken to the Drama at all was in itself a sign of his readiness to accommodate himself. That he had taken to Comedy first, because that was most in request, was a further sign. His natural inclinations were hardly in that direction. But, having taken to Comedy, he had exerted himself to please the reigning taste in that article in every particular. In the first place, he was studiously anti-Puritan. None of his first comedies, indeed, is directly such an anti-Puritan invective as Cowley, Sir Robert Howard, and others offered for the stage. He had possibly a sense that such a thing from the pen of one whose connexions had been Puritan, and who had himself made court to Oliver, would have been unnecessarily indecent. But there are particles of anti-Puritanism throughout the comedies to the requisite extent. "The gude Scotch covenant," "a silenced minister," and the like come in sufficiently; and we have such insinua-

tions of the courtly doctrines of royal prerogative and passive obedience as the following,—the second actually a translation into metre of a passage of the speech of Charles I. on the scaffold:—

Queen. Princes sometimes may pass
Acts of oblivion in their own wrong.
Philocles. 'Tis true; but not recall them.
Maiden Queen, III. 1.

Queen. My people's fears! Who made *them* statesmen?
They much mistake their business, if they think
It is to govern.
The right of subjects and of sovereigns
Are things distinct in nature. *Theirs* is to
Enjoy propriety, not empire. *Ibid. I.* 3[1].

Further, in that particular concomitant of anti-Puritanism in the Restoration literature which consisted in coarseness of language, a degradation of the standard of mannerly speech between human beings in public or in private, Dryden's comedies are but too representative. Even his ladies and their lovers talk disgustingly on the least occasion. What is worst in Dryden, however, is that he pushes coarseness, whenever he can, into elaborate obscenity. He was to pander more and more to this taste of the Court and of the populace, till in some of his plays the stage is actually turned into a mere proscenium to the stews; but already in his *Wild Gallant* and his *Sir Martin Mar-all,* and in one of his prologues, there were passages which one would have thought ineffable even then in an English theatre.

In those plays of Dryden, such as his two tragi-comedies *The Rival Ladies* and *The Maiden Queen*, where he was not tied necessarily to prose or to contemporary manners, but had an opportunity of showing his notions of the ideal or poetical, he still adopted what he found in fashion. His ideal was simply that balloon kind of ideal, if we may so call it, which, under the name of the heroic, suited and satisfied the lords and ladies of Charles's Court. The rope attaching the balloon

[1] Compare this passage with a sentence or two of the dying speech of King Charles, given ante, Vol. III. p. 725.

to the stage was loosened, and the balloon went up, containing, at one time, a Don Gonzalvo, a Don Roderigo, a Don Manuel, a Julia, a Honoria, an Angelina, with the necessary number of servants and other supernumeraries, or, at another time, a Queen of Sicily, her princesses and maids of honour, a Lysimantes, a Philocles, a Celadon, and the rest. There they remained for three or four hours; and you saw their adventures, marvellous with the amount of love-making and drawing of swords; and you heard their superfine sentiments uttered in verse, save for a dash of prose-fun thrown in now and then, with a wriggling of the rope underneath, to keep the gods from being fatigued; and at the end of the time the balloon was hauled down, and tied again to the stage for the next occasion, and what you had seen and heard was a dream of things impossible anywhere in nature, and unimaginable anywhere by a sane human intelligence. It was much the same, with some variations, if you witnessed such a positive tragedy, in rhymed heroics, as *The Indian Emperor*. The ideal is still of the narrowest and most absurdly conventional. Mexicans and Spaniards are alike featureless in their sublimity; love and gallantry are at the heart of the fighting; "Montezuma rises, goes about the ladies, and at length stays at Almeria, and bows;" all the other personages, transatlantic or cisatlantic, are similarly after the approved pattern of the French romances of the day; and the so-called poetry of the dialogue is declamation and bombast.

With all this, and with the future uncalculated, Dryden was already a man to be admired and liked. There was much in his character and demeanour that was amiable and estimable. The very profuseness of his adulation, his readiness to praise any one, came partly from an honourable desire to acknowledge any favour done him, partly from a general benevolence of disposition, a habit of judging people really by their best, and allowing for every form of merit. If he had an easy conscience, he had also an easy temper. He was far from over-estimating himself, was even modest and diffident in that respect, and always did himself injustice in company by a certain shyness and slowness. "He had something in

his nature that abhorred intrusion into any society whatsoever," Congreve was to say of him from much later acquaintance; and it was true of him from the first. All the while there was a secret reserve of independence, a concealed fund of the *nemo me impune lacesset*, on which he could draw if there were occasion, gently and with playful courtesy if the occasion were slight, but furiously and terribly if that should be demanded. This had hardly been discovered as yet; and, on the whole, easiness of temper, placability, modesty of self-estimate, and generosity in his estimates of others, dead or living, were the qualities most discernible in Dryden personally when people were beginning to hail him as the chief of the Restoration dramatists. That place, however, he had earned, of course, not by his personal characteristics, but by his dramas themselves. There too, quite consistently with what has been already said, we must admit that his success had not been undeserved. If his notion of writing had been to write what would suit the Court, he had certainly brought a larger amount of talent into that business, and had bestowed more careful study upon it, than any of his competitors. For one thing, he was evidently a new master in the art of writing English. "I know not whether I have been so careful of the "plot and language as I ought," he had said in his dedication of *The Rival Ladies* to Lord Orrery; "but, for the latter, "I have endeavoured to write English, as near as I could dis-"tinguish it from the tongue of pedants and that of affected "travellers." He had certainly not failed in this endeavour. Dryden's English prose, admirable for its ease, lucidity, and flexibility, its combination of strength and grace with a kind of happy negligence, might well already have been a subject of remark. Nor was his mastery of English verse, after a fashion of his own, in the least more doubtful. In his verse, blank or rhymed, one could not but observe, though there was the same general easy negligence as in his prose, and also a most pernicious tendency to any artificial inversion of syntax that would suit the exigencies of the metre and the rhyme, yet a certain growing consciousness of a peculiar power. Most of all this was visible in Dryden's discipline

of himself more and more strictly every day in the management of the heroic rhymed couplet. That art of the use of this couplet for purposes of weighty argumentation, sonorous maxim, or sarcasm and satire, which Dryden was ultimately to extricate from the dramatic form of industry altogether, and apply *per se*, with so much social and political effect and so much increase of his own celebrity, was already forming itself in his earliest prologues and epilogues and in his *Indian Emperor*. From this last there may be a single quotation, exhibiting Dryden at his very best in verse as far as we are yet concerned with him. Understand that Pizarro and a band of the Spaniards, with a Christian priest among them, have put Montezuma and the Indian high priest to the rack in prison, to force them to yield up more gold, the generous Cortez being at the moment absent and knowing nothing of the cruelty.

Christian Priest. Those pains, O Prince, thou sufferest now are light
Compared to those which, when thy soul takes flight,
Immortal, endless, thou must then endure,
Which death begins and time can never cure.
Montezuma. Thou art deceived; for, whensoe'er I die,
The Sun, my father, bears my soul on high:
He lets me down a beam, and, mounted there,
He draws it back and pulls me through the air:
I in the eastern parts and rising sky,
You in heaven's downfall and the west, must lie.
Christian Priest. Fond man, by heathen ignorance misled,
Thy soul destroying when thy body's dead,
Change yet thy faith, and buy eternal rest.
Indian High Priest. Die in your own, for our belief is best.
Montezuma. In seeking happiness you both agree,
But in the search the paths so different be
That all religions will each other fight,
While only one can lead us in the right.
But till that one hath some more certain mark
Poor human kind must wander in the dark,
And suffer pain eternally below
For that which here we cannot come to know.
Christian Priest. That which we worship, and which you believe,
From nature's common hand we both receive:
All, under various names, adore and love

One Power immense, which ever rules above.
Vice to abhor and virtue to pursue
Is both believed and taught by us and you.
But here *our* worship takes another way.
Montezuma. Where both agree, 'tis there most safe to stay;
For what more vain than public light to shun,
And set up tapers while we see the sun?
Christian Priest. Though nature teaches whom we should adore,
By heavenly beams we still discover more.
Montezuma. Or this must be enough, or to mankind
One equal way to bliss is not designed;
For, though some more may know and some know less,
Yet all must know enough for happiness.
Christian Priest. If in this middle way you still pretend
To stay, your journey never will have end.
Montezuma. Howe'er, 'tis better in the midst to stay
Than wander farther in uncertain way.
Christian Priest. But we by martyrdom our faith avow.
Montezuma. You do no more than I for ours do now.
To prove religion true
If either cost or sufferings would suffice,
All faiths afford the constant and the wise;
And yet even they, by education swayed,
In age defend what infancy obeyed.
Christian Priest. Since age by erring childhood is misled,
Refer yourself to our unerring head.
Montezuma. Man and not err! what reason can you give?
Christian Priest. Renounce that carnal reason, and believe.
Montezuma. The light of nature should I thus betray,
'Twere to work hard that I might see the day.
Christian Priest. Condemn not yet the way you do not know;
I 'll make your reason judge what way to go.
Montezuma. 'Tis much too late for me new ways to take
Who have but one short step of life to make.
Pizarro. Increase their pains: the cords are yet too slack.
Christian Priest. I must by force convert him on the rack.
Indian High Priest. I faint away, and find I can no more:
Give leave, O King, I may reveal thy store,
And free myself from pains I cannot bear.
Montezuma. Think'st thou I lie on beds of roses here,
Or in a wanton bath stretched at my ease?
Die, slave, and with thee die such thoughts as these.
[*High Priest turns aside and dies. Enter Cortez.*

Not only was Dryden, in the year 1667, the chief of the Restoration dramatists; he had been also qualifying himself, by excursions out of the drama, to be Davenant's lieutenant

meanwhile, and his successor very soon, in the nominal headship of the Restoration literature generally.

"*Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders*, 1666: *An Historical Poem, containing the progress and various success of our Naval War with Holland under the conduct of his Highness Prince Rupert and his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, and describing the Fire of London*": such is Herringman's registration, under date January 21, 1666–7, of a non-dramatic poem by Dryden on which he had bestowed as much pains as on any of his plays. It had been written in his enforced vacation during the closing of the London theatres on account of the Great Plague and the Great Fire; and, when it appeared, it was dedicated to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Corporation of London, and was prefaced by a letter, dated "From Charlton, in Wiltshire, Nov. 10, 1666," and addressed to his brother-in-law Sir Robert Howard in terms of the most grateful respect and humility. The poem consists of 304 quatrain-stanzas, like those of Davenant's *Goudibert*; and that performance of Davenant's was avowedly Dryden's model for the verse. But Dryden's versification, as might be expected, beats Davenant's for weight and strength, if not for luxuriance and melody, and shows better than even his *Indian Emperor* the progress of his self-discipline in the art of sonorous metrical rhetoric. Dryden has the advantage also of a more compact story, and the brevity of the poem makes it more readable than any long narrative could ever be in a form of verse so unsuitable for narrative as the elegiac quatrain.—The title of the poem describes its matter very accurately. The commercial pride and greed of the Dutch, we are told in the beginning, had compelled the great and good King Charles to go to war with them. And what battles there had been, what prodigies of English seamanship and valour! Having just glanced at the earlier events of the war and duly noted the first great battle, off Lowestoffe, on the 3rd of June, 1665, when the Duke of York was commander-in-chief, the poem skips the rest of that year, leaving the Plague understood, to arrive at the true year of wonders, 1666. The alliance of France and Denmark with the Dutch having been

mentioned, we see the English fleets at sea again under Prince Rupert and Albemarle. Then for about eighty stanzas we are in the roar of the cannon of Albemarle's great four days' battle of June 1–4, 1666, off the North-Foreland, ending with Rupert's arrival to help him and the retreat of the Dutch. For about fifty stanzas more there is a lull in the warfare, admitting of his Majesty's visit to the battered fleet and a "digression concerning shipping and navigation;" after which we have the next great battle of the 25th and 26th of July, with the subsequent pursuit of the Dutch to their harbours by Rear-Admiral Holmes, and his destruction of their merchant-men off Uly and firing of the chief town of Schelling on the 8th and 9th of August. This being the last notorious incident of the war while Dryden wrote, the poem makes a transition to the Great Fire of London, which followed within a month of Holmes's firing of Schelling. The last hundred stanzas, perhaps the most interesting in the poem, are given to this subject, and the incidents of the great disaster, from the outbreak of the fire on the 2nd of September to its arrest on the 6th, are related succinctly and poetically as Dryden had heard of them.—Altogether the poem may be described as Dryden's retrospective almanac-epic for the year 1666. Very suitable for sale among the Londoners in those months of 1667 when his *Maiden Queen*, his *Indian Emperor*, and his *Sir Martin Mar-all*, were running with such applause at the two theatres, it must have added greatly to his reputation and the opinion of his versatility. Its pervading characteristic, indeed, and what we note in it now with least liking, is its abject sycophancy to Charles. Not only is there the inevitable vein of anti-Puritanism, showing itself in references to the late "usurpers" and their acts of church-profanation; but there is a studied genuflexion at every point before the image of Charles himself as the god of England, her all-wise and all-good genius, her mediator with the Almighty. This, however, was the first law of all Restoration literature touching on public affairs; and in Dryden's poem there were merits apart and unusual. It celebrated recent events and important living personages in stirring and

poetical phraseology, and it furnished passages fit for quotation whenever people spoke of the Dutch war or the late terrible fire. This anticipation of the rebuilding of London must have been very popular:—

"Methinks already from this chymic flame
I see a city of more precious mould,
Rich as the town which gives the Indies name,
With silver paved and all divine with gold.

Already, labouring with a mighty fate,
She shakes the rubbish from her mounting brow,
And seems to have renewed her charter's date,
Which Heaven will to the death of Time allow.

More great than human now and more august,
New deified she from her fires does rise:
Her widening streets on new foundations trust,
And opening into larger parts she flies."

Another excursion of Dryden beyond his province of practical dramatist had been in a critical prose essay entitled *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*. He had already, in the dedication of his *Rival Ladies* to Lord Orrery in 1664, made a short venture into this field of literary criticism; but the Essay was of larger dimensions and much more elaborate. Like the *Annus Mirabilis*, it had been written by Dryden during his leisure in Wiltshire; and, though brought to town with him early in 1667, it was not registered for publication by Herringman till August in that year[1]. It is in reality a little treatise on poetry, and especially on dramatic poetry, thrown into the form of an imaginary conversation by four friends, named Crites, Eugenius, Lisideius, and Neander, while they are barging down and up the Thames on a beautiful day. Crites is supposed to represent Dryden's brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard; Eugenius to represent Lord Buckhurst; Lisideius is a kind of anagram for Sir Charles Sedley; and Neander stands for Dryden himself. The essay is charmingly written, and is an excellent specimen of Dryden's prose style. From it and the dedication of *The Rival Ladies* to Lord Orrery,

[1] The date of registration in the Stationers' Books is Aug. 7, 1667, L'Estrange the licencer.

taken together, we may gather those opinions of Dryden's own on literary matters which he had formed before 1667, and which, so far as he was to have further influence on the Restoration literature, were to pass as his rules and recommendations.

Dryden thought of the literature of his own tongue and nation with a fine patriotic enthusiasm. The only literatures besides of which he seems to have had any direct knowledge were the Greek and Latin and the French; and he will not lower the English flag to any of them. His knowledge of English literary history, indeed, is very imperfect. It goes no farther back than the Elizabethan age; and even there he makes such a blunder as to say that Shakespeare "was the "first who, to shun the pains of continual rhyming, invented "that kind of writing which we call blank verse, but the "French, more properly, *prose mesuré*." But from Shakespeare's time to his own he has a pretty accurate general knowledge of the course and phases of English literature, with definite opinions on some important points. All in all, Shakespeare is his hero, his non-such. "He was the man who, "of all modern and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest "and most comprehensive soul." Dryden can hardly quit this topic. He finds fault with this or that in Shakespeare, but always returns fondly to the contemplation of his unparalleled greatness. "Shakespeare," he says, "was the Homer "or father of our dramatic poets; Jonson was the Virgil, "the pattern of elaborate writing: I admire him, but I love "Shakespeare." Sufficiently orthodox on this point, Dryden intimates that, next to Shakespeare, for natural genius, though *longo intervallo*, he would place Beaumont and Fletcher, or rather Fletcher as the real chief of that firm. But he has a large reserve of affection for Ben Jonson, and indeed makes Ben his main text through a considerable part of the essay. "I think him," says Dryden, "the most learned and judicious "writer which any theatre ever had." Still further, "As he "has given us the most correct plays, so in the precepts which "he has laid down in his *Discoveries* we have as many and "profitable rules for perfecting the stage as any wherewith

"the French can furnish us." By way of detailed illustration, there is an analysis or "examen" of Jonson's comedy of *The Silent Woman*, with reference especially to the ancient dramatic laws of the three unities. An exposition of these laws, with discussion for and against them, though generally in their favour, runs through the essay; but we are more interested in Dryden's continued sketch of English literary history. Just after Jonson's death, "as if, in an age of so "much horror, wit and those milder studies of humanity had "no farther business among us, the Muses, who ever follow "peace, went to plant in another country. It was then that "the great Cardinal of Richelieu began to take them into his "protection, and that, by his encouragement, Corneille and "some other Frenchmen reformed their theatre, which before "was as much below ours as it now surpasses it and the rest "of Europe." This is spoken by Lisideius, and the drift of a good deal of the dialogue is to disprove the last words, and assert that, whatever merits were to be allowed to Corneille, Molière, and other living French dramatists, the English were still the leading literary nation. Of English writing during the Interregnum, indeed, little is said. Wither is mentioned contemptuously, and Cleveland almost contemptuously; and such writers as had distinguished themselves in Dryden's estimation in the interval between Ben Jonson's death and the Restoration are gathered rapidly into a group for happy adoption into the Restoration at last. Suckling, whom Dryden praises much, was unfortunately dead; but others, as English, and of various excellence, had survived. In all Greek or Latin non-dramatic poetry "nothing so even, sweet, and flowing, as Mr. Waller, nothing "so majestic, so correct, as Sir John Denham, nothing so "elevated, so copious and full of spirit, as Mr. Cowley." Then of the revived English Drama of the Restoration might not any nation be proud? True, the stage had been living to a great extent, these last seven years, on reproductions of the great old plays, especially those of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Ben Jonson; in connexion with which remark Dryden gives us the interesting piece of information that

Beaumont and Fletcher's plays had been most in demand, "two of theirs being acted through the year for one of "Shakespeare's or Jonson's." But it was not necessary to call in the aid of those dead heroes to vindicate the superiority of the English dramatic genius even yet over the much vaunted French, with their Corneille and their Molière. "Be it spoken to the honour of the English, our nation "can never want in any age such who are able to dispute "the empire of wit with any people in the universe;" and so "We have seen since his Majesty's return many dramatic "poems which yield not to those of any foreign nation, and "which deserve all laurels but the English." This conclusion, that the English dramatic poetry of the Restoration, and indeed the English poetry of the Restoration generally, though inferior to the best of the Old English, was superior to all else, ancient or foreign, is emphatically repeated thus:— "I think it may be permitted me to say that, as it is no "lessening to us to yield to some plays, and those not many, "of our own nation in the last age, so it can be no addition "to pronounce of our present poets that they have far sur- "passed all the ancients and the modern writers of other "countries." Of course, there were faults, and there might be improvements. Let English dramatic writers be true to their English instincts and to the genuine English traditions, taking their lessons rather from their own Shakespeares and Fletchers and Ben Jonsons in the past, with all their bold irregularities, their mixture of the comic with the tragic, than from the contemporary French stage, with its thin and highly regulated artificiality; and no doubt but improvements would easily be worked out. There might be advantage, for example, in a more steady recollection for the future of Ben Jonson's example in the matter of art and correctness of plot. Only in one particular, but a very important one, would Dryden recommend an improvement involving a positive departure from the old English practice in the drama and an assimilation to Corneille and the French. This was in the matter of the verse employed. Instead of keeping uniformly to blank verse, Dryden would advocate in future the use of rhyme for all

high dramatic dialogue. Comedy still might most properly be in prose or in blank verse; but for tragedy, heroic plays generally, and the higher and more serious parts of all plays, rhyme would be the nobler instrument. So much of pleading to this effect is there in the Essay that it is often remembered as if it were nothing else than Dryden's defence of the heroic or rhymed tragedy. That is not the case; the recommendation of rhyme is but an incident in the Essay. It is, however, a very vital incident. Dryden was especially anxious to vindicate and extend the practice of that tragedy of heroic declamation of which Lord Orrery, Sir Robert Howard, and himself, had given examples, and which he knew had the King's approval. In fighting for it, and for the entire substitution in future of rhyme for blank verse in English tragedies, should that be possible, he believed that he was doing a service to the national literature.

His argument takes this form:—The charms of rhyme in itself are admitted; and such objections as that it is unnatural, that the ancients had it not, and the like, might be refuted afresh, if necessary. Dryden attempts the refutation, in reasonings of considerable ingenuity, showing how much minute attention he had given to the subject. In the main, however, he assumes that rhyme has already, by universal consent, made itself good in modern times as the kind of verse suitable and necessary in all non-dramatic poetry. "Blank verse," he says, "is acknowledged to be too low for a poem, nay more, for a paper of verses." So much is this the case that it is only by concession that he calls blank verse by the name of verse at all; and in most parts of his essay the word verse, if not otherwise qualified, stands simply for rhyme. Now, why should rhyme, in undisputed possession everywhere else for really poetic purposes, be excluded from the serious or high drama? He discusses the alleged unfitness of rhyme for discourse, repartee, &c.; but, while thus answering theoretical objections, he adverts also to the historical objection that the great Elizabethans had rejected rhyme. They had not done so altogether, for they had rhymed occasionally in their dramas; but, so far as they had rejected rhyme, might

there not be a sufficient reason? The art of rhyme was precisely that part of the general poetic art which those old giants had not mastered. But it had been mastered by English genius since. "The excellence and dignity of it were never fully "known till Mr. Waller taught it; he first made writing easily "an art; first showed us to conclude the sense most commonly "in distichs, which in the verse of those before him runs on "for so many lines together that the reader is out of breath "to overtake it. This sweetness of Mr. Waller's lyric poesy "was afterwards followed in the epic by Sir John Denham in "his *Cooper's Hill*, a poem which, your lordship knows, for the "majesty of the style, is, and ever will be, the exact standard "of good writing. But, if we owe the invention of it to Mr. "Waller, we are acknowledging for the noblest use of it to "Sir William Davenant, who at once brought it upon the "stage and made it perfect in *The Siege of Rhodes*." What Davenant had done let others continue to do. Only by this use of rhyme in high drama, generally in the form of the rhyming heroic or decasyllabic couplet, but with liberty occasionally of rhyming Pindarics or other variations, as in Davenant's last-named play, was there hope that the Restoration drama might rival the old Elizabethan. To beat the old dramatists in matter was impossible. "Not only we shall "never equal them, but they could never equal themselves, "were they to rise and write again. We acknowledge them "our fathers in wit, but they have ruined their estates themselves before they came to their children's hands. There is "scarce an humour, a character, or any kind of plot, which "they have not used. All comes sullied or wasted to us." In these circumstances the remedy was in the adoption of some new way, some new mechanism, that might lead to differences of invention. That new way was rhyme. But the rhymed drama was unpopular; the multitude would not have it, were crying out against it! Who cared for the multitude? "It is "no matter what they think; they are sometimes in the right, "sometimes in the wrong; their judgment is a mere lottery." Let the appeal be to Court tastes, or to the people considered as a due mixture of courtiers with those they could influence;

and what then? "If you mean the mixed audience of the "populace and the noblesse," says Dryden, "I can confidently "affirm that a great part of the latter sort are favourable to "verse [i. e. to rhyme], and that no serious plays written since "the King's return have been more kindly received by them "than *The Siege of Rhodes*, the *Mustapha*, the *Indian Queen* "and *Indian Emperor*."

Dryden's admirable Essay is instructive in many ways. In the first place, we see in it, with all its fine enthusiasm for the greater old English poetry, so far as Dryden was acquainted with it, that special form of delusion in which the literary mind of the Restoration age had begun to find happiness, and which it managed to transmit through the next century as an incontrovertible article of historical belief. Mr. Waller, forsooth, had been the first to teach the art of English verse; Denham's strength had been added to Waller's sweetness; and the age of Charles the Second was thus fortunately in possession of at least one power which it knew how to use and which had been wanting to the English genius before! The art of English verse! Not to go beyond Dryden's own horizon in the retrospect of English poetry, had he never read Spenser, or Shakespeare's minor poems, or the poems and lyrics of Shakespeare's contemporaries, whether in the drama or out of it? Doubtless he had to some extent, and we can see what he meant; but we can only wonder the more. Actually it had come to pass that the English ear, within Dryden's circle, could no longer relish the more exquisite melody, the richer and more involved harmony, of the older poetry, but preferred the regularised rhetorical effect of that mechanical kind of metre in which every line is like a plank poised on a definite fulcrum of swing, and the sense "is concluded most commonly in distichs." Not even in this kind of verse had Waller and Denham been the first, or the best, by any means; but, if Dryden and their other juniors chose to acknowledge the debt to them, it need be no business of ours. That kind of verse, therefore, may be conceded to the Restoration as a congenial literary inheritance, the value of which, and its farther capacities, might be tested

by new hands. No one was to do this more ably than Dryden himself.

A more general delusion pervading Dryden's essay is that of the supposed flight of the muses from England at the beginning of the Civil Troubles and their return at the Restoration. This delusion has been already exposed by statistics and otherwise. A total of 2316 registered transactions in the London book-trade in the seven years immediately preceding the Restoration, as against a total of 633 in the seven years immediately following the Restoration, does not look like an abeyance of the muses in the former period and their rapid return in the latter; and, if the statistics were taken from as far back as 1640, there would be no difference. Let it be supposed, however, that Dryden meant only the finer muses. That might help him a little, but not much. During the twenty years preceding the Restoration the most conspicuous and active of the muses in England had certainly been the Muse of newspaper-editorship and political pamphleteering, if there be such a lady in the mythological company; and the fall in the statistics of the book-trade after the Restoration is certainly to be accounted for to a great extent by the banishment of this particular muse when Charles came in,—i. e., more prosaically, by the suppression after the Restoration of all pamphlet-writing not in harmony with the re-established system in Church and State. That would not have disturbed Dryden's view of things. This particular muse that had reigned for twenty years was no muse in his eyes, but a wretched hag and impostor, whose usurpation had kept out the true muses. Well, but what of *those* ladies? We have seen the facts for ourselves. However much the finer muses had been fluttered by the Civil Troubles, they had never actually taken flight. That they had was part of Dryden's delusion, as he might have found easily on inquiry. We should not have expected him, indeed, in his Essay on Poetry, to have thought of the muses of philosophy, miscellaneous speculation, history, and oratory; and hence we need not be surprised that what had been done in very various prose between 1640 and 1660 did not occur to him. But how, in thinking more

especially of the poetical muses, had he come to ignore Herrick, Milton, Jasper Mayne, Fanshawe, Chamberlayne, Vaughan, and others, all of whom had done and published a good deal of what he would himself have called very good verse? Partly, no doubt, it was because he felt himself entitled to claim some of the verse-writers whom he had not named, as well as some of the prose-writers he had no occasion to name, as Royalists, whose misfortune it had been, and not their will, to write and publish in the conditions of the Civil Troubles. That, however, is not the question. The question is not whether or to what extent the muses had been in the Opposition during the time of the Puritan ascendancy, but whether they or any of them had actually fled? Our enumeration of names, with the recollection which they will suggest of important books published in London between 1640 and 1660, is a sufficient answer in the negative. There had been a preponderance of polemical writing, but other kinds had by no means ceased, or even languished appreciably and continuously. The fact is that Dryden's knowledge was deficient. When he wrote his essay, he had probably never read Herrick's poems, or Milton's collected minor poems in the volume of 1645, or Henry Vaughan's, or others of the finest through the period of supposed dearth. For, when he comes to the supposed return of the muses at the Restoration, whom does he name as their living and reappearing representatives? Still Waller, Denham, Cowley, and Davenant, all of whom were in effect pre-Restoration writers. Strange that, in looking about for representatives of reviving English non-dramatic poetry in the halcyon days between 1660 and 1667, Dryden should have been driven to name four elderly gentlemen whose fame had come down, or had been acquired, through the preceding time of the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, and three of whom had been glad to shelter themselves and their industry, with what fame they had, under the Protectoral government. In short, Dryden's delusion, adopted by our literary historians ever since, was caused by the fact that one very substantial, but also very gaudy, form of literature, which had been in abeyance for nearly twenty

years, did undeniably come back into London with Charles. All our traditional talk about a return of the muses, &c., at the Restoration resolves itself into the fact that the Dramatic Muse had returned. The theatres were then re-opened, and there was thus again a great business of Acted Drama to attract, employ, and educate free and uncovenanted English talent. The wonder is that in the seven years between 1660 and 1667 there should have been no new dramatists superior to Davenant, Lord Orrery, Sir Robert Howard, and Lacy, to contest the success with Dryden. Wilson, with all his real faculty, more compact and deep in some respects than Dryden's, had not been among the successful dramatists.

That there was no special fertility of literary production, out of the Drama, in the first seven years of the reign of Charles the Second will appear more distinctly if we inquire what non-dramatic writings remembered now as of any mark did appear among the 633 publications, or thereabouts, registered as the total produce of those seven years, so far as it came within the cognisance of the regular book-trade. Neglecting mere books of information, and also the dramatic entries in the registers, I make out the following as an authentic list of those non-dramatic productions of the seven years that might be thought worth recollection now on their own account in a general history of English literature:—the third and concluding volume of Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, ready before the Restoration, though not registered till June 1660; Heylin's anti-Puritanical *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, registered in July 1660 and published in 1661; Flatman's burlesque of the Rump called *Don Juan Lamberto*, registered in December 1660; Cowley's *Discourse by way of Vision concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell*, with other *Prose Essays* of his, published in 1661; Waller's poem, of about 150 lines, entitled *On St. James's Park, as lately improved by his Majesty*, registered for publication by itself in April 1661; Boyle's *Physiological Essays* and his *Considerations touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures*, registered in April and May 1661; *Hudibras*, the first part registered in November 1662 and the second in November 1663; another

volume of Cowley's, entitled *Verses written upon several occasions*, registered in August 1663; *Poems by Mrs. Katherine Philips*, registered in November 1663; *Scarronides; or Virgile Travestie: a Mock Poem, being the First Book of Virgil's Eneis in English Burlesque*, by Charles Cotton, Esq., registered in March 1663–4; enlarged edition of Jeremy Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, 1664; Dr. Henry More's *Modest Inquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity*, 1664; new edition of Baker's Chronicle, with *Continuation to the Coronation of Charles II.* by Edward Phillips, registered in February 1664–5; Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, registered Jan. 21, 1666–7; Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, registered Aug. 7, 1667; and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, registered Aug. 20, 1667. This enumeration, it will be seen, proceeds on a pretty liberal notion of what might be memorable. Throw out what it may seem unnecessary to have included, and we are reduced to Butler's *Hudibras*, Cowley's *Prose Essays* and a few new *Poems* of his, Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* and his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. This last was certainly a vast accession. But it came unexpectedly, and from an alien quarter.

One ought never to be too sure in the assertion of a negative. While, therefore, it may be considered proved that the notion of any extraordinary new fertility in English literature after the Restoration is a delusion, let it be supposed that there may have been good things between 1660 and 1667 which have escaped us in the Registers or are not there chronicled. Let it be remembered also that a great deal of what was really done in those seven years may not have made its appearance till afterwards. Old Hobbes was still speculating and scribbling; Jeremy Taylor was still thoughtful and eloquent in his Irish bishopric; Henry More, Cudworth, and others were still philosophically inquisitive and studious; Baxter, Owen, and others were still pugnacious and industrious; Henry Vaughan and other recluse spirits were still poetically meditative; Pepys was collecting gossip; Anthony Wood and other antiquaries were engaged in researches; Barrow, and Tillotson, and South, and Stillingfleet, and other younger divines and scholars, were preaching, arguing, and

making their way. All this, whether registered in the book form or not during the seven years, ought to count as so much activity of the muses through that period. Besides, was there not a quantity of clever versifying by wits about the Court, fugitive in its nature, but well calculated to keep up the idea that the muses inhabited the bowers of Lady Castlemaine? Sir Charles Sedley and Lord Buckhurst ought not to go unmentioned, the one the Lisideius of Dryden's essay, the other the Eugenius of that essay, and also, for a month in 1667, the predecessor of King Charles in the possession of Nell Gwynn. They were both to live long and to distinguish themselves in various ways as they grew older, Buckhurst to be very honourable under his later title of the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex. For the present, however, they were simply the two most abandoned young scamps about town, known not only for such "frolics" as fights with the night-watchmen, but also as comrades in the most outrageous and indescribable act of drunken indecency recorded in the police annals of London. They had been fined £500 each for this offence, but do not seem to have suffered a whit in general estimation. After the laugh had passed, they went about everywhere as gaily as ever, the witty Sedley and the witty Buckhurst, the naughtiest and most delightful gentlemen in Court society, the valued friends of Dryden, and the observed of Pepys when he sat near either of them in the theatre. And, what is strange, one can find something to like in the reprobates yet. Sedley, besides six plays, not written till after our present date, has left us a number of short poems and songs, most of them worthless or unfit for reading, but one or two not unpleasant. Let us vote this dainty little thing to have been written by him in Davenant's laureateship:—

"Hears not my Phyllis how the birds
  Their feathered mates salute?
They tell their passion in their words:
  Must I alone be mute?"
Phyllis, without frown or smile,
Sat and knotted all the while.

"The god of love in thy bright eyes
Does like a tyrant reign;
But in thy heart a child he lies,
Without his dart or flame."
Phyllis, without frown or smile,
Sat and knotted all the while.

"So many months in silence passed,
And yet in raging love,
Might well deserve one word at last
My passion should approve."
Phyllis, without frown or smile,
Sat and knotted all the while.

"Must then your faithful swain expire,
And not one look obtain,
Which he, to soothe his fond desire,
Might pleasingly explain?"
Phyllis, without frown or smile,
Sat and knotted all the while.

Though Lord Buckhurst has left us far less than Sedley, who does not know his famous song, said to have been written at sea in one of the ships of the Duke of York's fleet the night before the great battle of June 3, 1665? Whether punctually that night or not matters little. No Restoration lyric expresses more finely the best spirit of the Restoration gallantry; and, thinking of Lady Castlemaine and of the rest at Whitehall, and of the young fellow addressing them from between-decks far off, one could read it even with tears:—

To all you ladies now on land
We men at sea indite;
But first would have you understand
How hard it is to write.
The Muses now and Neptune too
We must implore to write to you,
With a fa la la la la.

For, though the Muses should prove kind,
And fill our empty brain,
Yet, if rough Neptune rouse the wind
To wave the azure main,
Our paper, pen, and ink, and we
Roll up and down our ships at sea,
With a fa la la la la.

Then, if we write not by each post,
Think not we are unkind;
Nor yet conclude your ships are lost
By Dutchmen or by wind:
Our tears we'll send a speedier way;
The tide shall bring them twice a-day,
With a fa la la la la.

The King, with wonder and surprise,
Will swear the seas grow bold,
Because the tides will higher rise
Than e'er they used of old;
But let him know it is our tears
Bring floods of grief to Whitehall Stairs,
With a fa la la la la.

To pass our tedious hours away,
We throw a merry main,
Or else at serious ombre play:
But why should we in vain
Each other's ruin thus pursue?
We were undone when we left you,
With a fa la la la la.

But now our fears tempestuous grow,
And cast our hopes away;
Whilst you, regardless of our woe,
Sit careless at a play:
Perhaps permit some happier man
To kiss your hand or flirt your fan,
With a fa la la la la[1].

"Science, as well as Poetry," says Scott in his Life of Dryden, "began to revive after the iron dominion of military fanaticism "was ended." The remark is made to introduce the Royal Society as one of the institutions of the Restoration.

Here, too, sycophancy to the Restoration has obscured the facts. The real beginnings of the association which afterwards took shape and name as the Royal Society date, as we know, from 1645, the very crisis of the Civil War, when the German Theodore Haak, and Dr. John Wallis, then clerk of the Westminster Assembly, and Dr. John Wilkins, then a Presbyterian minister, and Dr. Jonathan Goddard, then a physician of parliamentarian eminence, and a number of other Londoners, all

[1] For Buckhurst and Sedley from 1660 to 1667 see Wood's Ath. IV. 731—733; Pepys, Feb. 22, 1661–2, July 1, 1663, Oct. 4, 1664, Feb. 18, 1666–7, July 13 and 14, 1667; Johnson's Life of Dorset (Buckhurst).

apparently on the same side of politics, held weekly meetings, sometimes in Goddard's lodgings in Wood Street, sometimes at the Bull Head Tavern in Cheapside, and sometimes in Gresham College, for talk on subjects of mathematical and physical science. The fame of the meetings having spread, and Hartlib, and young Boyle, and Petty, and others, having attached themselves to the society as regular members or as correspondents, there were the most enthusiastic expectations of the effects to be produced by this *Invisible College*, as it was called, not only in advancing mathematical and experimental science, but also in reforming the universities and the notions and methods of education. About the year 1649 some of the chief brethren having been removed to high university posts in Oxford, the college had divided itself, as we saw, into two sections. There was the Oxford section, calling itself *The Philosophical Society of Oxford*, and consisting of Wilkins, Wallis, Petty, and Boyle, with such new recruits as Ward, Bathurst, and Willis, and in time young Christopher Wren and young Robert Hooke, meeting regularly in Petty's rooms, or Wilkins's, or Boyle's; and there was still the remnant of the parent club in London, meeting generally at Gresham College, and receiving from time to time such recruits as Viscount Brouncker, Sir Paul Neile, and Mr. John Evelyn. The two sections were in correspondence, and a member of either was welcome if he appeared at a meeting of the other. It would be difficult to estimate the amount of observation in matters of natural history, and physical and chemical experimentation, and invention of instruments, and anatomical and physiological research, and general scientific speculation, much of it whimsical, but all in a hopeful direction, that had gone on among the associated savants of *The Invisible College* both in Oxford and London before there was an idea that the Stuarts would ever return. It would, indeed, be no paradox to assert that a passion for what was called the New or Verulamian Philosophy, a disposition to the physical sciences and to all forms of what is sometimes designated distinctively as "Useful Knowledge," together with a desire to recast or radically reform the schools and universities, so as to make them seminaries and nurseries of such

knowledge rather than of mere classical learning and scholastic metaphysics, was one of the most pronounced characteristics of that wave of the English mind which is vaguely named the Puritan Revolution. It cannot be too often repeated that those who use the word "Puritanism" merely to define a supposed temporary mood of English sanctimoniousness, or even to define the domination of Calvinistic theology for a time in the British Islands, know nothing whatever of what Puritanism was historically and included intellectually. Puritanism was a revolt from authority, clothing itself at first in whatever doctrines of a fervid theology or ideas of popular church-discipline were at hand to suit, but passing on, by the usual law of development, into a wonderful multiplicity of forms and phases, with abundant inclusion of the most abstruse scientific inquisitiveness and the coolest philosophical free-thinking.

The intellectual leisure of the Restoration, however, just because it was compulsory, just because it was occasioned by the arrest and prohibition of many rousing forms of speculation, was undoubtedly favourable to a concentration of energy upon the physical and experimental sciences. At all events, the foundation of the Royal Society of London is one of the few creditable occurrenes of the reign of Charles II. It came about thus:—Wren having been in London since 1657 as astronomy professor at Gresham College, and Wilkins, Wallis, Goddard, and others having been brought back to London at the Restoration, by the loss of their university appointments, or by other causes, the division of the scientific brethren into an Oxford section and a London section was virtually at an end, and the parent society of London again included the majority[1]. Their place of rendezvous, of course, was Gresham College, where Wren's astronomy lectures and Mr. Rooke's geometry lectures, which had been interrupted by the anarchy of 1658–9, had been resumed with great acceptance. Wren's lectures were the attraction on Wednesdays; and it was after one of them, on Wednesday, Nov. 28, 1660, that

[1] Weld's History of the Royal Society (1848), I. 30—54; but see ante, Vol. III. pp. 661—666, and Vol. V. pp. 230—231, p. 486.

the proposal for a new organization "for the promoting of physico-mathematical experimental learning," was proposed and adopted. These persons following, "according to the usual custom of most of them," having been present at the lecture, and having afterwards, "according to the usual manner," resolved themselves into a meeting for private conversation,— "viz. the Lord Brouncker, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Bruce, Sir Robert "Moray, Sir Paul Neile, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Goddard, Dr. "Petty, Mr. Ball, Mr. Rooke, Mr. Wren, Mr. Hill,"—it was resolved to attempt the establishment of a scientific society on a broader basis than had been tried before, to consist of regular weekly meetings, every Wednesday thenceforward, of the persons then present, and such other persons as might be deemed eligible and might be willing to pay ten shillings of entry-money and one shilling a week of subscription. Thirty-nine persons not present were suggested as likely and desirable members, and their names were written down. Among them were Lord Hatton, Sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. Evelyn, Denham, Dr. Ward, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bathurst, Dr. Willis, Dr. Cowley and about a dozen other physicians, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Oldenburg. These two last, Boyle's promising young nephew and his tutor, had just returned from their foreign tour[1].

For a time one of the passions of the new Society seems to have been for the erection and endowment of a London College of Science, with professorships, a museum, laboratories, &c., that should supersede and surpass Gresham College, and be a rebuke and example to the two old-fashioned Universities. This also, as we know, had been the passion of some of the leading Puritans of the Long Parliament as long ago as 1641, when there had been communications between Hartlib and the pansophic Comenius on the subject, and Comenius had actually come to London to advise and superintend (see ante, Vol. III. pp. 221–224). Not, however, in the form of a new building with an apparatus of professorships and scholarships, but in the easier form of a series of weekly meetings, still chiefly in Gresham College, for the reading and criticism of

[1] Weld's History of the Royal Society, I. 54—67; where there are extracts from the Society's Records.

papers and the exhibition of curiosities and experiments, was the Society of 1660 to attain its celebrity. The King having at once signified his approbation of the Society through Sir Robert Moray, and the meetings having been continued under Wilkins's presidency or Moray's, and many papers having been read and many experiments performed, and the King having occasionally shown his interest in the proceedings by a gift of loadstones, or of some of Prince Rupert's drops, or by a question as to the cause of the shrivelling of the sensitive plant, there was an increasing competition for the honour of membership through the year 1661, accompanied by an extraordinary steadiness of many of the members in not paying their subscriptions. On the 15th of July 1662 a Royal Charter incorporating the Society passed the great seal; but, as this was somewhat defective, there was a second and enlarged charter on April 22, 1663. From that date THE ROYAL SOCIETY was fully in existence, as an express foundation of King Charles the Second, with its president, its council, its various powers and privileges, and its statutory anniversary of St. Andrew's day, the 30th of November, in every year for ever. Though some of Charles's personal tastes were in the direction of anatomy and nautical mechanics, he does not appear to have done much more for the Society than call himself its founder and present it with the silver-gilt mace which it still possesses and uses. There is no proof that he ever attended one of the meetings. There was a vague talk about a large endowment in the shape of Irish lands, but it came to nothing. The accommodation at Gresham College, with an occasional option of another place of meeting, had to suffice; and for current expenses, including those for apparatus and experiments, the members had to tax themselves in donations or increased rates of subscription. There was still a remarkable backwardness among many of them in the matter of payment[1].

[1] Weld's History of the Royal Society, I. 68—141, with extracts from the Records there, and the two charters in the Appendix to Vol. II.—King Charles had a taste for ship-building and kindred parts of practical mechanics; and of his taste for anatomy there is this story in Pepys:—*Feb.* 7, 1662-3. "Creed and I and Captain Ferrers to "the Park, and there walked finely, "seeing people slide, we talking all the "while; and Captain Ferrers telling

The first President of the Society under the charter was Viscount Brouncker. He remained in office till 1677. The first Council consisted of these twenty of the fellows in addition to the President:—Sir Robert Moray, Robert Boyle, William Brereton, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir Paul Neile, Henry Slingsby, Sir William Petty, Dr. Timothy Clarke, Dr. John Wilkins, Dr. George Ent, William Erskine, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, William Ball, Matthew Wren, John Evelyn, Thomas Henshaw, Dudley Palmer, Abraham Hill, and Henry Oldenburg. The total number of Fellows on the 20th of November 1663 was 131, of whom 18 were noblemen, 22 baronets or knights, 32 doctors (chiefly of medicine), 2 bachelors of divinity, 2 masters of arts, 47 esquires, and 8 foreigners. Among the fellows were Cowley, Denham, Pepys, Aubrey, Sprat, and Dryden. The election of the last had taken place in November 1662, before he had produced his first play and while he was comparatively undistinguished. The most diligent and indefatigable of the aristocratic members were Lord Brouncker, who was exemplary in his presidency, and of some reputation on his own account for mathematical ability, and Sir Robert Moray, who had been president before the incorporation and continued to support the Society in all ways by his influence at Court. Of the rest no one was more prominent than Boyle, or more visibly led and directed the proceedings at first by his papers and experiments. Boyle, however, was not yet permanently resident in London, but was still much in Oxford, and therefore often in connection with the Society only by correspondence. Wallis and Christopher Wren were also much at Oxford, where Wren had been appointed to the Savilian professorship of astronomy. Sir William Petty, a leading spirit when present, was called away for a long while by his business

"me, among other Court passages, how "about a month ago, at a ball at Court, "a child was dropped by one of the "ladies in dancing, but nobody knew "who, it being taken up by somebody "in their handkercher. The next morn- "ing all the Ladies of Honour appeared "early at Court for their vindication, so "that nobody could tell where this mis- "chance should be." *Feb.* 17. "Mr. "Pickering tells me the story is very "true of a child being dropped at the "ball at Court; and that the King had "it in his closet a week after, and did "dissect it, and, making great sport of "it, said that in his opinion it must "have been a month and three hours "old."

in Ireland. On the whole, the Society could hardly have held together as it did through all its difficulties but for the exertions of Oldenburg and Hooke. Oldenburg, whom we have seen proposed as one of the original members in November 1660, doubtless on Boyle's recommendation, had thrown such energy into the affairs of the Society that he had been appointed joint-secretary with Wilkins in the first Charter of Incorporation; and on the 12th of November 1662 Hooke, who had been for some years in Boyle's employment at Oxford, had been appointed curator to the Society, with a special charge of the apparatus and the experiments. Hooke, a deformed little man, of twenty-seven years of age at the time of his appointment, was to do wonders in his post by his mechanical inventiveness; but the man of general business was Oldenburg. He was thirty-six years of age when appointed; and, though nominally joint-secretary with Wilkins, he had the whole burden of the secretaryship. We have his own account of the duties of the secretary, as follows:—"He "attends constantly the meetings both of the Society and "Council; noteth the observables said and done there; di- "gesteth them in private; takes care to have them entered in "the journals and register-books; reads over and corrects all "entries; solicits the performances of tasks recommended and "undertaken; writes all letters abroad and answers the returns "made to them, entertaining a correspondence with at least "fifty persons; employs a great deal of time and takes much "pains in satisfying foreign demands about philosophical "matters; disperseth far and near store of directions and "inquiries for the Society's purposes, and sees them well "recommended." To these duties was added, for a time, that of editing the transactions of the Society. The first number of these celebrated *Philosophical Transactions*, so edited by Oldenburg, appeared on the 6th of March 1664–5. For all this Oldenburg received not a farthing. Not till 1669 did they vote him a salary of £40 a year[1].

Interrupted, like everything else, by the Great Plague and

[1] First and Second Charters of the Royal Society in Appendix to Weld's History of the Society, with the History itself, I. 141—178, and 259—261.

the Great Fire of 1665–6, the Society had accomplished before the year 1667 a good deal of work, much of it crude, but all very interesting now in the history of English science. From the very nature of its labours and speculations it had become the object of much popular lampoon and burlesque. This ill feeling, inevitable in the infancy of such institutions, already existed in considerable accumulation in 1667, but was to manifest itself more openly after the publication in that year of Sprat's *History of the Institution, Design, and Progress of the Royal Society*. There was some boldness in such a publication only five years after the Society had been incorporated; and a prefixed ode by Cowley in honour of the Society, rebuking the attacks already made on it, did not diminish the provocation to farther antagonism [1].

It would be ungracious to close our account of the Literature of the first seven years of the Restoration without some notice of the London booksellers and publishers of those days.

At one time or another between 1640 and 1660 there had been, as I compute, about 200 persons in London known not only as booksellers or printers, or as combining both trades, but also as regular or occasional publishers. About fifty of these at least were alive and still in business at the Restoration, with such repute in the book-trade as they had acquired by their previous dealings. The most conspicuously Royalist among them had been Richard Royston, the publisher of the *Eikon Basilike* and of other things for the royal family, and the publisher also of most of Jeremy Taylor's writings; next to whom for fidelity to that side of things was perhaps Henry Seile, the publisher of some of Heylin's writings, and of several of the strongest Royalist pamphlets heralding the Restoration. Matthew Simmons, the first publisher for the Commonwealth, and consequently the publisher of Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and *Eikonoklastes*, had been dead for some time, having left the honour and the emoluments of official printing and publishing for the Republic and then

[1] Weld's History of the Royal Society, I. 72—200; Cowley's Works. Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* was registered for publication by James Allestree, under licence from Secretary Morrice, July 25, 1667.

for Oliver to Thomas Newcome and William Dugard, both of them converts to the Republic early in Milton's secretaryship. Dugard, after having been in trouble for helping Royston to print the *Eikon Basilike*, and for threatening an English edition of the *Defensio Regia* of Salmasius, had signalised his conversion, as we know, most remarkably, by printing, for the Republican Council of State, Milton's *Defensio contra Salmasium*, the French translation of his *Eikonoklastes*, and much besides; while Newcome had been the publisher of Milton's *Defensio Secunda* and of his *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, and had been steadily the printer of Needham's bi-weekly newspaper from 1651 to 1660. Latterly Henry Hills and John Field had divided with Newcome the business of government printing for Oliver; and Robert Ibbetson also had dealt in news-pamphlets and miscellanies on the Commonwealth side. As an extreme opinionist of the Republican sort one recognises Livewell Chapman, the publisher of Harrington's *Oceana*, and also of those two latest pre-Restoration pamphlets of Milton which were probably too violent for Newcome,—his *Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church* and his *Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth*. Even among those who did not profess to be specially political publishers, but dealt in theological or general literature, one can discern the personal bias, in some cases, easily enough. Thomas Underhill, who had published the first three of Milton's anti-Episcopal or Smectymnuan pamphlets in 1641, and also his Tract on Education in 1644, had remained a stiff Presbyterian and anti-Tolerationist, and so had parted from Milton long ago; and the same may be said of John Rothwell, the publisher of the two last of Milton's Smectymnuan pamphlets in 1641 and 1642. John Stafford had published Thomas Fuller's books; one of Baxter's publishers was Nevill Symons, who had come to London from Kidderminster; and Prynne had dealt with Edward Thomas. Very solid men of business must have been Abel Roper, who published for Dugdale, and Thomas Roycroft, who had published Walton's Polyglott and some of Ogilby's illustrated books. The first volume of Rushworth had come, I think, from the shop of George

Thomason, who is immortal independently for the vast collection of contemporary pamphlets he had accumulated in his cellars, with so much trouble and expense to himself, but so greatly to the benefit of posterity and the British Museum. Francis Grove inclined to popular ballad-sheets; and Nathaniel Brooks, as we have had occasion to see, hovered between drollery and the finer literature. Thomas Dring had, for some time before the Restoration, shown a creditable preference for the finer literature in his transactions; but, all in all, the chiefs of the London book-trade, in poetry and whatever else the phrase "the finer literature" can include, had been Humphrey Moseley, Richard Marriott, and Henry Herringman. But of these three chiefs one was still the chief. Marriott and Herringman would have knelt to Humphrey Moseley [1].

Our first acquaintance with Moseley was in 1645, when he published, from his shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, the collection of Milton's minor English and Latin poems, prefixing to the little volume a tasteful paragraph in his own name, expounding his principles and aspirations in the publishing business and his confidence in Milton's genius (Vol. III. pp. 448–459). "It is the love I have to our own "language that hath made me diligent to collect and set "forth such pieces, both in prose and verse, as may renew "the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue," had been Moseley's words in that paragraph. From the principle so announced in 1645 he had never swerved. By solicitation of what he liked, rather than by accepting chance offers, he had drawn to him almost every living writer of genuine merit or promise in poetry or in any other form of non-controversial literature. He had acquired a property, in many cases by original publication, and in others by subsequent purchase, in the poetry, plays, or other writings of Shirley, Richard Brome, Carlell, Stapylton, Sir Kenelm Digby, Howell, Waller, Denham, Davenant, Cowley, Cockayne, Stanley, Fanshawe, and Henry Vaughan; and it seems to have been his

[1] Digested from my notes from the Stationers' Registers for the period from 1649 to 1660; with references to the accounts of Milton's publishing transactions and other particulars already given in various places in these volumes.

ambition to possess the whole of some of these writers, or at least of their poetry. He had acquired copyrights in works of such recently deceased English celebrities as Donne, Suckling, Crashaw, Carew, Cartwright, May, and Herbert of Cherbury; and in the resuscitation of select pieces of the older literature of the Elizabethan and Jacoban age his assiduity had been unequalled. More than once in the Stationers' Registers, through the time of the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, one is attracted by the assignment to a new proprietor of a batch of plays by Marlowe, Decker, Shakespeare, Chapman, Beaumont and Fletcher, Heywood, Ben Jonson, Webster, Massinger, Ford, Middleton, Rowley, and Tourneur; and in such cases, as in most individual entries of the same kind, it is Moseley as a matter of course that owns the transaction. He had not disdained a philosophical treatise now and then; and latterly, I find, he traded also, to a considerable extent, in translations of Italian historical works of repute, and in translations of Spanish and Italian novels, and of the contemporary French heroic romances. It was chiefly from Moseley's shop in St. Paul's Churchyard that the English public, from 1650 to 1660, obtained their copies of those interminable *Cleopatras*, *Cassandras*, *Clelias*, *Grand Scipios*, and *Grand Cyruses*, which were then regarded, on both sides of the channel, as the perfection of amusing prose-fiction. But, indeed, everything very good was to be obtained at that shop, everything that was not a pamphlet or a sermon. These Moseley abhorred. Once or twice, in a moment of weakness, he did publish a sermon; but he could endure nothing of the pamphlet kind, unless perhaps it might be some oldish thing appertaining rather to the philosophy of politics than to current politics, and bearing the name of Raleigh or Bacon. He was a publisher for the finer muses only; and that they had been visiting him so much in the heart of London during the twenty years of Puritan ascendancy is one fact more for those who persist in the delusion that they had then forsaken the British Islands [1].

[1] My notes from the Stationers' Registers. These notes extend to about 170 MS. pages of small octavo for the period 1640—1660, and the name

The election to the Mastership and the two Wardenships of the Stationers' Company took place in the month of July every year. The men appointed to those offices in the Corporation were generally seniors in the trade, and were always men of eminence in it on one account or another, though often rather as salesmen of books and stationery than as publishers. At the election of July 1659, however, when Mr. William Lee was chosen master, and Mr. Richard Thrale one of the wardens, it had so happened that the other wardenship came to Humphrey Moseley. Thus in the very year of the Restoration Moseley was one of the chief office-bearers in the trade of which he had so long been an ornament. For aught I know, he may have thought it a pleasure, as well as a duty, to be in his place, as one of the Wardens of the Stationers' Company, in that part of the immense triumphal procession of Charles's entry into London, on the 29th of May 1660, which consisted of 600 representatives of the different London Companies, all on horseback, in black velvet coats, with gold chains, and each company preceded by its footmen in liveries. At all events, before his term of wardenship expired, he gave proof that he did not mean to be less energetic in the business of bookselling and publishing under the Restoration than he had been through the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. We have already noted his remarkable registration, on the 29th of June, 1660, of thirty-six old dramatic copyrights as wholly his own; and we may now add that on the same day he registered his joint-property with Humphrey Robinson in another large batch of dramatic copyrights, his joint property with Thomas Dring in Stanley's *History of Philosophy* and in four volumes of a translation of *The Grand Cyrus*, and his joint property with Dring and Herringman in two volumes of a translation of D'Urfé's *L'Astrée*.

Moseley, Moseley occurs and recurs page after page, always in connexion with books of the kind described. The largest registration by Moseley was on the 9th of September, 1653, when he entered forty-one separate books as his, paying 20*s.* 6*d.* for the entry. They are almost all Elizabethan or Jacoban Plays, and include these—"*The History of Cardenio* by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare"; "*The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, by Wm. Shakespeare"; "*Henry the First* and *Henry the Second*, by Shakespeare and Davenport." For another curious Shakespearian registration of Moseley's see ante, p. 352.

On the 31st of January 1660–1 the news among the booksellers was that Humphrey Moseley was dead. He left a widow, Anne Moseley, and an unmarried daughter of the same name, and there are traces of a continuation of his business for some time in their hands. But the sovereignty of the book-trade was then open to competition. Most of the remaining booksellers abstained from the competition and were content to go on in their old tracks. In general business Royston continued eminent. Thomason was alive till 1666; Seile was then dead, having left a widow in his business; poor Dugard was then also dead, having left some scholarly copyrights to his daughter, Lydia Dugard; Livewell Chapman and some of the others are not heard of at all, or are hardly heard of, after the Restoration; but to 1667 and beyond there were persevering survivors in Allestree, Brooks, Andrew Crooke, Dring, Fletcher, Garthwait, Hills, Norton, Humphrey Robinson, Sawbridge, Ralph Smith, and Nevill Symons. One hears also of a John Martin, a Randal Taylor, a John Redmayne, a George Hurlock, a Robert Powlett, a Henry Mortlock, a Samuel Thomson, a Samuel Simmons, a Robert Boulter, and others, as either new men in the trade between 1660 and 1667, or as busier in those years than they had been before. Meanwhile the only signs of a real contest for Moseley's place as the trade-chief of the finer literature were between Marriott and Herringman. Both had been emulous in Moseley's footsteps before the Restoration, catching up things that Moseley let go. Marriott, who had been in business as long ago as 1645 in partnership with his father, had acquired copyrights or part copyrights in Quarles, Donne, Wotton's Remains, Dr. Henry King's Poems, and Sermons by Hales of Eton; and Herringman, who had been in business since 1653, possessed copyrights in some writings of Sir Kenelm Digby and Howell, in several old plays, in the *Musarum Delitiæ*, in the poems of Jasper Mayne, in Lord Broghill's *Parthenissa*, and in Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes* and others of Davenant's pre-Restoration operas. Herringman had also published together, in January 1658–9, the three obituary panegyrics on Oliver Cromwell

by Marvell, Dryden, and Sprat; and, in April 1660, the month before the Restoration, he had advertised that volume of Sir Robert Howard's Poems which, when it did appear a few weeks afterwards, was found to contain conveniently a panegyric on King Charles and a panegyric on Monk. On the other hand, Waller's more famous poem to the King on his return had been published by Marriott. On the whole, at the time of Moseley's death, while the advantage was with Herringman, Marriott's chances were considerable; and the publication from his shop of the *First Part of Hudibras* in 1662 was another incident in his favour. Somehow he could not follow up that success. The *Second Part of Hudibras*, a year after the first, was not published by him, but by Martin and Allestree; and, though he published the *Poems of Mrs. Katherine Philips* instead, that was a poor substitute. Meanwhile Herringman had been gaining ground remarkably. Already in possession of Davenant, Lord Orrery, Sir Robert Howard, and Dryden, he had brought round him also Cowley and Boyle, having published the essays of both in 1661, and a volume of Cowley's poems in 1663. In April 1664 he acquired the copyright of all Waller's poetry; and from that time his superiority to Marriott, and his title to be regarded as Moseley's successor in the primacy of the book-trade, admitted of no dispute. He was to publish more and more for Waller, for Howard, for Dryden, and for other poets and dramatists; the scientific connexion he had won through Boyle drew round him the chiefs of the Royal Society as well as the wits of the Court; *Hudibras* and *The Poems of Mrs. Katherine Philips* were to be his when he chose; and, whenever any stock of old plays and poems was in the market, and especially when Anne Moseley, withdrawing from business, wished to dispose of any of her late husband's copyrights in such things, who so ready to purchase as Herringman? In fact Herringman and his shop are one of the most vivid traditions of the Restoration. The shop was "at the sign of the Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange,"—this New Exchange, so called to distinguish it from the Old Exchange in the City, being on the south side

of the Strand, on the site of the present Adelphi. Any time before the Great Plague and the Great Fire, but perhaps more distinctly after those events than before, this shop of Herringman's was the chief literary lounging-place in London. There, in the year 1667, when Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* had been added to his previously published *Rival Ladies* and *Indian Emperor*, you might have seen, if you were lucky in your moment, Dryden himself, and Boyle, and Cowley, and Sir Robert Howard, and Waller, and Butler, and half a dozen more celebrities, dropping in together or one after another [1].

If it had been late in 1667, you would have missed one of the best of them for ever. "Yesterday in the evening," says the *London Gazette* of August 4, 1667, "the body of Mr. "Abraham Cowley, who died the 28th past, was conveyed "from Wallingford House to Westminster Abbey, accom- "panied by divers persons of eminent quality, who came to "perform this last office to one who had been the great orna- "ment of our nation, as well by the candour of his life as the "excellency of his writings." Just a fortnight later, on the 13th of August 1667, Bishop Jeremy Taylor died in Ireland. In Cowley, dead at the age of forty-nine, and Jeremy Taylor, dead at the age of fifty-four, the literature of Davenant's laureateship had lost two whom it could ill spare. But a few months more and Davenant himself was to be gone, leaving the Laureateship vacant.

[1] The date of Moseley's death is from Smith's Obituary; the rest from my notes from the Stationers' Registers and sights of Herringman's publications and title-pages.

WHITECHAPEL
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

CHAPTER III.

MILTON'S LIFE FROM 1661 TO 1667:

WITH

PARADISE LOST.

How long Milton remained in his temporary house in Holborn, near Red Lion Fields, is uncertain. We have supposed him to have been still there at the coronation of Charles in May 1661; and he may have remained there for some months longer. Hardly, however, to the end of 1661; for Phillips's words are that he "staid not long" in his Holborn house before, "his pardon having passed the seal, he removed to Jewin Street." It is not difficult to account for the choice so made of a new place of residence. If a bustling thoroughfare like Holborn was unsuitable for the blind ex-Secretary of the Commonwealth, much less could he return to Petty France, or to any other purlieu of Westminster. He remembered therefore that quiet quarter of the City, just beyond the walls, and not far from his native Bread Street, where he had first set up as a householder on his own account one-and-twenty years ago, and where he had spent seven of the busiest years of his private life, when he was a zealous adherent of the Long Parliament through the Civil Wars and a pamphleteer in that interest, but did not foresee his more intimate official connexions with the governments that were to succeed. He would go back now to that neighbourhood, and be again well at a distance from Whitehall and its associations.

Jewin Street, where a house was accordingly found for him, still exists. It is a narrowish, slightly winding, and not untidy street, going off from Aldersgate Street on the right as you leave the City, and connecting that street with Red Cross Street and the vicinity of Cripplegate church. It goes off from Aldersgate Street only a few paces from the site of the "pretty garden house" there, "at the end of an entry," where Milton had lived between 1640 and 1645, and into which he had brought Mary Powell for her short stay with him after their marriage; and the very next turn out of Aldersgate Street, on the same side farther up, is Barbican, where he had resided from 1645 to 1647, in the larger house he had taken for the purposes of pedagogy after his wife had gone back to him, and in which his father-in-law and his own father had died. In Jewin Street, therefore, Milton was beside those two former houses of his, and so close to either that, but for his blindness, he could have passed from one to the other in a few minutes, and revived his recollections of them by looking at their doors and windows. As it was, he could but be led about in the space between them.

No house extant in the present Jewin Street is remembered as that once occupied by Milton. We can fix approximately, however, the part of Jewin Street in which the house stood. Though the street is by no means a long one, it is not all included in one and the same city parish, or even in one and the same city ward. The part of Jewin Street nearest Aldersgate Street is in the parish of St. Botolph, in the ward of Aldersgate; but the rest of Jewin Street, or the part nearest Red Cross Street, is in the parish of St. Giles, in the ward of Cripplegate. If, therefore, the house to which Mr. ex-Secretary Milton removed in 1661 had been in the part of Jewin Street nearest Aldersgate Street, he would have become once more a parishioner of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, the same parish to which he had belonged when he was first a London householder; but, if the house was towards the Red Cross Street end of Jewin Street, then he became again a parishioner of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, as he had been when living in Barbican. The latter was the fact.

The part of Jewin Street to which Milton removed was the inner end, where there are still some remaining houses of his date, which at that time may have had more of garden ground behind them than now; and for all the rest of his life, first in this house and then in another, he was to be a parishioner of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. The vicar of the parish at that date was a certain popular and energetic Dr. Samuel Annesley. He was of Oxford training, and of Presbyterian antecedents, about forty years of age, first cousin to the Earl of Anglesey, and of much distinction recently among the clergy of Oliver's established church, though perhaps better likely to be remembered now by the fact that, through his youngest daughter, yet to be born, he was the grandfather of John and Charles Wesley[1].

IN JEWIN STREET: 1661–1664.

One remembers the predictions of the consequences of the Restoration so boldly hazarded by Milton in his great pamphlet of warning published on the eve of that event (ante, V. pp. 645–655, 677–688). So far as those predictions had not already been fulfilled by the incidents of the first year of the Restoration, they were fulfilled to the letter, as we know, during the next three years, when Clarendon and the Bishops were no longer checked by the Presbyterianism of the Convention Parliament, but had an instrument more to their mind in the succeeding Cavalier Parliament. Of the incidents of the continued Clarendonian administration during those three years Milton, in his retirement in Jewin Street, can have been no uninterested observer. The first batch of Acts passed by the Cavalier Parliament in July 1661,—their Act for the suppression of all questioning of the Established Government or assertion of the legality of the Long Parliament and the Solemn League and Covenant, their Act for repealing the disqualification of persons in holy orders for civil offices

[1] Stow's London by Strype (1730), Book III. pp. 70—123 (Cripplegate Ward and Aldersgate Ward); Faithorne's Map of London in 1658 (reprinted 1878); Visits to Jewin Street and its neighbourhood; Wood, by Bliss, Ath. IV. 509—514, and Fasti, II. 114; Tombstone of Mrs. Susanna Wesley, mother of the Wesleys, in Bunhill Fields Burying Ground; Calamy's Nonconformists' Memorial (edit. 1802), I. 124—128.

and dignities, their Act for curtailing the right of petitioning Parliament or the King, their Act restoring the power of the Militia to the King, and their Act of farther penalties against the surviving Regicides and others,—must have prepared him for such later Acts of their First Session as the Corporations Act of December 1661, and the Act against Quakers, the Act of Uniformity, the Counties Militia Act, and the new Press Act, all of May 1662. These pieces of legislation, with such contemporary proofs of the ruthless mood of the Court and the executive as were furnished by the disinterring of the dead Commonwealth's men and Cromwellians from their graves in Westminster Abbey, the hanging and quartering of the Baptist preacher John James for imprudent speaking in his pulpit, the carting of three of the spared Regicides from the Tower to Tyburn and back with ropes round their necks, and the hanging and quartering at Tyburn of the three fugitive Regicides, Barkstead, Corbet, and Okey, that had been captured in Holland, verified to the utmost those parts of Milton's predictions which had prophesied bloody personal revenges, a general policy of Absolutism, a miserable disappointment of the hopes of the Presbyterians, and the reinstitution in England of unmitigated Prelacy, with liberty or breathing-room for nothing else. The Act of Uniformity by itself, cancelling at one stroke the King's Declaration from Breda and his subsequent promises, and turning into ridicule all the dreams of the Baxters, Calamys, Mantons, and others, and all their exertions in behalf of a limited Episcopacy that should comprehend the Presbyterians and the old Anglicans in one establishment, was a sufficient vindication of Milton's foresight in that particular. Then, in the interval between the passing of that Act and its fatal execution on St. Bartholomew's day in the same year, there was the arrival of the prophesied Queen, "outlandish and a Papist," in the person of the Portuguese Catharine, to add to the foreign and Roman Catholic influence at Court already represented by the Queen-mother, and to complicate the King's relations with Lady Castlemaine. There was also the trial of Vane and Lambert, with the beheading of Vane, Milton's admired friend of many

years. The terrible St. Bartholomew's day itself came at last, Aug. 24, 1662. Then Milton knew of the wrench to English society for generations yet to come, occasioned by the ejection or silencing of more than 2000 parish-pastors, University men, and lecturers, mostly Presbyterians, but some of them Baptists, that had held livings in Oliver's broad Church of the Commonwealth, and had hoped to retain them in the moderate Episcopal Church promised at the Restoration. He could think of those 2000 men, in their new condition of Nonconformists, at a loss what to do for the future support of themselves and their families, many of them trying still to subsist by private preaching and ministration to adherents from among their flocks, but many scattering themselves hither and thither on the hard chance of other occupations. The question of comprehension of even moderate dissenting orthodoxy within the Established Church was then at an end, and the only remaining question was whether there should be anything like a toleration or indulgence for the ejected and for their opinions and worship outside of the Establishment. Or, rather, that question also was practically decided. By the Act of Uniformity itself it was regulated that all persons ejected by the Act should cease from public preaching anywhere or in any manner under the penalty of three months' imprisonment for each offence, and should also be incapacitated for schoolmastering or private tutorship anywhere under severer penalties; the old Acts enforcing attendance at the established worship in the regular churches were still available when necessary; and had not the special Act called the Act against Quakers, passed in the same month with the Act of Uniformity, prohibited, not only for Quakers, but also for all who should refuse oaths tendered by the existing authorities, or should persuade others to such refusal, the right of meeting even in small private conventicles, under pain of fine, imprisonment, and ultimate banishment to the plantations? One had not to wait for the general Conventicles Act of May 1664, expressly extending to all Nonconformists whatever this prohibition of private meetings for worship already operative against Quakers and other extreme sectaries.

That Act could be foreseen; and, whatever talk there might be meanwhile of a possible indulgence for Presbyterians and other moderate Nonconformists, as distinct from the Quakers and other Fanatics, all were practically silenced and at the mercy of the magistracy. At the close of 1662, though the General Conventicles Act and other Acts of the same ferocious series were yet to come, Milton could have no doubt that he had been right in his mournful augury of a relapse of England by the Restoration into a state of religious and civil servitude so abject and profound that no recovery from it could be expected in his own life-time. His memorable words to that effect had been these:—"If we return to "Kingship, and soon repent (as undoubtedly we shall, when we "begin to find the old encroachments coming on by little and "little upon our consciences, which must needs proceed from "King and Bishop united inseparably in one interest), we may "be forced perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, "and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never "likely to attain thus far as we are now advanced to the "recovery of our freedom, never likely to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter "the like mercies and signal assistance from Heaven in our "cause." The vision in these words stretches through the whole reign of Charles, and through the next reign, and at least to the Revolution of 1688.

And on whom in Milton's view lay the responsibility for a degradation of the body-politic and the soul-politic of England so rapid, deep, and disastrous? Doubtless he thought, first of all, of Charles himself, with his strange hereditary claims to the royalty, his strange personal endowment of brutal ideas and appetites for turning the possession to account, and his congenial crew of courtiers, wits, and courtesans, in ruffles and silks, rioting or languishing in Whitehall. Doubtless also he thought, more at large and more sadly, of the nation itself as the primary culprit, and had not ceased yet from that mood of disgust and amazement with which he had witnessed the tide of unreasoning royalist reaction rise in the "misguided multitude" two years ago. As to the Presbyterians

and their clergy, who had lent themselves to this passion of the miscellaneous populace, and sought to manage it in the interest of their own vain dream of a royalty duly prelimited and constrained into respectability and fidelity to the Solemn League and Covenant, one had little now to say. *Their* part was over; they had failed egregiously and confessedly, and were reaping their punishment. Nor was it worth while to be reckoning up those Oliverian politicians and army-officers, such as Monk, Montague, Howard, Annesley, Broghill, Coote, Ashley Cooper, and Ingoldsby, who had wheeled round to Charles, more or less cunningly, in the anarchy succeeding Richard's Protectorate, had negotiated with Charles before the event, and had constituted themselves its active and immediate instruments in England or in Ireland. To think of such men merely as renegades, and to apportion among them, under that name, the guilt of the transaction in which they had figured, was but a vulgar satisfaction. In any case the name "renegades" would hardly have been a fit description for men who had but done according to their lights in attaching themselves to what seemed to them inevitable and might be for the best; and, besides, the actual Restoration, as it stood consummated in 1662, was not what they had schemed or contemplated, but was a something that had come in upon them, as upon others, irresistibly since 1660, and on the current of which they must be content to swim. *Let* them swim in it, in their new dignities, as Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Sandwich, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Anglesey, Earl of Orrery, Lord Ashley, Lord Montrath, and Sir Richard Ingoldsby; and let history remember, under these new names, only as much as it pleased of their pre-Restoration antecedents! Not among such men could one distribute much of the responsibility for what had been done between 1660 and 1662. That responsibility must rest with those who had really during that time shaped the counsels of the restored monarchy in all main matters. Who were they? To Milton, making this inquiry, the figures that must have presented themselves behind the King and his libertines, or mingling with them, and going out and in among them, were those

of the bishops and prelatic doctors. He thought of the Sheldons, the Morleys, the Henchmans, with their retinue of Gunnings, Pearsons, Earles, Heylins, Hackets, and others. Were not these the men who had pressed on for full and absolute Episcopacy and nothing else, returned unweariedly to the charge again and again, consulted among themselves so as to evade and neutralize the King's Declarations of Comprehension and Toleration, and secured that there should not be the slightest concession to the suppliant Presbyterians? "They would request us," Milton had written in 1641 of the bishops and prelatic doctors and University men who were then struggling for the preservation of Episcopacy,—"they "would request us to endure still the rustling of their silken "cassocks, and that we would burst our midriffs rather than "laugh to see them under sail in all their lawn and sarcenet, "their shrouds and tackle, with a geometrical rhomboides "upon their heads; they would bear us in hand that we "must of duty still appear before them once a year in Jeru- "salem, like good circumcised males and females, to be taxed "by the poll, to be sconced of our headmoney, our twopences, "in their chandlerly shop-book of Easter." And lo! now the silken cassocks, the lawn and the sarcenet, and all the other shrouds and tackle of Anglican ecclesiastical costume, with the old geometrical rhomboides itself, were back in England, in circumstances that made it death to laugh at them. The special loathing of Episcopacy and its paraphernalia not being yet extinct in Milton, one can imagine his private estimate of Sheldon and the other churchmen, who had found nothing better to do than re-edify in England the entire ecclesiastical system which had been shattered twenty years ago, avenging thereby the memories of Laud, Hall, and Wren, and constituting themselves, with whatever differences of real belief, the successors and executors of those antediluvians. There was, however, one more central and representative personage still, who had cooperated with the Sheldons, Morleys, and Henchmans, and without whose cooperation their intentions would have been ineffectual. To Milton, as to all others, the all-responsible chief of the

Restoration, as it had been perfected in 1662, was the Earl of Clarendon. There are reasons why Milton and Clarendon should be sometimes recollected together in the history of England. They were exactly coevals. They had been born in the same year; and they were to die in the same year, after having lived through exactly the same sixty-five years of English time. Till 1660 their relations to each other had been of the slenderest. To Milton, the Parliamentarian and the official of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, Clarendon had been only the exiled Hyde, the chief counsellor of Charles and intriguer for his desperate cause abroad, while Hyde, on his part, had taken cognisance of Milton but now and then, when there was reason to refer to the circulation in foreign countries of the *Eikonoklastes* or the *Defensio contra Salmasium*. But now, in 1662, when they were both in their fifty-fourth year, they were nearer each other, and in relations that must have been greatly impressive to at least one of them. To Clarendon, indeed, moving in velvet between Worcester House and Whitehall, Milton can have been now nothing. He was the blind scribe of the Commonwealth, an undoubtedly able man, whom it had been thought unnecessary to hang, and who had removed himself out of the way, no one need inquire whither. To Milton in Jewin Street, on the other hand, the great Clarendon could by no means be an object of the like indifference. Was it not the very definition of the condition of England at that moment that they were all living under a Clarendonian administration? In Church, as well as in State, was not all that one beheld in 1662 the work chiefly of Clarendon?

Of the catastrophe of St. Bartholomew's day Milton's opinions must have been peculiar. To the mere expulsion of never so many ministers and preachers from their livings in the Church he could have had no objection; or, if he had objected, it would have been because only a proportion had been expelled and not the whole body at once. In his Disestablishment tract of 1659, called *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*, his proposal had virtually been such a simultaneous ejection of the

whole body of the clergy from their livings at an appointed hour and day, without compensation of any kind, the Church revenues thenceforward to be confiscated for general state purposes, and the ejected to be told that they must depend for their livelihood entirely on their voluntary preaching of the Gospel, or otherwise on their industry and their wits. Immediate disestablishment, or instantaneous separation of Church and State, being thus his avowed ideal, he would gladly, in suitable circumstances, have heard of the ejection not only of 2000 of the clergy, but of all the 10,000 or more that were drawing stipends in England. In suitable circumstances, also, he might have accepted a partial disestablishment as an instalment of his ideal, and so have reconciled himself to the ejection of 2000 only to begin with. But the ejection of St. Bartholomew's day had nothing in common with Milton's notion of ejection as a means towards the abolition of a State-Church. In the first place, it was not an ejection with a view to disestablishment at all, but, on the contrary, with a view to the refounding and refortification of the State-Church in what seemed to him its worst form. For the 2000 Presbyterians, semi-Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists ejected, there were to be brought in as many of the Prelatic sort, so that the entire body of the State clergy should be zealots for High Episcopacy and practitioners of the corresponding ritual. But, farther, there was to be no public preaching whatever, no liberty of meetings for worship, apart from the State-Church so re-organized. The ejection of the Nonconformists was not ejection only, but ejection and silencing. The world was not to be all before them where to choose their place of rest. They were not to be allowed to form voluntary congregations from among their old flocks, or to go over the country as itinerant preachers, subsisting on what might be voluntarily offered them; they were not even to earn their livings as schoolmasters or tutors in families; they were to live as they could find the means in unaccustomed ways; or, if they still persisted in private ministerial practice from house to house, it was to be with the police on the watch, dogging their daily footsteps, and dragging them

to fines or imprisonment. And so, whatever had been Milton's former quarrel with Presbyterians, Independents, or Baptists, whether on the ground of their consenting to be hirelings in a State-Church, and thus helping to keep up that institution of his abhorrence, or on the ground of their too narrow ideas of the religious liberty to be accorded to others, what could he do now but join in the general pity for so many good men in the straits to which they had been reduced?

Of the victims of the St. Bartholomew Milton must have known not a few personally, or by their public reputation. As an inhabitant of Jewin Street, and parishioner of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, he cannot but have been interested in the fact that Dr. Annesley, the popular vicar of that great parish, was one of those turned adrift. Among the rest he would remember especially the three survivors of his old friends of the Smectymnuus brotherhood—Dr. Edmund Calamy, ejected from his perpetual curacy of Aldermanbury, London, after having resisted the temptation of a bishopric; Matthew Newcomen, ejected from his vicarage of Dedham in Essex; and Dr. William Spurstow, ejected from his vicarage of Hackney. Among those who had been Presbyterian colleagues of these three in the Westminster Assembly, and notable men there, he would remember, for various reasons, Simeon Ashe, now ejected from St. Bride's, London, Thomas Case, ejected from St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, and Dr. Lazarus Seaman, the Orientalist, ejected from Allhallows, Bread Street, Milton's own native parish. Of the five original Independents of the Westminster Assembly only three survived, and these were all among the sufferers,—Dr. Thomas Goodwin, now silenced in London, whither he had removed after having been deprived of his Presidentship of Magdalen College, Oxford; Philip Nye, to whose punishment in his character as one of the excepted from the Indemnity Act there had been added ejection from his London living of Bartholomew, Exchange; and William Bridge, ejected at Yarmouth. Among the later adherents to Independency in the Westminster Assembly now among the

ejected Milton would note at least Joseph Caryl, of St. Magnus, London Bridge, the commentator on the Book of Job, and one of his old opponents in the Divorce controversy. On personal or on general grounds he would think also, of course, of such Presbyterian or Independent celebrities, not of the Westminster Assembly, as Owen, Baxter, Manton, Bates, Matthew Poole and Howe, of the Baptists Tombes and Jessey, and of the freethinking John Goodwin, his own associate in obloquy, long out of the Established Church already, but now incapacitated also for his voluntary ministry in Coleman Street. But, indeed, who can tell in how many of the ejected and silenced all over the country Milton may have felt an interest? Of these one was certainly John Oxenbridge, late fellow of Eton College, to whose house, when Marvell was living with him as tutor to Cromwell's ward, Milton had sent three copies of his *Defensio Secunda*. Ejected from his fellowship at the Restoration, Oxenbridge found himself under farther persecution by the Uniformity Act, and had again a life of weary wandering before him. Also, if I am not mistaken, a certain Richard Heath, one of the ejected Nonconformist ministers of Shrewsbury, and mentioned as an Oriental scholar who had assisted Walton in some portions of his *Polyglott*, was the same Richard Heath whom we have known as probably one of Milton's pupils in the Barbican, and subsequently one of his correspondents[1].

Among those who had remained in, or been brought back, to be the dutiful episcopal clergy of the Church of the Restoration, as well as among those who had been cast out, Milton must have been able to reckon up some interesting to himself personally. He had not forgotten, of course, Robert Pory, his old schoolfellow in St. Paul's and chum in Christ's College, Cambridge. Better days had now dawned on this nearly oldest of all Milton's acquaintances. Not only had he stepped back into his former London living at the Restoration, but, by the favour of Archbishop Juxon, with whom

[1] See ante, Vol. III. p. 657 and Vol. IV. p. 469. If I am right in identifying Heath of Shrewsbury with Milton's former pupil and correspondent, he had been educated at Milton's own College, Christ's College, Cambridge, after leaving Milton's house in Barbican.

he claimed some kin, he had been collated to the Archdeaconry of Middlesex; had held also, from 1660 to 1662, the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, and the prebend of Willesden; and was now, as D.D., to receive a yet richer rectory in Hertfordshire, which, with his archdeaconry and a canonship-residentiary of St. Paul's, he was to enjoy to his death in 1669.—Of those who had been coevals with Pory and Milton at Cambridge one remembers in this connexion Thomas Fuller, Jeremy Taylor, and Henry More. The first had lived to benefit so far by the Restoration as to recover his prebend of Salisbury, be appointed chaplain in ordinary to the King, and created D.D., but not long enough to obtain the bishopric which would have been deemed his due, or to have his moderate and tolerant soul pained by the cruelty of the St. Bartholomew. He had died Aug. 16, 1661, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Jeremy Taylor, who had been a greater sufferer than Fuller through the Commonwealth, had received his fit recompence of a bishopric, though an Irish one, and was now, as Bishop of Down and Connor, under Bramhall's primacy in Ulster, subjecting his Scottish clergy in that diocese to the new episcopal discipline with a vigour that could hardly have been predicted from his *Liberty of Prophesying*, published in 1647. Dr. Henry More, as we know, remained on in his fellowship in Christ's College, Cambridge, under his friend Cudworth's mastership.—One would like to know whether Andrew Sandelands, that fellow of Christ's who had left the college before More entered it, but whom Milton had known there, and who had been Milton's correspondent afterwards in such extraordinary circumstances (ante, Vol. IV. pp. 487–494), was now alive, to be restored to his Yorkshire rectory, or otherwise to reap the benefit of his former Royalism, and connexion with the Marquis of Montrose. I have obtained no trace of him, and think it probable that he had died before the Restoration, while the skull of Montrose, for which he had so touchingly petitioned Milton in 1652, remained still exposed in the High Street of Edinburgh.—In Jewin Street itself Milton was in contact with one eminent example of the substitution

of a new man in a parish for one of the ejected of St. Bartholomew. The successor of Dr. Annesley in the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, was Dr. John Dolben, a nephew of the once famous Archbishop Williams. He had been made canon of Christ Church and was already Archdeacon of London when he received the valuable living of St. Giles, Cripplegate; within the same year he was to be Dean of Westminster, as his famous uncle had been; and ere long he was to be Bishop of Rochester, on his way to his famous uncle's last post in life, the Archbishopric of York. The tenure of Dr. Dolben's pastorate of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, was from November 1662 to March 1663–4, when he was succeeded by John Pritchett, a veteran also in favour on account of his past fidelity to Royalty and Episcopacy. Pritchett, in succession to Dolben, was to have the pastoral care of Cripplegate parish during the whole of the rest of Milton's life; for, though he was to be promoted to the Bishopric of Gloucester in 1672, it was to be with liberty to hold his Cripplegate vicarage and other benefices *in commendam* [1].

We already know what the Restoration had done for Milton's great adversary, the naturalized Frenchman, Dr. Peter Du Moulin, author of the *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum* (ante, p. 213). What is more curious is that there seemed a chance in 1662 that there would be naturalized in England, in connexion with the Church of England, as French preacher and chaplain at Court, Du Moulin's famous substitute and scapegoat in the *Regii Sanguinis Clamor* affair, Alexander Morus:—Confirmed at last in his ministry of the Protestant church of Charenton by the decision of the national French Protestant synod of Loudun in the end of 1659 (ante, Vol. V. pp. 633-635), Morus had for two years been a great man in the Parisian world. His pulpit oratory was something unprecedented. The peculiarity of his preaching, in respect of matter, "consisted," says Bayle, "in sallies "of imagination, which contained ingenious allusions, with "an air of paradox well calculated to surprise the hearer

[1] Newcourt's Repertorium, I. 83 (for Pory), and I. 64, 182, and 358 (for Dolben and Pritchett); Memoirs of Fuller, Taylor, and More.

"and keep his attention on the stretch. But the manner of "his delivery constituted the principal charm. Hence it "happens that on paper his sermons are very far indeed from "being so admirable, and that most of those who have sought "to imitate him have made themselves ridiculous." In Morus, in fact, Paris then possessed one of those great popular preachers, not unknown in later times, whose reputation depends not only on fine voice and elocution, but also on liberal deviation from the conventionalities of pulpit decorum. Then, as now, there were critics disposed to carp at such an erratic style of pulpit oratory, and Morus, in the midst of his fame, had not a few detractors. His co-pastor M. Daillé, who had stood by him in his late difficulties, had turned against him after nearer acquaintance. That, it was hinted, might be owing to chagrin on the part of the good M. Daillé at being eclipsed by a colleague; but there was much variety of opinion generally about Morus and his eloquence. "It was "disputed among people of good taste whether what was best "in him was solid or merely superficial, and whether he ought "to be called a flash or a light." With these criticisms of his style of preaching there mingled, of course, despite his acquittal by the synod of Loudun, recollections of the old scandals against his character. Morus, therefore, in all his new Parisian celebrity, was by no means yet at his ease. The Restoration of Charles II. to his British dominions seems consequently to have come upon him as an event that might have a bearing on his own fortunes. Was his present position in Paris the best attainable? Was he not a Scot by descent, and had he not worked and suffered, in a manner that had made him notorious over Europe, in the cause of English Royalty during its eclipse? Long ago, before he had left Geneva, and afterwards through his changes of abode in Holland, there had been overtures for bringing him over to London as pastor for the French church there, or for inviting him to the principalship or a theological professorship in one of the Scottish universities; and what if now the offers should take higher shape? There is proof that Morus, about this time, did feel some such fascination towards the British

Islands. He had cultivated the acquaintance of Lord Hollis, the first ambassador for Charles at the French court; and there is extant in manuscript a Latin letter of his to the Scottish Earl of Lauderdale, of date Jan. 1, 1660–1. "To the most "noble and illustrious Lord, the Earl of Lauderdale, Alexan- "der Morus, S.P.D.", is the heading of this letter, the whole strain of which is disagreeably characteristic. "Although "none of those who know me can doubt with what joy my "mind was suffused by that revolution of affairs for the "better among you which has been brought about by the "marvellous providence of God, yet I have thought it my "duty to tender some sign of my congratulation on this "new year's day to you in chief, most illustrious Earl, who, "having so long and so grievously suffered for the King, "have risen again with the King himself, and, liberated by "the hand of God, now walk abroad adorned also with the "royal munificence. God be my witness, who has restored so "bright a light from such darkness, what true sighs I fetched "from my inmost breast when first I heard that you were "thrown into prison by that servant of Satan and wicked "parricide; nor shall I lie if I say that I was in Christian "sympathy with you all through your incarceration, inas- "much as I never prayed to God all that time but you were "some part of my prayer." So the letter proceeds, to the length of about as much more, wishing prosperity to the Earl in future and a worthy exercise of his great abilities. There is no hint whatever in the letter of any reason why it should have been written, save generally that Morus in Paris desired that his existence should be remembered by the powerful Earl of Lauderdale, whether by the King's side in London, where he usually was, or on his visits of business to Scotland. We are thus prepared for the sequel.—In the month of September in the same year, some fresh complaint against Morus having been made to the consistory of the Parisian church, he asked leave of absence for a short stay in England. He did arrive in England in December 1661; and in Evelyn's Diary, under the date of Sunday the 12th of January 1661–2, we read as follows:—"At St. James's chapel preached, or rather

"harangued, the famous orator Monsieur Morus, in French. "There was present the King, Duke, French Ambassador, "Lord Aubigny, Earl of Bristol, and a world of Roman "Catholics, drawn thither to hear this eloquent Protestant." Nor was this all. The great fast-day sermon before the King and Court on the 30th of January 1661–2, the anniversary of the Royal Martyr, was also in French, and by M. Morus. His text was Romans viii. 28, "And we know that "all things work together for good to them that love God, "to them who are the called according to his purpose"; and the eloquent sermon itself in the original French may be yet read by the curious.—There seems to have been no attempt, however, on the part of the King, Lauderdale, or any of the rest, to detain M. Morus in England. He was back in Paris in June 1662, and once more among thorns. The Parisian consistory, or congregational court, having taken up the complaint against him that had been in progress during his absence, he was at once suspended from the pastoral office till it should be farther investigated. There ensued such a riot next Sunday in the church of Charenton between his partisans in the congregation and his enemies that the service had to be stopped; there was an appeal in consequence to the civil courts, with the result of a reference of the case to a "colloquy"—i.e. to a conference of the neighbouring Protestant churches, analogous to a "presbytery" in Scotland or "classis" among the English Presbyterians; by that colloquy the suspension was confirmed; and not till May 1664 was Morus reinstated in his pastorate by a judgment given in his favour at last by the Synod of the province of Berri. Henceforward there is nothing more concerning him that needs record here, save that, after four final years of unabated fame among the Parisians for peculiar pulpit oratory, but unabated division of serious public opinion all the while respecting his real worth, he died in September 1670, in a manner reported by his admirers as most Christian-like and edifying, in the house of the Duchess de Rohan [1].—Farewell,

[1] Bayle's Dictionary, Art. *Morus*; Bruce's Life of Morus, 235—352; Lauderdale Papers among Add. MSS. in British Museum, Vol. 23, 115 f. 1;

then, at this point, to poor Morus, one of the most singular personages, and surely one of the most pitiable, within the horizon of this History! One wonders how he spent his six months in London. Hearing that Milton was living in a poor and neglected way in a street called Jewin Street, did he give himself the pleasure of strolling in that direction some afternoon and passing and repassing Milton's door? If so, hush! The door opens; Milton comes out, leaning on the arm of an attendant; and, as they walk slowly away, the attendant tells Milton of a dark foreign-looking man on the footway opposite, staring after them steadily.

There was one ecclesiastic in Clarendon's new Church of England whose relations to Milton, though Milton cannot yet have been aware of the fact, were more extraordinary than those of either Du Moulin or Morus. This was Dr. John Gauden, who had been made Bishop of Exeter in November 1660, when the new episcopate was first arranged by the addition of the necessary number of new men to the nine surviving pre-Restoration bishops. The story of Dr. Gauden and his behaviour in that bishopric is, strangely enough, part and parcel of Milton's biography in Jewin Street.

Born in Essex in 1605, Gauden had been educated in arts at St. John's College, Cambridge, but had transferred himself to Wadham College, Oxford, for his divinity studies. In these he had been very diligent and distinguished; and, after having been known as a successful college tutor, he had become chaplain to the Earl of Warwick. His connexion with this great Parliamentarian peer led to his being invited to preach before the House of Commons on the 19th of November 1640, when the Long Parliament was in the first flush of its revenges against Laud, Strafford, and the other agents of "Thorough"; and for his sermon on this occasion, sufficiently Puritan for the temper of the moment, he had received the thanks of the

Evelyn's Diary of date.—To the information, abundant enough, heretofore accessible about Morus, in Bayle, Bruce, Milton's anti-Morus pamphlets, Morus's own writings, and the other authorities we have had occasion to cite, there has been added some new material from records preserved in Geneva and Amsterdam. See Appendix II. to Vol. III. of Professor Stern's *Milton und Seine Zeit*.

House. Made D.D. in 1641, he had already held one or two inferior benefices when, in 1642, he was collated to the valuable rectory and deanery of Bocking in his native county, by express order of the Lords' House addressed to Archbishop Laud in his prison. He held the living all through the time of the Civil Wars, with the reputation of a moderate Parliamentarian, not objecting to the Covenant, if he had not even signed it himself, but latterly more and more a sympathizer with the unfortunate King and his family, and a Prelatist in essentials rather than a Presbyterian. A notable appearance of his at a critical moment had been in a tract printed by Royston early in 1648–9 under the title of "*The Religious and Loyal Protestation of John Gauden, Dr. in Divinity, against the present purposes and proceedings of the Army and others about the Trying and Destroying of our Sovereign Lord the King: Sent to a Colonel to be presented to the Lord Fairfax and his General Council of Officers the first of January*, 1648." As only Dr. Hammond besides, among the Prelatic clergy, had ventured on a similar protest, while as many as forty-seven Presbyterian ministers had protested on the same occasion, the bold act was remembered to Gauden's credit among the Royalists. It did not deprive him, however, of his rectory of Bocking. He continued in that living as one of those clergy of the Established Church of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate who yet retained their principles of moderate episcopacy, while disusing the liturgy and otherwise conforming to necessity. Of a considerable series of publications which came from his pen in Oliver's Protectorate the chief were *Hierapistes, or a Defence by way of Apology of the Ministry and Ministers of the Church of England* in 1653, *The Case of the Ministers' Maintenance by Tithes* in the same year, and *A Petitionary Remonstrance* to Oliver in 1665 on behalf of the Episcopal clergy, then threatened by the well-known temporary edict of his Highness. Of some celebrity as an author by these publications, Gauden was no less celebrated as a preacher; and among his published sermons was one preached in 1657–8 at the funeral of Cromwell's son-in-law, Mr. Robert Rich, grandson and heir-apparent of the Earl of Warwick. After Cromwell's death there had

been few more stirring men for the Restoration than Dr. Gauden of Bocking. *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria, setting forth her former constitution compared with her present condition,* was one of his publications in 1659; on the 26th of February 1659–60, just after the reseating of the secluded members, he had preached the thanksgiving sermon for that event before Monk, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Council of the City; on the first day of the Convention Parliament, April 25, 1660, he had been selected, together with Calamy and Baxter, to preach before the Commons on the solemn fast of the following Monday; and thanks to Dr. Gauden for this sermon were part of the proceedings of the House on May 1, the very day when the King's letters were read there and the Restoration determined. There was little surprise, therefore, when Dr. Gauden, who had meanwhile added the Mastership of the Temple to his Essex rectory, and had also become one of his Majesty's chaplains, appeared as one of the new bishops. The Archbishopric of Canterbury fell to Juxon, and the rich Bishopric of Winchester to Duppa; but, if Sheldon obtained the Bishopric of London, and Morley that of Worcester, who could suppose the Bishopric of Exeter too much for Gauden[1]?

Gauden went to Exeter in December 1660. In the London *Mercurius Publicus* of Jan. 3, 1660–1, there is an account of his joyful reception in that cathedral city. Before that account appeared, however, Lord Chancellor Hyde had received a communication from Gauden which must have startled him. He had probably never received another such communication in his life. It is dated "Exeter, St. Thomas's day [i.e. Dec. 21] 1660," and is signed "The Unhappy Bishop of Exon." The letter is of considerable length. "My Lord," it opens, "having made a tedious and chargeable journey to Exeter, and "having been received with very great favour and respect from "the gentry and people of all sorts, yet, to my infinite regret, "I find my fears verified that it is no preferment, but a banish-"ment of me, not only from my country, friends, and acquaint-"ance, but from all kind of happiness, which I formerly

[1] Wood's Ath. III, 612—618; Biog. Britann., Article *Gauden*; Commons Journals of April 25 and May 1, 1660; Thomason Pamphlets of 1659 and 1660.

"enjoyed with great content, in a most elegant competency as "to estate, dwelling, and reputation. Now, to my horror, I "find myself condemned to all degrees of infelicity by the "distresses of that condition to which I am exposed. Here "is no house yet free to receive me as Bishop; if it were free, "yet it is so horribly confused and unhandsome that it seems "a prison rather than a palace, unless I will be so foolish as "to lay out a vast sum of money to make it fit for use; and, "when this is done (that I may with more splendour be un-"done), there is not a revenue competent to keep house with "any honour and hospitality. I find it most certain (which "I at first told your Lordship) that the revenue is short of "£600 per annum, and this so broken with the incumbrances "of purchasers that neither rent nor fines are expectable for a "long time in any such proportion as can support me. So "that, in good earnest, my Lord, unless I had the art of living "like a cameleon, by the air of good words, I conclude myself "to be destroyed, with all mine, by this my most unhappy en-"gagement to be Bishop of Exeter." After more in the same strain, the letter proceeds, "I make this complaint to "your Lordship because you chiefly put me upon this adven-"ture. Your Lordship commanded me to trust in your favour "for an honourable maintenance and some such additional "support as might supply the defects of the Bishopric. If "this may not be had, I must not return again to Exeter, "unless I will be in love with beggary and contempt. I have "not so little sense of my relations as to sacrifice them with "myself upon the high place of episcopal honour; nor am I "so unconscious to the service I have done to the Church and "his Majesty's family as to bear with patience such a ruin "most undeservedly put upon me. Are these the effects of *his* "liberal expressions who told me I might have what I would "desire? . . . For my past credulity, folly, and expenses, "I must bear them as well as I can. I shall ever be able so "far to vindicate myself as to let the world see that I deserved "either not to have been made a bishop against my will or to "be entertained in that office to my content. But I find no "regard is had of me; which makes me thus to represent to

"your Lordship the prospect of my unhappy affairs at present. "If the King and your Lordship do not think me worthy of "a support becoming this station, I beseech you give me leave "to degrade myself, and resign the honour, yea the burthen, "which I cannot bear; nor can my nearest relation, whose "happiness is dearer to me than my own. I must not see her "soul sink under the just apprehension she hath of being "miserable because mine. Her pious, loyal, and generous "spirit is too conscious to what I have done, both known and "unknown to the world, in order to buoy up the honour of "the Royal Family, the Church and Episcopacy, to bear with "any temper the straits to which she sees me, with herself and "her children, exposed. I will run upon any rock, short of "sin, rather than see her perish, who hath deserved of me "beyond all the world. If your Lordship will not concern "yourself in my affairs (who can easily find ways to ease them, "and by your repeated expressions invited me to repose myself "on your care of my content), I must make my last complaint "to the King; and, if his Majesty have no regard for me, but "leaves me to deplore and perish, as neither a considerable "enemy nor friend, I will yet retire to God and my own con-"science, where I have the treasure of those thoughts which I "am sure every one cannot own who think themselves so much "worthier than myself, whom they joy to see thus driven upon "a banished and beggarly condition, while themselves swim in "plenty. There needs some commendam of £400 per annum "at least to be added to the revenue of Exeter; nor will this "make me live so well as I did before. I moved your Lordship "once for the Savoy, which I presume the Bishop of London "will not keep, nor would I desire it if I were so well provided "for as he is. If nothing be done, I must be undone if I live "here; from whence I hasten to retreat with extreme grief "and horror, as from a precipice. Let me be degraded from "this unwelcome dignity, and restored, as Dr. Gauden, to my "living of Bocking[1]."

Evidently there was some mystery here. No one could have sent such a letter to the Chancellor without the con-

[1] Clarendon State Papers (1786), Vol. III. Supplement, pp. xxvi—xxvii.

sciousness of some extraordinary claim. What was it? This appears from subsequent letters from Gauden to the Chancellor. Not quite, indeed, from his very next letter, dated "Morrow after Christmas day, 1660," and signed "The Sad "Bishop of Exeter." It is in the same strain as the former, written five days before. "My Lord," it begins, "I yesterday "spent the saddest Christmas day that ever I did in my life, "among strangers, in a place where I have not an house to "live in"; and the rest is equally lugubrious. He repeats that he would never have accepted the Bishopric of Exeter but for the persuasions and promises of the Chancellor; but he also throws the responsibility on Sheldon, Bishop of London, and Morley, Bishop of Worcester, both of whom had often assured him, he says, that the bishopric was worth no less than £1000 or £1200 a year. He is sure now, on more exact calculation than when he last wrote, that it is not worth more than £500 a year at the utmost; he finds, therefore, that he has "come to an high rack and empty manger"; and he repeats his protest that, unless his income is augmented by some *in commendam* benefice added to the bishopric, he must consider himself defrauded. "I am sorry," he continues, "to "see myself reduced to this after-game. Dr. Morley once "offered me my option, upon the account of some service that "he thought I had done extraordinary for the Church and "Royal Family; of which he told me your Lordship was "informed. This made me modestly secure of your Lord-"ship's favour, though I found your Lordship would never "own your consciousness to me, as if it would have given me "too much confidence of a proportionable expectation." He mentions again the Savoy in London as a convenient additional benefice for which he had already petitioned the Chancellor, and which would be more fitly attached now, he thinks, to the poor bishopric of Exeter than to Sheldon's rich bishopric of London. But again he concludes with general whining and threatening. "If I must perish, poor, banished, "and forsaken, yet I know how to perish with honour." This letter not having produced the necessary effect, Gauden again takes up his pen on the 21st of January 1660–1, and writes a

letter to the Chancellor, beginning "My Lord, give me leave "once more, in my serenest temper, to express my sense of "my affairs at Exeter." In this letter he reiterates at length his demand either for something better than Exeter or for some addition of at least £500 a year to its revenues; but now he throws off all reserve as to the ground of his claims upon the King's gratitude and munificence. "Nor will your Lord-"ship startle at this motion," he says, "or waive the pre-"senting it to his Majesty, if you please to consider the "pretensions I may have beyond any of my calling, not as "to merit but duty performed to the Royal Family. True, I "once presumed your Lordship had fully known that *arcanum;* "for so Dr. Morley told me at the King's first coming, when "he assured me the greatness of that service was such that I "might have any preferment I desired. This consciousness "of your Lordship (as I supposed) and Dr. Morley made me "confident my affairs would be carried on to some proportion "of what I had done and, he thought, deserved. Hence my "silence of it to your Lordship, as to the King and Duke of "York; whom, before I came away, I acquainted with it, "when I saw myself not so much considered in my present "disposure as I did hope I should have been. What sense "their royal goodness hath of it is best to be expressed by "themselves; nor do I doubt but I shall, by your Lordship's "favour, find the fruits as to something extraordinary, since "the service was so,—not as to what was known to the world "under my name in order to vindicate the Crown and the "Church, *but what goes under the late blessed King's name: the* "Εικων *or Portraiture of his Majesty in his Solitudes and Suffer-*"*ings. This Book and Figure was wholly and only my invention,* "*making and design, in order to vindicate the King's wisdom,* "*honour, and piety.* My wife indeed was conscious to it, and "had an hand in disguising the letters of that copy which I "sent to the King in the Isle of Wight by the favour of the "late Marquis of Hertford, which was delivered to the King "by the now Bishop of Winchester. His Majesty graciously "accepted, owned, and adopted it, as his sense and genius, "not only with great approbation, but admiration. He kept

"it with him; and, though his cruel murderers went on to "perfect his martyrdom, yet God preserved and prospered this "book, to revive his honour and redeem his Majesty's name "from that grave of contempt and abhorrence, or infamy, in "which they aimed to bury him. When it came out, just "upon the King's death, good God! what shame, rage, and "despite filled his murderers; what comfort his friends! "How many enemies did it convert! How many hearts did "it mollify and melt! What devotions it raised to his pos-"terity, as children of such a father! What preparations it "made in all men's minds for this happy Restoration, and "which I hope shall not prove *my* affliction! In a word, it "was an army, and did vanquish more than any sword could. "My Lord, every good subject conceived hopes of restora-"tion, meditated revenge and reparation. Your Lordship "and all good subjects, with his Majesty, enjoy the real and "now ripe fruits of that plant: O let not *me* wither, who was "the author, and ventured wife, children, estate, liberty, life, "and all but my soul, in so great an achievement, which hath "filled England and all the world with the glory of it. I did "lately present my faith in it to the Duke of York, and by him "to the King. Both of them were pleased to give me credit, "and own it as a rare service in those horrors of times. True, "I played this best card in my hand something too late; else I "might have sped as well as Dr. Reynolds and some others. "But I did not lay it as a ground of ambition, nor use it as "a ladder, thinking myself secure in the just value of Dr. "Morley, who I was sure knew it, and told me your Lordship "did so too, who I believe intended me something at least com-"petent, though less convenient, in this preferment. All that "I desire is that your Lordship would make that good which "I think you designed, and which I am confident the King "will not deny me, agreeable to his royal munificence, which pro-"miseth extraordinary rewards to extraordinary services. Cer-"tainly this service is such, for the matter, manner, timing, and "efficacy, as was never exceeded, nor will ever be equalled[1]."

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Vol. III., Supplement, pp. xxvii—xxx. The statement that the King's munificence promised "extraordinary rewards to extra-

There are yet three more letters from Gauden in Exeter to the Chancellor in London. The first, of date Jan. 25, 1660-1, is merely to introduce an official of the diocese who is going to London on business; but it reminds the Chancellor of the writer's disconsolate condition. The next, dated Feb. 20, renews his complaint at more length, and with some additional particulars and suggestions. "A Bishop," he says, had "need have £2000, at least £1500, a year, to live here as is "fitting; where, in earnest, there is not £500 per annum in "constant revenue." He intimates also that he is shortly to make a journey to Bocking, to remove his goods from his dear old rectory, "the saddest journey that ever I did." Unless something is done for him, he hints darkly that he has one, and but one, course left. "But I will not despair," he adds, "till I return back to Exeter, after I have preached on "Easter Day before the King, and have waited on your "Lordship. But I wish never to return again to Exeter, if "it be not more to my own and my relations' content than "these last two months have been." In the last letter, dated March 6, he again announces that he is preparing to come to London, and prays the Chancellor for some answer before he leaves Exeter. "If I were enabled any way to live "here as becomes me," he says, "I would cheerfully apply to "settle; but I easily see how impossible it is for me so to do "without ruin and dishonour unless I have some augmenta-"tion to bear the charges of so dear a place, where I am "exposed to answer all men's civility and expectations. If "there be no help for me, I beseech your Lordship to tell me "so, that so I may from despair take counsel, and bury myself "in some private obscurity by his Majesty's permission, there "to pray for his Majesty and prepare to leave a most unpleas-"ing world[1]."

The first five of these six letters of Gauden seem to have been received and read by Hyde without a word of reply.

ordinary services" is a clever reference by Gauden to a phrase in a speech of his Majesty to the two Houses on the 13th September, 1660: "I am none of "those who think that subjects by per-"forming their duties in an extra-"ordinary manner do not oblige their "Princes to reward them in an extra-"ordinary manner" (Lords Journals of date.)

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Vol. III, Supplement, pp. xxx—xxxii.

He was probably consulting with the King, the Duke of York, Secretary Nicholas, Duppa, Sheldon, and Morley on the troublesome subject. For Gauden, it appears, had not trusted entirely to his letters to Hyde, but had written, on the 17th of January, to the Duke of York, begging his mediation with the King. He had also, it would seem, applied to the King himself directly or through Secretary Nicholas; for there had been this message to him from the King in a letter from Secretary Nicholas, dated Jan. 19: "As for your own par-"ticular, he desires you not to be discouraged at the poverty "of your bishopric at present; and, if that answer not the "expense that was promised you, his Majesty will take you "so particularly into his care that he bids me to assure you "you shall have no cause to remember Bocking." But, after Gauden's sixth letter, of March 6, 1660–1, announcing his speedy arrival in London, Hyde thought it best to let the Bishop have an answer from himself, in anticipation of their meeting. On the 13th of March, accordingly, he wrote as follows: "My Lord: I do assure you upon my credit all your "letters make a deep impression on me, though it is not "possible for me to acknowledge them particularly, as I ought "to do, being not only oppressed with severe weight of "business, but of late indisposed in my health. I am heartily "glad that we are like shortly to meet and confer together; "and then I doubt not but that I shall appear very faultless "towards you, how unfortunate soever I have been in con-"tributing somewhat to your uneasiness,—which I was far "from pressing upon you when I once found the overture was "unacceptable to you. I do well remember that I promised "you to procure any good *commendam* to be annexed to that "see,—which I heartily desire to do, and long for the oppor-"tunity,—and likewise that you should be removed nearer to "this town with the first occasion: for which undertaking I "have likewise good authority. If the bishops who have "been made since the King's return feel no other content "than from the money they have yet received from their "revenue, I am sure all with whom I am acquainted are most "miserable, they having not yet received wherewith to buy

"their bread. I shall be very glad to find when we meet that "it is in my power to contribute anything to your Lordship's "content. In the meantime I do assure you I am more "afflicted with you and for you than I can express, and the "more sensibly that it is the only charge of that kind is laid "against me; which, in truth, I do not think that I do "deserve. *The particular which you often renewed I do confess "was imparted to me under secrecy, and of which I did not take "myself to be at liberty to take notice; and, truly, when it ceases "to be a secret, I know nobody will be glad of it but Mr. Milton. "I have very often wished I had never been trusted with it.* My "Lord, I have nothing to enlarge, all I have to say being fitter "for conference than a letter; and I hope shortly to see you, "when you will find me very ready to serve you as, my Lord, your "Lordship's most affectionate servant, EDWARD HYDE, C[1]."

Gauden did come to London, where he seems to have remained through the whole of the rest of 1661, residing latterly in Gresham College, but much about the Court. He took a leading part, one finds, in the famous Savoy Conferences of that year, between the twelve chosen bishops with nine assessors on the one side, and the twelve chosen Nonconformist chiefs with nine assessors on the other. "The constantest man" in attendance after the first meeting on April 15, Baxter tells us, was "Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter"; and, in closing his account of the Conferences, Baxter pays a special tribute to Gauden for his excellent behaviour in them. "He was the "only moderator of all the bishops," says Baxter, "except *our*

[1] The substance of Gauden's Letter to the Duke of York of Jan. 17, 1660–1, and of Secretary Nicholas's message from the King to Gauden of Jan. 19, and also the purport of Hyde's letter to Gauden of March 13, with some of the actual words put in italics in the text, were first made public in 1693 in a pamphlet on the *Eikon Basilike* subject called "*Truth brought to Light.*" In that pamphlet an account was given of these and other Gauden papers, as then in possession of a Mr. Arthur North, a merchant in Tower Hill, London. He had married a sister of the wife of Charles Gauden, one of the Bishop's sons, and so had inherited the papers. Toland referred to the papers, and quoted the words given from Hyde's letter, in his *Life of Milton* in 1698, and again, more fully, in his *Amyntor, or Defence of Milton's Life* in 1699; and from that time the abstract of Hyde's letter, with its curious words of reference to Mr. Milton, was quite familiar by repeated quotation in books long before Gauden's own letters were divulged in 1786 in the *Clarendon State Papers*. The original of Hyde's, however, did not appear there with Gauden's six, to which it was a reply. It was first published complete in 1824; and I take it, and also the words of Secretary Nicholas's message, from an article on the *Eikon Basilike* in the Edinburgh Review for June 1826.

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reduced to about half, the other half being employed to mend the incomes of several of the poorer sees. "It were happy if "no English bishopries were less than £1000 per annum, nor "above £2000, except the archbishopries." Winchester with about £2000 a year would be perfectly sufficient for himself; and he need not remind the Chancellor of his own promises and the King's, or of the services on which they were founded. "All the world knows how much I appeared in the most dark "and dangerous times, how much I stood in the gap; and "something I did which the world enjoyed, but knew not of." He is forced now not to be wanting to himself, "not to rely too much on other men's justice and ingenuity"; but he cannot doubt that the Chancellor will second his application to the King that he may have Winchester when it is vacant. "As "I am," he adds, "I can do little, being in an Arabic or ambu- "latory way of living, without any convenient habitation or "competent maintenance [1]."

While Gauden was waiting for the death of Duppa, he made acquaintance for the first time with no less a person than the great Earl of Bristol, the chief declared Roman Catholic at Court, Clarendon's most severe critic, and all but his rival in the real counsels of the King. "Most noble Lord," Gauden writes to the Earl on the 20th of March 1661–2, "I was much "surprised yesterday, at the Prince's lodgings, both with the "admiration of your knowledge of that great arcanum, and at "the most generous expressions of your Lordship's esteem and "favour for me; in both which I do the more rejoice because "they have given me an opportunity to be known, under a "character not ordinary, to a person whom of all men living "I have, at my distance, esteemed one of the most accom- "plished by nature, education, experience, and generous "actions. Nor do I find him (as I have two other persons) "looking with any oblique or envious eye upon that which "was the effect of a just and generous loyalty. I cannot "imagine what key your Lordship has to the cabinet, unless the

[1] Baxter's Life (edit. 1696), Part II. 305 and 363; Lords Journals from Nov. 20, 1661; Wood's Ath. III. 612—618; Clarendon State Papers, Vol. III., Supplement, pp. xcv—xcvi.

"Bishop Reynolds: he showed no logic, nor meddled in any "dispute or point of learning, but a calm, fluent, rhetorical "tongue; and, if all had been of his mind, we had been recon- "ciled." While attending the Savoy Conferences, Gauden also found time to write, or at least to publish, some new pieces in explanation of his views of ecclesiastical policy. His *Anti-Baal-Berith, or the Binding of the Covenant and all Covenanters to their good behaviour*, his *Considerations touching the Liturgy of the Church of England*, his *Counsel delivered to* 44 *Presbyters and Deacons after they had been ordained in the cathedral church of Exeter*, and *A Life of Mr. Richard Hooker*, prefacing a new edition of Hooker's works, were all published in 1661. Meanwhile, we may be sure, he was looking after his own interests with Clarendon, the King, and the Duke of York, and pestering them on every opportunity with his claims on account of his precious secret. Somehow they appear to have satisfied him or persuaded him to be patient; for it is not till near the end of 1661 that he again becomes clamorous. On the 28th of December in that year, when the Cavalier Parliament had been sitting again for a month after its adjournment, and Gauden had duly taken his place in the House of Lords with the other bishops, he began to dun Clarendon again in a letter dated from Gresham College. Duppa, Bishop of Winchester, was then ill and understood to be dying: might not that bishopric, which Gauden had thought his due when Duppa got it, be now promised him? "My truly honoured Lord,—The daily report "of my friend the Bishop of Winchester's decay as to bodily "strength (whom God preserve and comfort) doth no doubt "give the alarm or watchword to many Bishops, especially "them of us who have high racks and deep mangers, as expect- "ing by the vacancy of that great see some advantageous "tide to our little frigates. For upon the tenter are we poor "bishops set all our lives, like Pharaoh's lean kine. We "look meagrely and eagerly upon the opulency of others." The Bishopric of Winchester is reputed to be worth £5000 or £6000 a year. But Gauden would not be unconscionable. He suggests that the income of the Bishopric should be

reduced to about half, the other half being employed to mend the incomes of several of the poorer sees. "It were happy if "no English bishopries were less than £1000 per annum, nor "above £2000, except the archbishopries." Winchester with about £2000 a year would be perfectly sufficient for himself; and he need not remind the Chancellor of his own promises and the King's, or of the services on which they were founded. "All the world knows how much I appeared in the most dark "and dangerous times, how much I stood in the gap; and "something I did which the world enjoyed, but knew not of." He is forced now not to be wanting to himself, "not to rely too much on other men's justice and ingenuity"; but he cannot doubt that the Chancellor will second his application to the King that he may have Winchester when it is vacant. "As "I am," he adds, "I can do little, being in an Arabic or ambu- "latory way of living, without any convenient habitation or "competent maintenance[1]."

While Gauden was waiting for the death of Duppa, he made acquaintance for the first time with no less a person than the great Earl of Bristol, the chief declared Roman Catholic at Court, Clarendon's most severe critic, and all but his rival in the real counsels of the King. "Most noble Lord," Gauden writes to the Earl on the 20th of March 1661–2, "I was much "surprised yesterday, at the Prince's lodgings, both with the "admiration of your knowledge of that great arcanum, and at "the most generous expressions of your Lordship's esteem and "favour for me; in both which I do the more rejoice because "they have given me an opportunity to be known, under a "character not ordinary, to a person whom of all men living "I have, at my distance, esteemed one of the most accom- "plished by nature, education, experience, and generous "actions. Nor do I find him (as I have two other persons) "looking with any oblique or envious eye upon that which "was the effect of a just and generous loyalty. I cannot "imagine what key your Lordship has to the cabinet, unless the

[1] Baxter's Life (edit. 1696), Part II. 305 and 363; Lords Journals from Nov. 20, 1661; Wood's Ath. III. 612—618; Clarendon State Papers, Vol. III., Supplement, pp. xcv—xcvi.

"King or Royal Duke have lent you theirs; nor am I curious "to enquire, because I know it dwells with a very valiant and "loyal breast, as well as with a most eloquent tongue, which "only speaks of those things which are worthy of it." Only six days after the date of this letter, viz. on the 26th of March 1662, Duppa died; and that very day Gauden addressed a second letter to the Earl from Gresham College. "The "venerable Bishop of Winchester," he begins, "hath this "morning left all human affairs. How far your nobleness "shall see fit to make use of the occasion I leave to your great "wisdom. It seems a good omen of Providence that my con- "cerns should be credited to so generous a breast and so potent "a speaker." Lest this should not be enough, another letter to the Earl follows within twenty-four hours. This letter, which is longer than either of the preceding, is an argument to the effect that there will be nothing imprudent or incongruous in appointing him to such a very high post as the Bishopric of Winchester. He is aware that the great secret of the authorship of the *Eikon Basilike* must on no account be divulged, and that any very extravagant show of his Majesty's favour might "put the world upon a dangerous curiosity" in that direction if he had not other and universally recognised claims. But these he had in abundance. He takes the liberty of sending the Earl one bold and all but unique manifesto of his for Royalty when it was most prostrate, of which his Lordship may not previously have seen a copy,—doubtless his protestation to Fairfax and the Army in January 1648–9 against the King's trial and intended execution; and that was but a sample of his many services done openly and with his name. "Both enemies and friends saw me always standing "in the gap, with a bold and diligent loyalty, doing my "duty by preaching, printing, and acting, to the great vexa- "tion and confusion of those great tyrants and usurpers. So "that my confidence in his Majesty's special favour is not "built on that hidden foundation, but on many other open and "ample superstructures, such as my *Hierapistes, or Defence of "Clergy*, also my Ἱερα Δακρυα, *The Tears of the Church of the "England;* besides many other less tracts and parrhesiastic

"sermons before General Monk and the City, also before the "Parliament restored to liberty, and these in the very paroxyms "or critical points of English affairs." There being such associations with the name of Dr. Gauden in all men's minds, there could be no amazement in the general world, no "solecism of state," if he were raised to the see of Winchester, even though the true ground for the promotion were, in his Majesty's esteem, that vast anonymous or concealed service "which is consecrated to the highest merit, reputation, and "honour in the world, as the Urn of the Royal Ashes and the "Embalming of a Martyred King." The promotion, in any case, cannot be too much for him if it fits any of the others he sees about him; "whom I cannot think giants," he says, "or myself a pygmy." However, he has had experience of the uncertainties of courts, and does not know what may happen.—To this the Earl of Bristol had replied in a letter expressing the greatest regard for Gauden and his interests, but apparently advising him to take disappointment magnanimously should it come; for in a short note of April 1, acknowledging the letter, Gauden says, "I suppose these things are "already concluded against me at Court. Possibly there will "be such a preterition as neither Winchester nor Worcester "nor the Lord Almoner's place will be bestowed upon me." —Gauden's next letter to the Earl, which is of date May 1, contains nothing expressly about the personal matter, but is chiefly on the subject of a toleration or indulgence for Quakers and all other peaceable Nonconformists; on which subject Gauden expresses those broad and liberal views which he understood to be the Earl's own, and in which the Earl, as a Roman Catholic, had a personal interest. In the intervening month the great business had been settled. Gauden, after all, was *not* to have Winchester. Morley of Worcester had been appointed to that grand bishopric; and Gauden was to be content with being Morley's successor in the less lucrative, but far from bad, Bishopric of Worcester. The arrangement as regards Morley was complete in April 1662; but the *congé d'élire* for the election of Gauden to Worcester was not issued till May 13. Clarendon, who cared a hundred times more

for Morley than for Gauden, had managed the matter in his own way; and there is a tradition that the King, thinking himself pledged to Gauden for Winchester, was not altogether satisfied, and expressed the same in handsome terms to Gauden in a private interview [1].

Gauden remained in town through May and June 1662, seeing the passing of the Act of Uniformity and the other Acts that distinguished the conclusion of the first session of the Cavalier Parliament, and also the arrival of the Portuguese Queen, with other metropolitan events of those months. As late as July 9 he dates two more letters to the Earl of Bristol from Gresham College. But that month he was in Worcester, taking possession of his new see, the receipts of which during the month intervening between Morley's removal from it and his own appointment had been granted him by a special warrant of June 14. He was at Worcester on the fatal St. Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24, and may have had his own thoughts over that result of Clarendon's, Sheldon's, and Morley's policy for the Church of England. But he was not long to be Bishop of Worcester. He had been ill for some time of a painful internal disease, and on the 20th of September 1662 he died at Worcester, aged fifty-seven years. He was buried in Worcester Cathedral; where there is or was a monument to him, with his effigy in half, holding a copy of the *Eikon Basilike* in his hand. By Clarendon, and by the King too, at the time, his death may have been regarded as a good riddance; but the bishop had left a widow, who was a woman of spirit, and not likely to give up the benefits of a secret which might be worth so much to herself and her family. She petitioned the King for a half-year's rents of the bishopric, pleading that her husband had made little by so short a tenure, and that his removal from Exeter to Worcester had cost him £200. The petition was refused; Mrs. Gauden, with her four sons and a daughter, left Worcester, carrying her papers with her; and the successor of the author of the *Eikon Basilike*

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Vol. III. Supplement, pp. xcvi—xcix; Calendar of State Papers for 1662, May 13; and Toland's *Amyntor* (edit. of 1761), 222—223.

in the see chanced to be the scholar who in his exile had translated the famous book into Latin, at the King's request, for circulation on the continent. This was Dr. John Earle, who for the last year or so had been Dean of Westminster[1].

In the course of the Gauden affair, as we have seen, the prime minister of the Restoration *had* deigned one glance in the direction of blind Mr. ex-Secretary Milton. "Truly, when it ceases to be a secret," he had written to Gauden on the 13th of March 1660–1, "I know nobody will be glad of it but Mr. Milton." The words are not unkindly or unrespectful, but it may be questioned whether they do not miss what would have been Milton's real feeling if he had then been

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Vol. III. Supplement, pp. xcix—c; Calendar of Domestic State Papers for 1662, June 14; Wood, *ut supra*; Toland's *Amyntor*, 222; Account of Gauden in Kennett's *Register*. A courageous effort to revive belief in the Royal authorship of the *Eikon* was made by the Rev. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in his *Who Wrote Eikon Basilike?* published in 1824, and its sequel in 1828 called *King Charles the First the Author of the Icon Basilike further proved*. The two volumes are an extraordinary example of pertinacious self-bewilderment and love's labour lost. The case had been hardly tenable since the publication of Toland's proofs of the Gauden authorship in 1698 and 1699, following the *True Account* published in 1692 by Gauden's former curate, Dr. Anthony Walker. At all events it had been untenable since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the public had distinct information from Bishop Burnet that he had been told by King James II. himself that the *Eikon Basilike* was not of his father's writing, and when there was the significant additional evidence of the total omission of all reference to the *Eikon Basilike* in Clarendon's *History*, notwithstanding that Clarendon had at one time shared in the popular admiration of the book as the King's own and spoken of it as of immortal consequence for him and his cause (see ante, Vol. IV. p. 131). But since 1786, when the *Clarendon State Papers* were published, with Gauden's own letters among them, the case might have seemed absolutely hopeless, till Dr. Wordsworth's pleadings gave it a new hearing. Then the Edinburgh Review article of June 1826, Archdeacon Todd's reasonings in 1825 and 1828, and Hallam's long note appended to the first edition of his *Constitutional History*, again dismissed it from court. No case of the kind, however, it would appear, can ever be killed irrecoverably; and, if the reader wants to see the latest pleading for the royal authorship of the *Eikon Basilike*, he will find it in an article of thirty-five pages in the *Church of England Quarterly Review* for January 1879. My impression is that any candid reader of that article, which repeats the substance of the reasonings of Dr. Wordsworth with some additions, will form from the article itself an opinion directly the opposite to that argued for. With all the ingenuity shown in pointing out some incongruities among the Gauden witnesses and calling contradictory evidence in the shape of what stray persons said between 1680 and 1700, or said they had heard others say previously, the total effect of the argument for the possibility of the royal authorship is but as a feather-stroke against the massive and conclusive consideration which remains, and which stares the reader in the face throughout the article,—viz. that Gauden, if he was not the author of the *Eikon Basilike*, was the maddest and most impudent liar and impostor in English history, and that Clarendon, who could have exposed him, crushed him, made him bite the earth or stand in a pillory, was his soft-headed dupe, and a sheer idiot and coward in the whole business.

told the secret in full. Would it have been any great pleasure to Milton to have his own shrewdness in his first suspicions as to the fictitious nature of the *Eikon Basilike* now publicly acknowledged, when at the same time it would appear that in answering that book he had not taken up a King's gauntlet, as he had ventured to call it, though with reserve, in the preface to his *Eikonoklastes*, but had only been dealing with a rhetorical concoction by a rector of Bocking? True, the exposure of the fiction, even now, could not be without effect. Would not the royalists resent having been deluded into such enthusiasm, such days of adoration and nights of weeping and sobbing, by a deliberate literary trick; and, whenever they looked again at the familiar copies of the *Eikon Basilike* in their households, would it not be with a sense of shame? All this was possible; but who could tell? If the King's own proclamation had gone out that he had ascertained that the *Eikon Basilike* had not been written by his father, but by Dr. Gauden of Bocking, but that his Majesty now thanked Dr. Gauden for that splendid secret service, and would make him Archbishop of Canterbury after Juxon's death, would any large section of the Royalists have done anything else than approve?

As there was no such proclamation, Milton, in Jewin Street, whatever he knew, had to suppress his knowledge. It was not for him now to concern himself about public matters, or to publish his thoughts about that or this occurring at Whitehall. He must employ his time otherwise. Night and day, evening and morning, he must pursue those quiet studies among his books which the Clarendon administration, with all its faults, did not and could not forbid, and his leisure for which was far from unacceptable, though it had come in no such calm of assured and confirmed Republican liberty as he had fondly imagined, but amid the wrecks of liberty, with ghastly heads exposed on spikes within a mile or two of his dwelling, and with the roar of Court debauchery and City debauchery close to his ears.

Before the end of 1662 considerable progress must have been made by Milton in the dictation of his *Paradise Lost*.

As he had begun it seriously in 1658, he may, notwithstanding the terrible interruptions of the intermediate years, have brought a book or two of the poem complete with him into Jewin Street. There is no certainty on the subject; but, if we suppose Books I. and II., substantially as we now have them, to have been so brought into Jewin Street, then Milton had already put on paper the important beginnings of his grand story. The course of that story so far had been wholly in the regions of Hell and Chaos; but now it has reached the point of Satan's first advent within the human universe which he is to ruin. Hence, at the opening of Book III., where the story emerges, as it were, from infra-mundane darkness into mundane and heavenly light, there is an autobiographic interjection or pause:—

> Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heaven first-born!
> Or of the Eternal co-eternal beam
> May I express thee unblamed? since God is light,
> And never but in unapproachèd light
> Dwelt from eternity,—dwelt then in thee,
> Bright effluence of bright essence increate!
> Or hears't thou rather pure Ethereal stream,
> Whose fountain who shall tell? Before the Sun,
> Before the Heavens, thou wert, and at the voice
> Of God, as with a mantle, didst invest
> The rising World of Waters dark and deep,
> Won from the void and formless Infinite!
> Thee I revisit now with bolder wing,
> Escaped the Stygian Pool, though long detained
> In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight,
> Through utter and through middle Darkness borne,
> With other notes than to the Orphean lyre
> I sung of Chaos and Eternal Night,
> Taught by the Heavenly Muse to venture down
> The dark descent, and up to re-ascend,
> Though hard and rare. Thee I revisit safe,
> And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou
> Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain
> To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
> So thick a drop serene hath quenched their orbs,

> To rapture, till the savage clamour drowned
> Both harp and voice; nor could the Muse defend
> Her son. So fail not thou who thee implores;
> For thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.
>
> P. L. VII. 1–39.

The post-Restoration tone is here unmistakeable. Not only does the poet tell us generally that he has fallen on evil days, evil tongues, in darkness and solitude, and surrounded with dangers; he is writing, he tells us, on the edge of another literature than that to which he would or could belong, a literature which is no literature to him, but "a barbarous dissonance of Bacchus and his revellers," the London literature of Davenant's restored laureateship. The precise date at which the passage was dictated is of small consequence. If not written in 1662, it was to be written the next year or the next, and certainly in the house in Jewin Street. In that house, now unknown and probably not extant, there must have been the composition and dictation of a large portion of the poem.

The house in Jewin Street being of so much importance in Milton's life after the Restoration, one would like to know something of the domestic conditions of Milton and his family while they resided there. Let the date of our inquiry still be the year 1662.

The Restoration had, of course, brought a great change for the worse in Milton's pecuniary circumstances. Before the Restoration, according to the best calculation from all the evidence, he possessed about £4000 in money variously invested, besides small pieces of house property in London (his native house in Bread Street one of them) and small pieces of country estate (that of Wheatley in Oxfordshire, held by extent upon the Powells, being one of them), worth in all perhaps £150 a year; and he was in receipt, moreover, of £200 a year of official income for his secretaryship. It was as if one now-a-days had £14,000 or so in bank, about £500 a year in rental from other sources, and £700 a year of official income. The Restoration made havoc of that. His

official income then ceased entirely. But this was not all. Part of his investments, as we know (Vol. V. p. 703), had been in government securities; and we learn definitely from Phillips that the sum so invested was £2000, "which he had "put for security and improvement into the excise office, but, "neglecting to recall it in time, could never after get it out, "with all the power and interest he had in the great ones of "those times." The words, though not perfectly precise, imply that the loss was occasioned by the Restoration. Phillips also mentions "another great sum" lost, apparently about the same time, "by mismanagement and for want of good advice." Remember also Milton's fees to the sergeant-at-arms on his release from custody in December 1660, and other incidental expenses and disturbances of his estate at the Restoration; and it will be a fair computation that there remained to Milton after the Restoration about £1500 in money, with yearly rents to the amount of about £100 from other property. The rate of interest on money in those days varied very much, but a safe rate may have been six or seven per cent. At such a rate Milton would derive about £100 a year from his capital of £1500; which, added to his rental from other property, would give him about £200 a year to live on, without touching his savings. That, I imagine, is about the state of his affairs in the year 1662. It is as if now-a-days a person who had been much richer had still about £700 a year left, besides about £5000 in bank. Thus, though Milton's losses had been "such as might well have broke any person less frugal and temperate than himself," Phillips's farther remark that he had still "a considerable estate, all things considered," seems perfectly accurate[1].

[1] Besides the data for this calculation furnished by facts in Milton's family-history already known to us, there is the important datum of the value of Milton's estate at his death. Phillips's account is that "he is said to have died worth £1500 in money, besides household goods." But, as we shall find, Phillips was here misinformed, and Milton's estate at his death did not realize quite £1000. As, in the interval between 1662 and the year of his death there were to be farther expenses and losses, obliging him to draw on his capital, it seems that Phillips's figure of £1500 for that capital, though not right for 1674, may have been about right for 1662. In such matters absolute accuracy is impossible, but an approach to the probable fact is better than nothing.

However Milton's three daughters may have been disposed of during his time of abscondence, and afterwards during his temporary stay in Holborn, they were certainly with him in his house in Jewin Street. In the end of 1662, Anne, the eldest, was in her seventeenth year, with a handsome face, but lame and deformed, and with a defect in her speech; Mary, the second, had just reached her fifteenth year, and was active enough; and Deborah, the youngest, and the likest to her father, was only in her eleventh. Motherless for ten years, and the youngest remembering nothing of her mother, the education of the poor girls had been none of the best. They had received some kind of nursing in the house in Petty France in the first years of their father's widowerhood and blindness, when he had to depend on servants; they had doubtless been better tended there during the year of his second marriage, when his "late espoused saint" managed the household; but, after her death, when the youngest was but six years old, they had again been left to such homely teaching as could be given by any day-governess, with irregular lessons from their blind father. "None of them were "ever sent to school, but all taught at home by a mistress "kept for that purpose," was Deborah's information to inquirers long afterwards on that point. Whether their grandmother Mrs. Powell ever looked in to take superintendence of them is doubtful; but there is evidence which suggests that this lady, in the time of her own greater or less indigence, passed somewhere in Westminster with the sons and daughters that still remained about her, did not altogether lose sight of the three children of the daughter she had lost. It is just possible that, during the time of Milton's abscondence and danger, the girls were quartered with their grandmother. Wherever it was, the training had not been such as to improve them. Nor was Milton's own method with them, when they returned to him in Jewin Street, a fit substitute for the motherly supervision they required. He did indeed devise a kind of drill for them, which, while it suited himself, gave them the advantage of being constantly with him and always occupied. The eldest could read, but could not write,

her bodily deformity having prevented that accomplishment or made it seem needless; the second could read well and write tolerably; the youngest, who was to be the best penwoman of the three, and the best book-woman, can have had but a child's scrawl and a child's power of reading in the Jewin Street days. The drill to which Milton began in those days to subject them, but especially the two youngest, is described by Phillips. He made his daughters "serviceable "to him," says Phillips, "in that very particular in which "he wanted their service, and supplied his want of eye-sight "by their eyes and tongues. For, though he had daily about "him one or other to read to him, — some, persons of man's "estate, who of their own accord greedily catched at the "opportunity of being his readers, that they might as well "reap the benefit of what they read to him as oblige him by "the benefit of their reading; others, of younger years, sent "by their parents to the same end,—yet, excusing only the "eldest daughter by reason of her bodily infirmity and diffi- "cult utterance of speech (which, to say the truth, I doubt "was the principal cause of excusing her), the other two were "condemned to the performance of reading and exactly pro- "nouncing of all the languages of whatever book he should "at one time or other think fit to peruse: viz. the Hebrew "(and, I think, the Syriac), the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, "Spanish, and French." The method so described was to continue for years, and can by no means have reached such extraordinary effect in 1662. Even then, however, remembering Milton's notions of the rapidity with which languages might be taught, one can imagine the second daughter, Mary, reading French, Latin, and Italian texts fairly for her father, and the pretty little Deborah in her first prattle towards being a polyglott. There were girls then, and there have been girls since, who could have turned such training to account, however sternly given, and emerged from it as high-minded and unusually learned women. For, whatever may have been Milton's notions of the capacity of women or of the proper education for them, Phillips's farther account, to the effect that he trained his daughters merely to read aloud to

him in any Latin, Greek, or foreign book, as he had occasion. "without understanding one word" themselves, is credible only in the sense that it roughly describes the actual result. "It "had been happy indeed," as Phillips adds, "if the daughters "of such a person had been in some measure inheritrixes of "their father's learning;" but that they were not such inheritrixes may have lain more with their reception of his drill than with his intention in it. They found it irksome; they found their lives in Jewin Street irksome; the poor things were in dumb rebellion. One knows not how many pictures and engravings there have been by artists, or how many more there will be, representing the blind Milton seated in state, dictating *Paradise Lost* to one or other of his three daughters, all reverently grouped round him, or kneeling beside him, with looks of affection and admiration. The sad fact is far otherwise. Already, at our present date, we repeat, they were, all three, in dumb rebellion. The crippled eldest, whose defect in speech excused her from reading, and who could not write at all, was in secret league with the second, who bore for the present the chief burden of the drudgery of reading, but can have been of small use as an amanuensis; and these two beguiled the innocent little Deborah. Have you ever known, reader, in a household apparently respectable, but ill-regulated, little deceits and peculations carried on by some of the members at the expense of the head,—clandestine traffickings with the servants, or with the people who come round with bags in the mornings or afternoons? There was something of the sort in the house in Jewin Street. "All his said children did combine together "and counsel his maid-servant to cheat him in her market-"ings;" and "his said children had made away some of his "books, and would have sold the rest of his books to the "dunghill women." These horrible statements were made on oath after Milton's death by a witness who had received the information from himself, and in a context which referred the facts to the year 1662. O that house in Jewin Street, with the blind, self-absorbed, great man in it, and the three girls left to their own devices, and the ragwomen coming

round to the doors! The poor pitiable orphans! Anne and Mary have chosen for themselves; but will no one take away the terrified little Deborah[1]?

The grandmother, Mrs. Powell, might have taken all three away now, if that would have been any benefit to them. The struggle which she had carried on so bravely under the Commonwealth for the recovery of the wrecks of her late husband's property at Forest Hill or elsewhere, and in which the latest documents in her suit prove that she had some beginnings of success in the Protectorate, had been resumed after the Restoration, and then naturally with more favourable chances. She must have made satisfactory progress before the 10th of May 1662; for on that day there was a new proof at Doctors' Commons of the will of the late Mr. Powell, of Dec. 30, 1646, on which so much depended (Vol. III. pp. 636-637). In that will Richard Powell, the eldest son of the deceased, had been appointed sole executor, but with a provision that, if he did not accept the executorship, then the widow herself, Mrs. Powell, was to be sole executrix instead. Now, on the first probate of the will on the 26th of March 1647 (Vol. III. p. 640), it was she, and not her son, who had undertaken the hopeless business; and, so far as we had occasion to trace her suit with the Commonwealth authorities, i. e. to 1651, we heard only of her in connexion with it (Vol. IV. pp. 145–146, 236–246, and 336–341). After that date, however, her eldest son, Richard Powell, is found conjoined with her in the suit; and at that point in the Protectorate where, as we have said, the documents leave the suit with some signs of a beginning of success, mother and son were still acting together, with Christopher Milton as one of their legal advisers and counsel, and with Milton himself apparently concurring so far as he was concerned[2]. But now, on the 10th of May 1662, there

[1] Phillips's Memoir of Milton; Facsimile by Mr. Marsh of Receipts given by Milton's three daughters for their shares of his estate after his decease; Evidence in the case of Milton's Will (Todd's Milton, I. 179).

[2] See the latest documents in the suit in Hamilton's *Milton Papers*, Appendix 109—128. In May 1654 there was an order for repayment to Mrs. Powell or her son, by the Treasurers at Goldsmiths' Hall, of £192 4*s.* 1*d.* of the composition money that had been paid by Mr. Pye on the Forest Hill property; and Mrs. Powell was still applying for that sum in January 1655-6, not having then received it.

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is a second probate of the late Mr. Powell's will, still to be seen in Latin on the margin of the first in the record of the will. Oath is then taken before Sir William Mericke, knight, Doctor of Laws, by "Richard Powell, Esq.," as the son of the deceased and the first appointed executor, and the former arrangement making his mother executrix is annulled. This seems to imply that, matters now being in a hopeful way, the widow was glad to hand over the farther management to her son, the head of the family, and now forty-one years of age. He, indeed, was the party principally interested; for, by the will, the estate of Forest Hill and all the other recoverable property of the deceased had been bequeathed to him, subject to the payment of his mother's jointure, and to a provision for his numerous brothers and sisters. Whether he did realise all that had thus been bequeathed to him and the rest of the family is uncertain; but, as we do find him in possession of Forest Hill shortly after our present date, and figuring as the squire of the place, just as his father had done, the inference is that the Restoration brought back some degree of prosperity to all the Powells.

Nor was Milton's interest in this improvement of the fortunes of the Powells only of that indirect kind which one might have in the bettered circumstances of a family one had known long, and with which one had been connected, though not very agreeably, by marriage. Milton was directly interested in two respects. In the first place, was the small Wheatley property in Oxfordshire now reclaimed and recovered by his brother-in-law, Mr. Richard Powell, as well as the main estate of Forest Hill? If so, was the process of recovery the legal one of ending Milton's extent on that property by paying Milton the full sum of £300, with long arrears, for which the extent had been given? In that case, though Milton now parted with the Wheatley property and lost the £80 a year which was his estimated income from it, he had the compensation, of course, of the considerable capital sum which his brother-in-law must have paid him for the release. It is quite possible, however, that in such a transaction in those days the Royalist would have the advantage, and so

that Milton had to part with the Wheatley property on very losing terms. But, on whatever terms he parted with it, he had yet another reason for keeping the Powells in view after their reacquisition of that property and of Forest Hill. There remained due to him the marriage-portion of £1000 which had been promised him with his first wife, but had never been paid. There had been express recognition of this obligation in the late Mr. Powell's will. Precisely in that portion of the will which related to the Wheatley property there were these words: "And my desire is that my daughter "Milton be had a regard to, in the satisfying of her portion, "and adding thereto in case my estate will bear it." The "daughter Milton," who had stood by his bed-side when he expressed this wish, had died not many years after himself; but were not the three girls she had left the proper heirs of whatever had been hers? Should the Powells ever be again the flourishing Oxfordshire family they had once been, was not Milton entitled to expect that his wife's marriage-portion of £1000 should be forthcoming for the benefit of her three children? That this matter was in Milton's thoughts more and more from 1662 onwards we shall find evidence in time. But was it convenient for the restored squire of Forest Hill to remember, among the other claims upon him by his mother and his living brothers and sisters, this more distant claim of his three nieces, daughters of a dead sister? One has an impression that the girls were more in their grandmother's thoughts than in their uncle's; but altogether the link between the Powells and Milton's household, after the Restoration, cannot have been kindly or cordial. And so, for better or for worse, the three girls remained with Milton, the little Deborah growing up with her sisters [1].

[1] Mr. Powell's Will, with probates, as cited; previous account of Milton's interest in the Wheatley property (Vol. IV. pp. 236—246, 336—341); and Hunter's Milton Notes (1850), p. 33,—where it is stated that "in the roll of persons "contributing to the Hearth Tax in "1665 the principal person at Forest "Hill is a Mr. Richard Powell, probably "a brother-in-law of Milton, who is "charged for seven hearths." Hunter's surmise was correct.—A fact that had escaped me when I gave my first account of the Powell family (Vol. II. pp. 491—501), is that the eldest son Richard Powell was then a student of law. He had been admitted of the Inner Temple in May 1638. I owe this information to Miss Thomasin E. Sharpe, of whose genealogical researches, and her kind-

Among Milton's visitors in Jewin Street must have been some of his friends of former days. Durie, as we know, was no longer in England; and, though he was to be alive till after 1674, still a stirring man here and there on the continent, the relations between *him* and Milton can now have been but matter of recollection. Hardly either among Milton's possible visitors in Jewin Street can we reckon Hartlib. Our last glimpse of this memorable man is early in 1662, and it is a sad one. He was then old, broken down with bodily pains, if not wholly bedridden, reduced also to extreme poverty by the loss of the pension granted him under the Protectorate, and for a continuation of which, or at least some bounty for his relief, on the ground of his long and arduous public services of various kinds, he had in vain petitioned the Convention Parliament. Nothing more is heard of him; and he seems to have died without much notice in the course of that year. Needham, who deserved worse, had fared better. Once more a practitioner of physic, and going about in safety, or producing his pardon under the great seal when he was in danger of arrest by too zealous authorities, he had again, it seems, apostatized so far as to publish a so-called *Short History of the English Rebellion*, consisting of a collection of the newspaper verses he had written when he was the Royalist Mercurius Pragmaticus and not yet Bradshaw's and Milton's converted Mercurius Politicus. His calls on Milton, one fancies, must now have been very rare. Whether the musician Henry Lawes kept up his acquaintance with Milton after the Restoration is also a matter of conjecture only. His circumstances may have made the continued intimacy difficult. For, "outliving the tribulations which he endured for the royal cause," he had been restored, with all honour and respect, to his old place and title as chief court musician and gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and had composed the anthem for the Coronation of Charles. In any case Milton's pleasure in the continued or renewed friendship would have been but brief. "For a short time,"

ness in communicating their results, I shall have to make farther acknowledgment. But I ought to have known the general fact that he was a member of the Inner Temple from the preserved documents relative to Milton's nuncupative will.

we are told, "Lawes lived happy" in his restored office, "venerated by all lovers of music"; but he died in October 1662, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.—About that time the probability is that among the friends of Milton who were steadiest in their attendance on him were Andrew Marvell, Cyriack Skinner, and young Lawrence. As to Marvell there is no doubt whatever. To the very end Marvell was to be faithful, and we learn from himself that he found time, amid his Parliamentary duties, to be pretty often with Milton in Jewin Street[1].

One day, when Marvell was in Milton's house, he found a young man there whom he had never met before. This was a Mr. Samuel Parker, son of John Parker, an energetic lawyer who had distinguished himself by his business activity, and also by publications, in behalf of the Parliament and the Commonwealth, and who, after having been sergeant-at-law under Oliver, had risen to be one of the barons of exchequer during the rule of the restored Rump. Of this office he had been deprived at or shortly before the Restoration; but he had so far made his peace with the new powers that, in July 1660, at the first call of sergeants-at-law for Charles II., he had, by Hyde's influence, been made one of them. His son Samuel, then only twenty years of age, was in great perplexity as to the line of conduct that would be proper for himself after this submission of his Puritanical and Republican father. Educated at Wadham College, Oxford, on the strictest Presbyterian principles, he

[1] Kennett's Register, pp. 868—873 (Hartlib and Lawes); Bayle, Art. *Dureus*; Wood's Ath. III. 1182—1187 (Needham); Marvell's *Rehearsal Transprosed* in Grosart's edition of Marvell, III. 498—500; Dircks's Memoir of Hartlib, pp. 22—39.——I observe that Hartlib, in his petition to the Convention Parliament, styles himself "Samuel Hartlib, *Sen.*" I infer that he had a son, or nephew, of the same name; and in the *London Gazette* for April 16—19, 1666, I find an advertisement signed "Sam. Hartlib, Secretary." Hartlib himself, in a letter of Nov. 22, 1660, speaks of "a daughter and a nephew" as two relatives depending upon him in his poverty. Was not this junior Samuel Hartlib the friend of Pepys mentioned in his Diary under the date Aug. 7, 1660, as referred to in a former note (ante, p. 200)? If so, I may be right in my former statement that Hartlib left a daughter, married to a German named Roder, besides the one married to the German Clodius; if not, that was a mistake. The last known letter of *our* Hartlib is one to Dr. Worthington, of date Feb. 14, 1661–2, in which he says, "This may be the last of mine for aught I know." His death shortly after that is mainly an inference from the sudden cessation of his correspondence. But Evelyn, answering inquiries about him in 1703, speaks, though rather ambiguously, of his having gone abroad, and having died at Oxford "after his return from travel."

had come to be esteemed "one of the preciousest young men in the University." He was one of a club of students of different colleges who, on account of the frequency of their prayer-meetings and their usual restriction of themselves to a diet of "thin broth, made of oatmeal and water only," were nicknamed *The Gruelers*. He had just taken his B.A. degree when the Restoration came. Was he then to throw in his lot with the suffering Nonconformists, and so sacrifice all his future prospects in life? For a time he had no doubt on the subject. "He did pray, cabal, and discourse," says Wood, "to obstruct "episcopal government, revenues, and authority." It was in this state of mind, that, having incurred the displeasure of the warden of his college, he had come up to London. What attracted him to Milton is uncertain; but the attraction must have been unusually strong, for Marvell found that he was perpetually with Milton or in his neighbourhood. He "wan-"dered up and down Moorfields, astrologizing upon the dura-"tion of his Majesty's government"; and, Jewin Street being but a step from Moorfields, he "frequented J. M. incessantly, and haunted his house day by day," asking his opinions of various matters, and consulting him as to the proper interpretation of the signs of the times. Milton, we may suppose, gave him the best advice he could, but may not have been sorry when the young man left London, to return to Oxford and reason out his difficulties for himself[1].

A more pleasant person to meet at Milton's than young Mr. Samuel Parker must have been Dr. Nathan Paget. He was the son of a Cheshire clergyman, had been educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of M.A., and had afterwards studied medicine at Leyden, where he graduated as M.D., Aug. 3, 1639. He had been admitted an extra-licentiate of the London College of Physicians, April 4, 1640, and incorporated as M.D. at Cambridge June 3, 1642; since which time he had been in the practice of his profession with much repute in London. He had been appointed physician to the Tower by the Council of State of the Commonwealth in

[1] Wood's Ath. IV. 225—226, and Fasti, II. 218; Marvell's *Rehearsal Transprosed*, as before.

the first year of Milton's secretaryship, and had held the office of Censor to the College of Physicians in 1655, 1657, and 1659. He had known Milton well for a long time, probably from the Aldersgate Street and Barbican days. He had his house in Coleman Street, very near Jewin Street, and seems to have been continually coming in to see Milton, partly as a friend and partly as his medical attendant. The blindness, now total for ten years, was a settled matter; but Milton's ailments besides were serious enough, and had taken the form at length of confirmed and severe gout. A call from Dr. Paget every other day was as needful as it was agreeable; and not unfrequently, when Milton went out, it would be arm-in-arm with the kindly physician[1].

Lady Ranelagh is not to be forgotten. She had gone to Ireland, it may be remembered, in October 1656 (ante, Vol. V. pp. 277–279), just before Milton's second marriage, and Milton had then regretted much the loss he was to sustain by the absence from London of one whose visits to him in Petty France had helped to brighten all the previous years of his blindness, and whose assiduity in his behalf he could only describe by saying that she had stood to him in "the place of all kith and kin." For two years or more the only compensation he can have had must have been in occasional letters from her. None such have survived; but there are some preserved letters of hers from Ireland to members of her family in England. They are so characteristic that an extract or two from them may be welcome. A letter was written to her brother, Lord Broghill, on the 17th of September 1658, just after she had received in Ireland the news of the great Protector's death. "Dear Brother," it begins, "I must own "not to have received the news of his Highness's death un- "movedly . . . Certainly he may justly be esteemed improvi- "dent that, after such a warning, shall make no better pro- "vision for himself than the greatest stock of such vanishing "greatness comes to; of which we have had express manifest- "ations, both of his coming into and going out of his

[1] Munk's Roll of the College of Physicians, I. 224—225; Phillips's Memoir; and ante, Vol. IV. p. 151.

"government. And, if the common charity allowed to dead "men be exercised towards him, in burying his faults in the "grave with himself and keeping alive the memory of his "virtues and great aims and actions, he will be allowed to "have his place amongst the worthiest of men . . . I doubt "his loss will be a growing affliction upon these nations, and "that we shall learn to value him more by missing him,— "a perverseness of our nature, that teaches us, in every con- "dition wherein we are, therewith to be discontent, by under- "valuing what we have and overvaluing what we have lost. I "confess his performances reached not the making good of his "professions; but I doubt his performances may go beyond "the professions of those who may come after him." She then goes on to append to "this great account of loss upon public score" by Cromwell's death what she calls the "penny half-penny" matter of her own particular loss by that event. Cromwell, it seems, had been very friendly to her in the matter of her Irish estates, and also in her difficult relations with her husband, Viscount Ranelagh. "His now Highness," she says, meaning the Protector Richard, "seems not to me so "proper a person to summon my lord [her husband], or to "deal with him in such an affair as his father did; from "whose authority, and severity against such practices as my "lord's are, I thought the utmost would be done that either "persuasions or advice would have effected upon my lord." Equally interesting, in another way, is a letter of Lady Ranelagh's to her younger and favourite brother, Robert Boyle, then still at Oxford, and in constant correspondence with her. It is dated vaguely "January 7"; which may or may not mean "January 7, 1658–9." Boyle seems to have told her that he had been recently on a visit to the poet Waller, at his house of Hall Barn, near Beaconsfield, and to have sent her some courtly compliment from that gentleman. This is how she receives it:—"For Mr. Waller, I never heard one word "from him since I left him, but what you said in your last; "and I know his calling as a poet gives him licence to say as "great things as he can, without intending they should sig- "nify any more than that *he* said them, or to have any higher

"end than to make him admired by those whose admira-
"tions are so volatile as to be raised by a sound of words;
"and, the less the subject he speaks of, or the party he
"speaks to, deserves the great things he says, the greater
"those things are, and the greater advance they are to
"make towards his being admired, by his poetical laws.
"Therefore, if he would be but as little proud of saying great
"things to me as I hope I shall be in hearing them from him,
"he would, I am apt to think, escape some guilt that now his
"fine sayings lay him under; and I could never give myself a
"reason why he, who can say such things upon things that so
"little deserved them, should be so unwilling to apply that
"faculty to those subjects that were truly excellent, but this,
"—that *there* his subject would have been debased by his
"highest expressions, and he humbled in the exercise of his
"wit, but, where he *has* employed it, his subjects have been
"raised by his fancy, and himself by reflecting upon it. I
"shall therefore return his great professions with a plain
"hearty wish that he may partake in gifts more excellent
"than his wit, and employ that for the time to come upon
"subjects more excellent than hitherto he has done; and,
"without compliment, I should gladly be serviceable to
"him, or his wife,—to whom I am a servant on much better
"accounts than he hitherto makes it possible for me to
be to *him*." Evidently Lady Ranelagh was a severe judge of character.—She was certainly back in London in the end of 1659, and so must have witnessed from the centre the later events of that year of confusion, ending in the drift towards the Restoration and the Restoration itself. Had she, in the months before the Restoration, resumed her visits to Milton in Petty France, and was she thus cognisant then of his more private thoughts, as well as, with all the rest of the world, of his vain thunderings for the dying Republic? Milton's character was indubitably more to her standard of greatness and manliness than Waller's. One has to remember, however, that her brother, Lord Broghill, had been one of those who, since the abdication of Richard, had seen no other possible close of the anarchy than the recall of

the Stuarts, and also that the whole family of the Boyles welcomed the Restoration when it did come, and were taken conspicuously into court favour. For a time she may have had to keep somewhat aloof from Milton; but there is little doubt that Milton in Jewin Street could still think of her as really unchanged to him, and that occasionally from 1662 onwards she went to see him, as before, from her house in Pall Mall. That house was, of course, her brother Robert's residence when he was in London; and ere long, leaving Oxford altogether, he was to be permanently domiciled in it, all the world admiring the mutual devotion of the incomparable Boyle and his incomparable sister[1].

Not long after Lady Ranelagh's return to London, her son, Mr. Richard Jones, Milton's former pupil, was safely back from his travels, in the company of his tutor, the German Henry Oldenburg. They were back before the end of 1660; and, when we remember their former intimacy with Milton, and the confidential correspondence he had kept up with them during their stay abroad, even to as late as December 1659, we can hardly, in their case, any more than in that of Lady Ranelagh, imagine estrangement. Both the German and his pupil, however, had entered on paths of their own, which were probably to lead them farther and farther from Milton's society.

Oldenburg, though his tutorship of young Ranelagh was at an end, remained, as we know, in the Ranelagh and Boyle connexion. On account of his many merits, the philosophical Boyle had taken him permanently under his patronage, and they were now inseparable. When, on the 28th of November 1660, Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Moray, Mr. Christopher Wren, Dr. Petty, and the rest of the chiefs of the London virtuosi resolved, at one of their meetings in Gresham College, to organize themselves more regularly for the future into a society "for the promoting of physico-mathematical experi-

[1] Thurloe, VII. 395—397 (the first letter quoted); Boyle's Works, V. 556—567 (the second letter), with Life of Boyle by Birch prefixed to Vol. I.—It is just possible that the influence of Lord Broghill and the Boyle family may have been one of those concurring influences that saved Milton at the Restoration.

mental learning," Mr. Oldenburg's name, as well as Mr. Boyle's, had been put down, as we saw, in the list of persons, not already of the brotherhood, whom those present judged "fit to join with them in their design," and who, if "they should desire it, might be admitted before any other." Accordingly, on the 26th of December, Mr. Oldenburg had been actually elected a fellow, together with Mr. Boyle himself, the poet Denham, Mr. Evelyn, and Mr. Ashmole. From that moment Oldenburg's heart and soul had been in the affairs of the Society and especially in Mr. Boyle's contributions to it; and, when the Society received its charter of incorporation in July 1662 and became The Royal Society, Oldenburg was appointed by the charter itself, as we saw, to be one of the first council, along with Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Moray, Boyle, Petty, and the other chiefs, and he and Dr. John Wilkins were appointed the joint secretaries. In fact, Oldenburg became the one working secretary, discharging most indefatigably the duties he has himself so particularly described (ante, p. 397). Launched in this career of secretaryship, his faithfulness in which has kept his name memorable in the annals of the Society, Oldenburg can have had little time for continued intercourse with Milton. In any case it might be inconvenient for him to remember that he had been Milton's agent in distributing abroad copies of his Defences of the English Commonwealth, and he could hardly repeat his recommendation to Milton to employ himself in writing a history of the Commonwealth and the Protectorates. Any history of the English Troubles that could have come from Milton could hardly have been dedicated now to Mr. Oldenburg. As secretary of the Royal Society, he was in daily association with Restoration officials and courtiers; and, naturally enough, when Mr. Oldenburg married the only daughter of Mr. John Durie, and a son was born to him, the boy was to be called Rupert Oldenburg, having Prince Rupert for his godfather[1].

Mr. Boyle had taken his nephew, young Mr. Richard

[1] Wood's Fasti, II. 197; Weld's History of the Royal Society, I. 66—67, 96, 135, and 259—260.

Jones, as well as Mr. Oldenburg, under his wing. The tastes chiefly fostered in the boy, since he had passed from Milton's hands to Oldenburg's, had been, as we know, those for physical science; and, when he came back from his travels, it was with the reputation of an ingenious young gentleman who might one day distinguish himself in his uncle's walks of research. One is not surprised, therefore, at finding the name of "Mr. Jones" immediately under that of Boyle himself in the list of persons thought fit and proper for election into the infant Royal Society in November 1660, nor at finding that, when Mr. Boyle published in April 1661, from Herringman's shop, a collection of his speculative and chemical papers, under the title of *Certain Physiological Essays, and other Tracts, written at distant times and on several subjects*, his nephew's name was prominently connected with the publication. Most of the papers having been written in the form of letters to a young friend of the author, styled "Pyrophilus," care was taken to inform the public who this young friend was. "To save the reader the trouble of guessing who is "meant by that Pyrophilus to whom most of the following "treatises are addressed, I think it requisite to inform him," says Boyle, or Herringman for him, in a prefixed note of advertisement, "that the person veiled under that name is "that hopeful young gentleman, Mr. Richard Jones, only son "to the Lord Viscount Ranelagh and an excellent lady, sister "to the author." Thus introduced to the world of letters and science at the age of twenty-one, young Jones might easily, one thinks, have done credit to his Boyle lineage and to the part which Milton had taken in his education. The uniformly Mentor-like tone of all Milton's letters to him, however, has taught us what to expect. Evidently Milton had all along been aware of some weakness in the young man's character that would show itself as he grew older. Nor had he judged wrongly. We have but to pass to the year 1662 to meet young Jones, where no pupil of Milton was to be looked for, in Count Anthony Hamilton's *Memoirs of Count Grammont*. In that celebrated, but very much overrated book, we have, as all the world knows, a picture of the Court of

Charles II., with sketches of its men and women, in the guise of the adventures and observations of the French chevalier during his residence in London. Banished from the Court of Louis XIV., and *blasé* already with all the experiences of life in France, Grammont had come to London, we are told, just after the arrival of the Portuguese Queen, when the English Court was to be seen in its full splendour. Much as he had expected, he was surprised by what he found; and, very soon, admitted to the most intimate familiarity with Charles II., and knowing everybody else, and invited to all the parties of the Queen, Lady Castlemaine, and the Duchess of York, he was doing his best to contribute to the "magnificence and diversions" of the debauched Court. This he did for a while merely by his wit, his fine manners, his exquisite little suppers, and his willingness to play high and prove his skill by winning great sums of money. At length, "weary of the favours of fortune, he had just resolved to pursue those of love," when an opportunity presented itself, as follows:— "Mrs. Middleton was the first whom he attacked. She was "one of the handsomest women in town, though then little "known at Court: so much of a coquette as to discourage no "one; and so great was her desire of appearing magnificently "that she was ambitious to vie with those of the greatest "fortunes, though unable to support the expense. All this "suited the Chevalier de Grammont; therefore, without trifling "away his time in useless ceremonies, he applied to her porter "for admittance, and chose one of her lovers for his confidant. "This lover, who was not deficient in wit, was at that time "a Mr. Jones, afterwards Earl of Ranelagh. What engaged "him to serve the Chevalier de Grammont was to traverse the "designs of a most dangerous rival, and to relieve himself "from an expense which began to lie too heavy upon him. "In both respects the Chevalier answered his purpose." How the intrigue was worked out we need not inquire; enough to know how far young Jones had advanced in 1662. The Mrs. Middleton affair was but the first of a series of such in the young man's progress at Court. His life and services in political office as Viscount Ranelagh and Earl of Ranelagh

were to extend far beyond our present date, but we need not anticipate more at present[1].

Milton's nephews, both now past thirty years of age, and busy in continued hack-writing for the booksellers, can have had but little leisure for assisting their uncle among his books and papers.

It may be questioned, indeed, whether the younger nephew, John Phillips, ever now went near his uncle. The hack-writing in which this more Bohemian of the two brothers was engaged was still of the sort most distasteful to Milton. In the end of 1659 he had published, in emulation and ridicule of Lilly's Astrological Annuals, a pamphlet with this title: "*Montelion*, 1660: *or, The Prophetical Almanack; being a True and Exact Account of all the Revolutions that are to happen in the world this present year*, 1660, *till this time twelvemonth: by Montelion, knight of the Oracle, a well-wisher to the Mathematicks.*" Godwin imagines that Milton may have had this, with other Royalist pamphlets, in his thoughts in that passage of his *Ready and Easy Way* in which he had spoken so bitterly of "the insolencies, the menaces, the insultings of our newly-animated common enemies," their diabolical "fore-running libels," their "infernal pamphlets, the spew of every drunkard, every ribald." This is on the supposition that Phillips was the author of the *Montelion* for 1661 and the *Montelion* for 1662, almanacks in continuation of the first, but more exultingly Royalist, and containing scurrilities against the Rump, Hugh Peters, "Old Noll's wife," and Cyriack Skinner, and also that he was the author of *Don Juan Lamberto, or A Comical History of the Late Times: by Montelion*, and of *Montelion's Introduction to Astrology*, both published in 1661, and both clever specimens of Restoration buffoonery. These four publications of the Montelion set, however, are more generally ascribed to the poet Flatman; in which case the only known publication of John Phillips intermediate between the first *Montelion*, which is certainly his, and our

[1] Weld's History of the Royal Society, I. 66—67; Stationers' Registers, April 28, 1661; Boyle's Works, I. 191; ante, Vol. V. pp. 267—268, p. 278, p. 366, and p. 635; Grammont's Memoirs (edit. of 1809), I. 171—197, and note, pp. 270—271.

present date, was a new edition in 1661 of his *Satyr against Hypocrites* of 1655, with the title altered to *The Religion of the Hypocritical Presbyterians in Meeter*. Such as he was, a clever writer of Restoration burlesques, he had necessarily increased his distance from his uncle[1].

Not so his elder brother, Edward Phillips, whose Royalism, though equally declared, had taken a graver character. Just before the Restoration he had been employed to prepare for the press a new edition of Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, the first or 1641 edition of that popular book, and the second or 1653 edition, having been exhausted. In those two editions the narrative had been brought down no farther than the death of James I.; but in the third edition, prepared by Phillips, and published in 1660, there was a supplement, written by Phillips, entitled *A Continuation of the Chronicle of England to the end of the year* 1658: *being a full narrative of the Affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, more especially relating unto the transactions of Charles, crowned King of the Scots at Scone on the first day of January* 1650. The wording here would suggest that, for a book sent to press before the Restoration, nothing could well have been more Royalist in design and spirit; and, accordingly, though there is a study of candour and moderation in the text, and very liberal praise of Cromwell and his administration, the leaning to the Stuarts is apparent. Charles I. is treated with sympathy; the story of Montrose's tragic fate is told with eloquence; and at the close of the book there are kindly words about Charles II., then in exile, with an obvious anticipation of his speedy return. He is styled "this illustrious unfortunate," and the history of the three kingdoms since his father's death is reputed to belong to his reign, on the ground of his being "the eldest son of the last King of Great Britain," and having been himself crowned King of Scotland. Thus, at the very moment when Milton, in his last pre-Restoration pamphlets, was defying approaching Majesty to the face, his elder nephew, as well as his younger, had publicly joined the ranks

[1] Godwin's Lives of the Phillipses, 96—113; Wood's Ath. IV. 764, with notes by Bliss.

of the waiting Cavaliers. In Edward Phillips, however, there was, after all, a spirit of grateful loyalty to his Republican uncle that seems to have been wanting in his coarser brother. He had felt all due anxiety about his uncle's fate immediately after the Restoration; and, when Milton had settled in Jewin Street, this one of the two nephews had continued, amid his own occupations for the booksellers, including a new edition of his English Dictionary or *World of Words* in 1662, to drop in upon his uncle attentively whenever he could[1].

Edward Phillips, as he tells us himself, took interest in the progress of *Paradise Lost*. "There is another very remarkable "passage in the composure of this poem," he says, "which I "have a particular occasion to remember; for, whereas I had "the perusal of it from the very beginning, for some years, as "I went from time to time to visit him, in a parcel of ten, "twenty, or thirty verses at a time,—which, being written by "whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction "as to the orthography and pointing,—having, as the summer "came on, not been showed any for a considerable while, and "desiring the reason thereof, was answered, That his vein "never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinoctial to "the vernal, and that whatever he attempted [in the other "part of the year] was never to his satisfaction, though he "courted his fancy never so much; so that, in all the years "he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent but "half his time therein." In all probability it was in Jewin Street, and in the year 1662, that Milton confided to his nephew the curious fact that his muse was never so happy as in the winter half of the year, from the end of September to the end of March. He had then been engaged on the poem for four years or for four years and a half, and was in a condition to report his experience in such a matter, whatever it was. Phillips's statement is certainly curious, and has provoked remark. Toland actually ventured to fancy that Phillips must have, by inadvertence, reversed Milton's information, and that he ought to have written, and meant to write, "from the vernal

[1] Godwin's Lives of the Phillipses, 113—120; Wood's Ath. IV. 761—764, with notes by Bliss.

equinoctial to the autumnal." Toland's chief reason is that Milton's veteran experience, if correctly reported by Phillips, was in direct contradiction of his juvenile experience, as reported poetically by himself in his elegy of 1629, *In Adventum Veris*. Had he not there celebrated, as one of the joyful phenomena of the returning spring and summer, the renewed glow and vigour at that season of his own poetical genius (ante, Vol. I. p. 185)? But, even if those lines should be taken as a literal record of Milton's experience at the time, thirty-three years may have made the precise difference which Phillips is so careful to report. As it is hardly possible to suppose, with Toland, that Phillips could have made the blunder of reversing the statement made to him, we must conclude that, in a general way, the winter half of the year *was* the time when Milton advanced most rapidly with the meditation and dictation of his great poem [1].

"How had that man, Milton," asks Richardson, "the "courage to undertake, and the resolution to persist in, such "a work, with the load of such difficulties upon his shoulders, "—ill health, blindness, &c.?" The question is worth entertaining a little more particularly at this point.—In the first place, there can have been no great difficulty in the mere matter of the dictation. Phillips's information on this subject, supplemented by such more minute reminiscences as Richardson could afterwards gather, is tolerably sufficient. Milton, when he was in the vein, says Phillips, would dictate ten, twenty, or thirty lines at a time to any one that was near and could write, so that, when Phillips revisited him after any interval, he would find so much additional manuscript, in various hands, waiting for such correction of the spelling and pointing as only a scholar could give. Richardson, from what he had been told, was able to amplify the account somewhat. He had heard that usually, when Milton dictated,

[1] Phillips's Life of Milton, 1694; Toland's (edit. 1761), pp. 118—119; Richardson's (1734), pp. cxliii—cxliv; Johnson's Lives (edit. 1854), I. 118. Aubrey tells the same story as Phillips, —i. e. "All the time of writing his Paradise Lost, his vein began at the Autumnal Equinoctial and ceased at the Vernal." Aubrey had obtained this information originally from Phillips in or about 1680; but the double booking of it, by Aubrey then and by Phillips in 1694, quite disposes of Toland's idea that Phillips meant the reverse of what he actually wrote.

"he sat leaning backward obliquely in an easy chair, with "his leg flung over the elbow of it"; also that "he frequently "composed lying in bed in a morning," but with great variations in the amount composed. Sometimes, "when he could "not sleep, but lay awake whole nights," not one verse could he make, however much he tried; at other times the song came upon him "with a certain *impetus* and *æstro*, as himself "seemed to believe." On such occasions, "at what hour "soever, he rung for his daughter "—at our date it must have been his daughter Mary—"to secure what came." Richardson, who professes not to omit the least circumstance he had been told, adds that then "he would dictate many, perhaps "forty lines, as it were in a breath, and then reduce them to "half the number,"—which last I cannot conceive to have ever been his habit. On the whole, amid such conditions as Phillips and Richardson describe, we can imagine the precious manuscript, in perhaps more than one copy, gradually increasing in bulk, and generally taken out from day to day, to be again laid aside for careful keeping. Milton probably retained all that he had composed in his memory, and could have dictated the whole of it afresh if necessary.—The difficulties were rather in those miscellaneous readings in all languages which were required for the purposes of so learned a poem, and for the other works Milton had in hand. To find an amanuensis for thirty or forty lines of English verse at a time was far easier than to find readers of Latin, Greek, English, and foreign books for five or six hours every day. But here too Phillips's information is all that can be desired. While Milton employed his daughters, or two of them at least, as readers, he by no means depended on them. There was even a competition among his older friends, and among young men who could obtain his acquaintance, for the privilege and advantage of being allowed to read to him. There were perhaps half-a-dozen different young men taking turns in the house in Jewin Street, through 1662, as Milton's readers and amanuenses at stated hours; and of one of these in particular we have a very interesting glimpse. He was a young Quaker, named Thomas Ellwood.

Born in 1639, the son of a small squire and justice of the peace at Crowell in Oxfordshire, Ellwood had grown up to his twentieth year, a rough country-lad, fond of nothing but horses, dogs, and field sports, when a great change came over him. It happened through an acquaintance between his family and that of the Penningtons:—Isaac Pennington, the eldest son of the famous Republican and Regicide Judge, Alderman Isaac Pennington of London, had married Lady Springett, a wealthy widow, and had come, in or about 1658, with her, and her young daughter by her former marriage, to reside at a place called the Grange, in Chalfont St. Peter's, Buckinghamshire, about fifteen miles from Crowell. There, one day in 1659, Ellwood's father paid them a visit, taking Ellwood with him. "Very much surprised we were," says Ellwood, "when, being come thither, we first heard, "then found, they were become Quakers: a people we had "no knowledge of, and a name we had till then scarce heard "of." In fact, Pennington, greatly to the disgust of his father the Alderman, had been converted to Quakerism by George Fox in the preceding year, and had become one of the leading men of the sect. The elder Ellwood, finding all grave and demure, however handsome and hospitable, in a family which he had hitherto known as free and jovial, seems to have resolved to have little more to do with them; but with the younger Ellwood it was different. The little step-daughter, Guli. or Gulielma Springett, whom he had known from her infancy, and whom he found a very pearl of prettiness in her Quaker dress, was probably an attraction; but, in any case, he tended more and more to Chalfont St. Peter's, and at length, from being so much among Quakers, turned Quaker himself. For a while there was a battle between his father and him on the subject, his father unable to bear the sight of him at table with his hat on, and tearing one hat after another off his head till he had not a hat left, and locking him up, and refusing to allow him to go to the Penningtons or to Quaker meetings. But at length, the old man having removed himself sulkily to London, young Quaker Tom, though with little or no money, was more at liberty.

Through 1660 and 1661 he had been up and down Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, attending meetings, and getting himself arrested and released again, and he had visited London, where in 1660 he published a Quaker tract. In all his difficulties Isaac Pennington, when not in prison himself, was his chief refuge. That eminent Quaker (not to be confounded with his father the Alderman, who had been tried with the other Regicides, and who died in his prison in the Tower, Dec. 17, 1661), had been a prolific writer of religious tracts long before he had turned Quaker, and when he was only a mystical kind of Independent or Seeker. He seems to have been a man of some culture, and to have encouraged Ellwood to mend the defects of his early education. Though Ellwood had made some progress in Latin, and begun Greek at school in his boyhood, yet "by continued disuse of books" he had forgotten all he had ever learnt, and "could not have read, "far less have understood, a sentence in Latin" if it had been put before him. "Nor was I rightly sensible of my loss "therein," he says, "until I came among the Quakers. But "then I both saw my loss and lamented it, and applied "myself with utmost diligence, at all leisure times, to recover "it: so false I found that charge to be which in those times "was cast as a reproach upon the Quakers, that they despised "and decried all human learning because they denied it to be "essentially necessary to a Gospel ministry; which was one "of the controversies of those times." In short, in the year 1662, Ellwood, then twenty-three years of age, felt some stirrings of ambition and wanted to be a scholar[1].

At this point he and Milton came together in the following manner:—"Though I toiled hard, and spared no pains to "regain what once I had been master of, yet I found it a "matter of so great difficulty that I was ready to say, as the "noble eunuch to Philip in another case, 'How can I, unless "I have some man to guide me?' This I had formerly "complained of to my especial friend Isaac Pennington, but "now more earnestly; which put him upon considering and

[1] Ellwood's Life by himself (edit. of 1714), pp. 33—153.

"contriving a means for my assistance. He had an intimate "acquaintance with Dr. Paget, a physician of note in London; "and he with John Milton, a gentleman of great note for "learning throughout the learned world, for the accurate "pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions. "This person, having filled a public station in the former "times, lived now a private and retired life in London, and, "having wholly lost his sight, kept always a man to read to "him; which usually was the son of some gentleman of "his acquaintance, whom, in kindness, he took to improve in "his learning. Thus, by the mediation of my friend Isaac "Pennington with Dr. Paget, and of Dr. Paget with John "Milton, was I admitted to come to him: not as a servant to "him (which at that time he needed not), nor to be in the "house with him, but only to have the liberty of coming to "his house at certain hours when I would, and to read to him "what books he should appoint me; which was all the favour "I desired." It had taken some time to bring about this arrangement; and, after it was settled, Ellwood, who was then living like a hermit-crab in his father's empty house at Crowell, had to sell off some of the stock there before he could come to London. At length he hastened thither, calling upon the Penningtons at Chalfont St. Peter's by the way, and immediately went to wait on Milton. "He received me "courteously, as well for the sake of Dr. Paget, who intro- "duced me, as of Isaac Pennington, who recommended me; to "both of whom he bore a good respect. And, having inquired "divers things of me with respect to my former progression in "learning, he dismissed me, to provide myself of such accom- "modations as might be most suitable to my future studies. "I went, therefore, and took myself a lodging as near to his "house (which was then in Jewin Street) as conveniently I "could, and from thenceforward went every day in the after- "noon (except on the first day of the week), and, sitting by "him in his dining-room, read to him in such books in the "Latin tongue as he pleased to hear me read. At my first "sitting to read to him, observing that I used the English "pronounciation, he told me, if I would have the benefit of

"the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin "authors, but also to converse with foreigners, I must learn "the foreign pronounciation. To this I consenting, he in- "structed me how to sound the vowels so different from the "common pronounciation used by the English (who speak "*Anglicè* their Latin) that, with some few other variations in "sounding some consonants in particular cases,—as *c* before *e* "or *i* like *ch*, *sc* before *i* like *sh*, — the Latin thus spoken "seemed as different from that which was delivered as the "English speak it as if it were another language. I had "before, during my retired life at my father's, by unwearied "diligence and industry so far recovered the rules of grammar, "in which I had once been very ready, that I could both read "a Latin author and, after a sort, hammer out his meaning. "But this change of pronounciation proved a new difficulty to "me. It was now harder for me to read than it was before to "understand when read. But *Labor omnia vincit improbus:* "'Incessant pains the end obtains.' And so did I. Which "made my reading the more acceptable to my master. He, on "the other hand, perceiving with what earnest desire I "pursued learning, gave me not only all the encouragement, "but all the help, he could. For, having a curious ear, he "understood, by my tone, when I understood what I read "and when I did not, and accordingly would stop me, examine "me, and open the most difficult passages to me [1]."

Ellwood had gone on with Milton in this way for six weeks, sensible of great improvement, when his health broke down. After about two months in London he had to return to the country to recruit. When he had recovered sufficiently, he came back to resume his studies. "I was very kindly "received," he says, "by my master; who had conceived so "good an opinion of me that my conversation, I found, was "acceptable to him, and he seemed heartily glad of my "recovery and return; and into our old method of study we "fell again, I reading to him, and he explaining to me as "occasion required." Very soon, however, there was another

[1] Ellwood's Life, pp. 153—157.

interruption, and this time not from ill health. On the 26th of October 1662, Ellwood, having gone to the usual Quaker meeting-house at the Bull and Mouth in Aldersgate Street, not far from Milton's house, was arrested, with thirty-one others. They were marched off by the soldiers to Bridewell in Fleet Street; and partly in that prison, partly in Newgate, to which they were transferred for a while, they were kept for about three months.—Ellwood's account of his musings and occupations in the two prisons, and of the horrors and abominations of both, is one of the most interesting parts of his book. The common side of Newgate he describes as "a type of hell upon earth;" and he dwells particularly on one of the many ghastly and disgusting sights he saw there. "When we came "first into Newgate," he says, "there lay, in a little by-place, "like a closet, near the room where we were lodged, the "quartered bodies of three men, who had been executed some "days before for a real or pretended plot; which was the "ground, or at least pretext, for that storm in the city which "had caused this imprisonment." The bodies, in fact, were those of George Phillips, yeoman, Thomas Tongue, distiller, and Nathaniel Gibbs, felt-maker, three of six citizens of London who had been condemned at the Old Bailey for treasonable conspiracy, and four of whom were hanged and quartered at Tyburn on the 22nd of December 1662. At length, as Ellwood tells us, the bloody quarters were removed from the closet, the friends of the dead men having obtained leave to bury them; but the heads were kept, to be set up in some parts of the city. "I saw the heads," says Ellwood, "when they were brought up to be boiled. The hangman "fetched them in a dirty dust-basket out of some by-place; "and, setting them down among the felons, he and they made "sport with them. They took them by the hair, flouting, "jeering, and laughing at them; and then, giving them some "ill names, boxed them on the ears and cheeks. Which done, "the hangman put them into his kettle, and parboiled them "with bay-salt and cummin-seed: *that* to keep them from "putrefaction, and *this* to keep off the fowls from seizing on "them. The whole sight, as well that of the bloody quarters

"first as this of the heads afterwards, was both frightful and "loathsome, and begat an abhorrence in my nature."—With such horrors fresh in his memory, and also with a considerable quantity of rough religious verse which he had managed to compose in his two prisons, the young Quaker was again at large in January 1662–3. He called on Milton at once; Milton was glad to have him back; and it was agreed that, after Ellwood had paid a short visit to Buckinghamshire, to see the Penningtons and other friends there, the Latin readings and lessons should be resumed. And so, away from Milton's door went Ellwood, to enjoy, as he tells us, the long walk in the clear, frosty weather, and along clean and good roads, that brought him to Chalfont St. Peter's.

His reception there by the Penningtons was most hearty; but he had only been with them for a day or two when a proposal was made to him which completely changed his plans. The Quaker household at the Grange then included not only Isaac Pennington himself, and his wife, Mary Pennington, and her daughter Guli. Springett, but also three much younger Pennington children, two of them boys. Both father and mother were anxious to have their children well taught at home; and, as no substitute had yet been found for an excellent young Quaker tutor, called Bradley, who had grounded the children admirably in English, but had just left the Grange to teach in a school for Quakers' children in London, Ellwood's appearance had been most opportune. Isaac Pennington and his wife had thought they might do worse than engage one who was thoroughly known to them and had suffered for his Quakerism, and who, though not by any means a finished scholar, had recently been trying to make up for lost time. "Wherefore," says Ellwood, "one "evening, as we sat together by the fire in his bed-chamber "(which, for want of health, he kept), he asked me, his wife "being by, if I would be so kind to him as to stay a while "with him, till he could hear of such a man as he aimed at, "and in the mean time enter his children in the rudiments "of the Latin tongue." As Ellwood was full of the idea of returning to his lodging in London, and following his inter-

rupted studies with Milton, he hesitated over this proposal of the Penningtons. His sense of gratitude to them, however, and perhaps the thought of Guli. Springett, prevailed over other considerations; and he did remain. His tutorship, instead of being merely temporary, as at first intended, was to last for seven years. Chiefly at the Grange in Chalfont St. Peter's, but sometimes elsewhere, as persecution of the Quakers compelled change, Ellwood, though gradually perceiving that Guli. Springett could never be his, and therefore making up his mind to marry some one else, was to continue with the Penningtons. He did not forget Milton, however, and was never in London without calling upon him [1].

Whether Ellwood had been informed of the fact or not when he went into Buckinghamshire, a change of economy was then in contemplation in Milton's house in Jewin Street. Milton was on the point of being married again. Things had been going from bad to worse under the mismanagement of his three daughters and the maid-servant or maid-servants; there had been confidential conversations between Milton and some of his friends, and especially between him and Dr. Paget; and Milton had consented to a third marriage, as the best thing possible for a person in his circumstances, if a suitable wife could be found. Here Dr. Paget was able to be helpful. He had a relative of his own then in London, suitable in every way, and who would not object, or might be persuaded not to object, to being the wife of a blind man of fifty-four years of age, that man being Milton. She was a certain Elizabeth Minshull, a very young woman, and never before married.

The following are the ascertained particulars respecting her family:—In January 1616–17, less than a year after Shakespeare's death at Stratford-on-Avon, there had died in Nantwich in Cheshire a mercer named Nicholas Gouldsmith, leaving, by his wife Dorothy, who had predeceased him, one son and three daughters. Two of the daughters were then

[1] Ellwood's Life, pp. 157—229; Howell's State Trials, VI. 226—274.

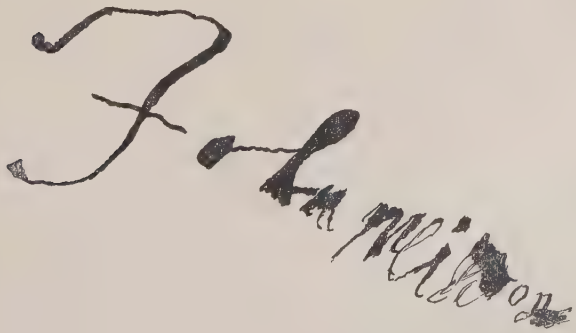
already married. One, named Margery Gouldsmith, born in 1579, had married, in April 1613, the Rev. Thomas Paget, a minister in Cheshire; the other, named Ellen Gouldsmith, had been the wife since August 1599 of Richard Minshull, yeoman, of Wells Green, Wistaston, in the same county, close to Nantwich. To this Ellen Gouldsmith and her husband Richard Minshull, connected only very distantly with the chief Cheshire Minshulls, called the Minshulls of Stoke, there had been born four children, three of whom were alive at their grandfather Gouldsmith's death,—viz. Mabel Minshull, baptised at Wistaston Jan. 13, 1601, Randal Minshull, baptised there May 31, 1605, and Thomas Minshull, baptised there May 18, 1613. The two elder of these are mentioned in their grandfather's will, one to receive a ring with a posy, the other a piece of gold. It is possible that children of the other or Paget marriage, though not mentioned in the will, were then also in existence. At all events, at our present date of 1662–3,—the said Richard Minshull of Wistaston having died in 1657, and the said Rev. Thomas Paget having died in June 1660, rector of Stockport in Cheshire,—there were alive various Minshulls and Pagets, their children, more or less advanced in years, distributed through various parts of England, but remembering their Cheshire origin and their Gouldsmith cousinship through their mothers. There was a second Rev. Thomas Paget; there were several Paget sisters, all or most of whom had changed their names by marriage; and there was our Dr. Nathan Paget, the London physician and friend of Milton. Probably because he was a bachelor, Dr. Paget had kept up a close correspondence not only with his brothers and sisters, but also with his cousins, the Minshulls and Gouldsmiths. Of the two Minshull brothers, his cousins, the younger, Thomas Minshull, had settled as an apothecary in Manchester, while the elder, Randal Minshull, had remained in his native Wistaston. It is with this Randal Minshull that we are more particularly concerned. He had married, about thirty years ago, a wife of the name of Boote, by whom he had had a numerous family, one of them a daughter, named Elizabeth, whose baptism at Wistaston is entered in the registers of that

parish under date Dec. 30, 1638. This was the Elizabeth Minshull who was to be Milton's third wife. Her father, who had inherited the little property at Wistaston at *his* father's death in 1657, and had been known since then as Randal Minshull of Wistaston, had probably some difficulty in providing for all his children; and it may have been by some arrangement for his convenience made by Dr. Paget that his daughter Elizabeth, born and bred in Cheshire, was on a visit to London in 1662–3. She was then, if we may decide by her baptism-register, exactly twenty-four years of age [1].

The following is a verbatim copy of Milton's marriage allegation, or declaration of his intended third marriage, dated Feb. 11, 1662–3 :—

Wch. day pŝonally appeared John Milton, of ye parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, gent., aged about 50 yeares, and a widower, and alledged that he intendeth to marry with Elizabeth Minshull, of ye parish of St. Andrew, Holborne, in ye county of Midd, mayden, aged about 25 years, and att her own disposing, and that he knoweth of noe lawfull lett or impedimt, by reason of any prcontract, consanguinity, affinity, or otherwise, to hinder the sd intended marriage; and of the truth hereof he offered to make oath; and prayed Licence to be marryed in ye church of St. George, in ye Burrough of Southwark, or St. Mary Aldermary, in London.

(Signed)



[1] The facts in this paragraph are partly from Hunter's *Milton Notes* (1850); more largely from Mr. John Fitchett's Marsh's *Milton Papers*, printed

When this intention of marriage became known in Jewin Street, it naturally caused some consternation among the daughters. The maid-servant, or one of the maid-servants then in the house, told the second daughter, Mary, that she heard her father was to be married; "to which the said Mary "replied to the said maid-servant that that was no news, to "hear of his wedding, but, if she could hear of his death, *that* "was something." The marriage, nevertheless, took place. Although, by the licence, it was to be either in St. George's, Southwark, or in St. Mary Aldermary, the latter church was chosen. Very possibly this may have been because the rector of that church was then Dr. Robert Gell, who had been one of the fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, during Milton's residence there, and who, after having held this living through the Protectorate, with the reputation of being a preacher of peculiar mystical lights, had continued in it since the Restoration. At all events, the marriage-entry stands thus, under date Feb. 24, 1662–3, in the registers of St. Mary Aldermary:—"*John Milton, of the parish of St. Gyles, "Crippellgate, and Elizabeth Minshull, of the parish of St. Andrew, "Holborne, married by licence the 24th of February*, 1662." It was no marriage of romance; but it gave Milton an excellent wife, who was to do her duty by him most conscientiously during all the rest of his life. Aubrey, who knew her afterwards, describes her as "a gent. person, a peaceful and agreeable humour." There is a tradition that her hair was of a fair gold colour, a fact in which Milton's daughters may have been more interested than Milton himself. One

for the Chetham Society (1851); but with still more recent and exact information from an elaborate pedigree by Miss Thomasin E. Sharpe, printed in the Genealogist for April 1, 1878, under the title *Milton, Minshull, and Gouldsmyth*," and most obligingly communicated by her to me, with MS. additions derived from farther researches among Cheshire wills and registers.—There had been a great deal of investigation of the Minshull pedigree on wrong tracks before Mr. Hunter suggested, and Mr. Marsh determined, the right one. The story had come down, and had been repeated by Todd and others, that Milton's third wife was of the knightly family of the Minshulls of Stoke, Co. Chester. Todd, on the authority of Ormerod, the historian of Cheshire, expressly calls her a daughter of Sir Edward Minshull. The story, intrinsically improbable from the first, was exploded by Mr. Marsh's careful researches, and the Wistaston yeoman, Randal Minshull, only a far-off scion of the Stoke family, substituted for the knight. The Gouldsmith and Paget connexion of the Minshulls has been farther ascertained and cleared up by Mr. Hughes, F.S.A., of The Groves, Chester, and by Miss Sharpe.

of her difficulties with *them* was her youth. Herself only twenty-four years of age, she had become step-mother to three girls, the eldest of whom was little more than seven years her junior. She was better educated in some respects than any of her step-daughters, and could write well. She could also sing, though Milton, when they became better acquainted, would tell her playfully she had a good voice but no ear[1].

For a whole year after Milton's third marriage I can find not a single particular of his life in addition to those already collected in this chapter. The big world rolled on, the world of Pepys's Diary, Charles and his courtiers revelling ever more wildly, and laughing now over the first part of Butler's *Hudibras*, and Clarendon still in the premiership, and the second session of the Cavalier Parliament persevering in the persecuting policy of the first against Nonconformists, quashing rigorously the King's own efforts for some measure of toleration, and beginning even to retaliate by denouncing the growth of Catholicism round him, and the theatres in full activity, with new pieces every week, and honest Pepys himself zig-zagging through the uproar daily, and making his notes. Milton's marriage with Elizabeth Minshull had happened when the second session of the Parliament had just begun; and at the end of that session in July 1663 he had been married five months. Seven months more passed before the first incident that I can note in the public world around him of a kind likely to have roused him strongly from its bearing on himself. This was the trial, in February 1663–4,

[1] The marriage allegation was discovered in the Faculty Office by Colonel Chester some years ago; and I owe the copy of it, and also the tracing of Milton's signature, to his unfailing kindness. Of the signature Colonel Chester says, "He "evidently had a bad and scratchy pen, "and no perception whatever of the "horizontal; but it is an extremely "interesting autograph for all that." Most readers will agree with this opinion. It is not only in itself a most pathetic record of Milton's blindness; but it is, so far as I know, the only authentic specimen of his signature or handwriting of later date than 1652.—The exact copy of the marriage entry I owe also to Colonel Chester. Authorities for other particulars in the paragraph are Aubrey's Memoir of Milton, facsimiles of Milton's third wife's signature given in Mr. Marsh's *Milton Papers* and elsewhere, and a note to Paradise Lost, IV. 305, in Newton's edition of Milton. For Gell see ante, Vol. I. pp. 100—101.

of John Twyn, printer, for high treason, and of Thomas Brewster, bookseller, Simon Dover, printer, and Nathan Brooks, book-binder, for seditious misdemeanour.

Twyn, a printer in a small way of business in Cloth Fair, near Smithfield, had been employed, by some person or persons unknown, in the preceding October, to print privately a book or pamphlet entitled *A Treatise of the Execution of Justice; wherein is clearly proved that the Execution of Judgment and Justice is as well the People's as the Magistrate's duty, and, if the Magistrates prevent Judgment, the People are bound by the Law of God to execute Judgment without them and upon them.* Some sheets of the book had been set up by Twyn himself and one or two of his men, working with much secrecy in the night time, when the premises were broken into, about four o'clock one morning, by a posse of constables, led by Mr. Roger L'Estrange, then fresh in his congenial office of censor of the press and inquisitor-general of the London printing-offices. A sheet or two were seized, Twyn excusing himself by saying that he had thought the manuscript "mettlesome stuff," and the author "a good, smart, angry fellow," but that he had intended no harm himself, and had thought all in the fair way of trade. He had been in prison since then; and now the government, regarding or professing to regard the book as part and parcel of a great Republican conspiracy, for complicity with which many had already suffered, had resolved that this wretched printer would be a very fit additional victim. Tried at the Old Bailey, Feb. 20, 1663–4, before Lord Chief Justice Hyde, and Judges Ketyng and Wylde, he was found guilty of "compassing and imagining the King's death" in his printing-office by the act of putting the said book into type, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. After the sentence the poor man begged Chief Justice Hyde to intercede for him. "I would not intercede for my own father in this case, if he were alive," was the reply; and the sentence was executed to the letter.—The offence of Brewster, Dover, and Brooks, who were tried at the same time, was the minor one of having printed, bound, and published copies of the dying speeches and prayers of

Harrison, Cook, Hugh Peters, and the other regicides executed in 1660, and also copies of a book called *The Phœnix, or Solemn League and Covenant.* It was pleaded for them and by them that the books, or at least the first of them, had been in print long, and had been as openly sold in shops as any diurnal, and that they had only gone on supplying a current demand. As such books were now to be put down if possible, the sentence was that Brewster should pay a fine of 100 marks to the King, and Dover and Brooks fines of 40 marks each, and that all three should stand twice in the pillory, and should afterwards be imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure, finding heavy securities against future dealing in such books when they should be released [1].

In a notice of these trials in the *British Chronologist*, printed in 1775, I find this strange statement: "One of the libels "was written by Milton to justify the murder of King "Charles, and to maintain the lawfulness of subjects taking "up arms against their sovereign." I know not on what authority this statement can have been made. Milton, content to be politically silent now, was not likely to concern himself in any wild Republican conspiracy such as was then talked of, to be headed by Ludlow, brought back from Switzerland for the purpose, or by Lambert, delivered from his prison, or to employ his time in conveying to the press a recast of his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, adapted to the state of affairs under Charles II. Nor in the report of Twyn's trial, including a general description of the book for which he suffered, is there anything pointing to Milton. The tradition, however, though erroneous in its special form, cannot be without foundation. For one thing, it is evident from the very title of Twyn's book, *A Treatise of the Execution of Justice, wherein is clearly proved, &c.*, that it was nothing else than a reproduction by somebody or other of the doctrine of Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving, &c.*, and possibly with phrases borrowed from that terrible book of 1649. But, besides, we actually know that Roger L'Estrange,

[1] Howell's State Trials, VI. 513—564.

the originator of the trials of Twyn, Brewster, Dover, and Brooks, and the chief witness against them, had Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and others of Milton's pamphlets strongly and revengefully in his recollection just before the trials and in connexion with them. The trials of those four particular unfortunates were the result of L'Estrange's first raid upon the London printing-offices and bookshops in that government inquisitorship of the press to which he had been appointed in August 1663, in consequence of his demonstration of fitness for the post by his *Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Press*, published on the 3rd of the preceding June (ante, pp. 326–328). Now, in that pamphlet of qualification for his office, dedicated to his Majesty himself, L'Estrange had expressly named certain printers and booksellers as still dealing in reprints or remaining copies of publications of the old Republican and regicide kind, exhibiting "a combination and design against your sacred life and dignity," and had also given the titles of some of the dangerous publications so reprinted or still on sale. He mentions *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* conspicuously, though without the author's name; and he names Brewster and Simon Dover as among the worst of the offending book-tradesmen, coupling with them some others, one of whom is Livewell Chapman, the publisher of Milton's most famous pre-Restoration pamphlets, his *Means to remove Hirelings* and his *Ready and Easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth*. Very probably, therefore, Milton's name may have been bandied to and fro in court during the trials of Twyn, Brewster, Dover, and Brooks, or in the examinations of L'Estrange and others preliminary to the trials, and L'Estrange may have been disappointed in not being able to bring his old enemy to the bar for a worse punishment than he had been able to inflict upon him in his *No Blinde Guides* of April 1660 (ante, Vol. V. pp. 689–691).—Milton, at all events, cannot have heard without strange feelings of the public hanging, drawing, and quartering of a poor printer for not a tithe of the high treason of "compassing and imagining the King's death" which he had himself perpe-

trated in bygone days, and which might still be found, with his name, on book-shelves, if not in book-shops[1].

It is not improbable that at the time of this trial Milton was no longer an inhabitant of Jewin Street. Some time late in 1663, or perhaps early in 1664, there was another of those changes of domicile which were so frequent in his life, and of which his nephew Phillips has so carefully informed us, though not always with precise dating. "There he lived," says Phillips, speaking of Jewin Street, "when he married "his third wife, recommended to him by his old friend "Dr. Paget in Coleman Street; but he staid not long after "his new marriage ere he removed to a house in Artillery "Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields."

Phillips had about the same time made a change himself. He had gone to reside with the much-respected Royalist, Church of England man, naturalist, and virtuoso, Mr. John Evelyn of Say's Court in Essex, to be tutor to that gentleman's son. Evelyn himself mentions the fact in his diary under date October 24, 1663, thus: "Mr. Edward "Phillips came to be my son's preceptor. This gentleman "was nephew to Milton, who wrote against Salmasius's *De-* "*fensio*, but was not at all infected with his principles, "though he was brought up by him." In his leisure in Evelyn's fine house, with its fine library, Phillips was already engaged on that fourth edition of Baker's Chronicle which he was to give to the world not many months hence, and which is remembered now as perhaps his chief literary performance. For that edition he was to recast and rewrite the *Continuation* he had inserted in the previous edition of 1660, not only telling the story of the reign of Charles I. afresh, in the style now required, but also narrating fully the events of the Restoration, with the help of private papers expressly confided to him by Monk himself through his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Clarges, and bringing down the history to the glorious coronation of Charles II. in May 1661. The work was, in fact, partly a bookseller's commission, partly a com-

[1] *British Chronologist* (1775), I. 260; L'Estrange's *Considerations and Proposals* of June 1663.

mission from Monk and Clarges; and, if Phillips did find time to pay a parting visit to his uncle in Jewin Street before the removal to Bunhill, it is quite possible that he may have taken some of Monk's papers in his pocket and talked with Milton about them. His visits, however, henceforward, were to be necessarily rarer. Those of Andrew Marvell had ceased altogether for a time. Marvell had obtained leave of absence from parliament and had gone away in July 1663 as secretary to the Earl of Carlisle, then sent as ambassador extraordinary for Charles II. to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark; and he was to be absent for about a year and a half[1].

IN ARTILLERY WALK, BUNHILL: 1664–1665.

There is little difficulty in identifying the site of the house to which Milton removed late in 1663 or early in 1664. "In Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields," is Phillips's description of it, varied by Aubrey, who knew the house well, into "In Bunhill, opposite the Artillery Garden Wall." Aubrey's "Bunhill" and Phillips's "Artillery Walk" are the same thing. They were in fact alternative names for the piece of roadway which is now the southern part of Bunhill Row. Let any one, therefore, find his way from Jewin Street to the neighbouring Chiswell Street, and let him turn out of Chiswell Street on the left, into the street called Bunhill Row, and he will have taken the exact walk that led from Milton's old house to his new one. Farther, when he is *in* Bunhill Row, walking from Chiswell Street towards Old Street Road, let him keep to the left side of the street, and somewhere on that left side, considerably nearer the Chiswell Street end of Bunhill Row than the Old Street Road end, he will have passed the site of the new house. The house itself can hardly have been any one of those now to be seen there; for, though some of them are oldish, none seems old enough to have been Milton's. Indeed, the present appear-

[1] Phillips's Memoir of Milton; Evelyn's Diary, of date; Phillips's later editions of Baker's Chronicle, with the prefatory "Epistle to the Reader"; Grosart's Marvell, *Memorial Introduction*, p. xlviii, and Marvell's Correspondence in Vol. II. at pp. 96—99.

ance of Bunhill Row will not do much towards suggesting the Bunhill or Artillery Walk of Milton.

At present Bunhill Row is a street densely built on both sides, the houses on the eastern side, or right side as you go from Chiswell Street, concealing from you the famous Artillery Ground, or exercising ground since 1622 of the London Artillery Company. That interesting piece of ground lies behind the houses, and between them and Finsbury Square. But in Milton's time, and long afterwards, there were no houses at all on that side, but only the wall of the Artillery Ground. There was a single row of houses on the other or left side, and it was this single row of houses, "opposite the Artillery Garden wall," just as Aubrey says, and looking over the wall into the Artillery Garden itself, that was called Bunhill. It had received that name because it led from Chiswell Street to the open space or common called Bunhill Fields, immediately north of the Artillery Ground. Inasmuch, however, as the name Bunhill was often used generally for those fields themselves, or for the whole neighbourhood, it was convenient to have another name for the bit of roadway leading to the fields. Hence it was known popularly as Artillery Walk, its very characteristic being that it was hardly a street, but rather the walk into Bunhill Fields along the wall of the Artillery Ground. Through the Civil Wars that ground had been the scene of the frequent musters and evolutions of the city trained bands, and even after the general disbandment of the Restoration it was still used for occasional parades of the remnant of the original Artillery Company, the oldest of the trained bands. These parades could be seen from the windows of the houses that lined the Walk on the side opposite the wall. Although this cannot have been Milton's inducement to become the tenant of one of them, and the occasional drumming and fifing in the Artillery Ground must have been a disturbance, there were advantages in the situation. While not going very far from his former house, and while still remaining in the great parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, though now transferred to that part of it which was called

"Cripplegate Parish without the Freedom," he had gone decidedly nearer the green suburbs. In the old maps the Artillery Ground and Bunhill Fields beyond it form one stretch of space towards the country on the north of London; there are trees in the Artillery Ground itself and all about, with a picturesque row of windmills on one height; and, after tracing Artillery Walk pleasantly enough into Bunhill Fields, one sees it re-emerging from those fields on the other side, as a country road leading to Newington. Faithorne's map of 1658 tells us even more. "He always had a garden where he lived," is one of Aubrey's pieces of information about Milton, amply confirmed by what we know independently of all his previous houses in succession. Now, in going to Artillery Walk from Jewin Street, he had certainly improved his accommodation in that particular. In Faithorne's map the houses in Artillery Walk, one of which became Milton's, are very distinctly figured, to the number of about twelve in all, some with their fronts to the walk, some with their gable-ends, and there are garden spaces behind every one of them, larger than any garden space similarly marked in Jewin Street. Milton, therefore, was to be less dependent than he had been on long miscellaneous walks with an attendant for the two or three hours daily in the open air which he thought necessary for his health. When there was no one to bear him company far through the streets or out in the fields, he could be a good deal by himself in his own garden. From this matter of the garden, however, one must not infer too finely about the house itself. It was a small house, rated afterwards, during Milton's tenancy, at "four hearths" for the hearth-tax, while some of the neighbouring houses were rated at "five hearths" or "six hearths." In other words, it contained four effective rooms with fire-places, in addition to smaller rooms not so provided. Nor was the suburb, all in all, though Milton had chosen a tolerably airy spot in it, one where he could expect to have neighbours of fashion. Returning from Artillery Walk into Chiswell Street, for example, one came at once upon Grub Street, going off from Chiswell Street on the opposite or denser side of that street

towards the City. Grub Street had not then sunk quite into the Grub Street of the eighteenth century, when its garrets and taverns were supposed to contain all the starving hack-writers and small poets of London, and whatever was lowest in literature was called a Grub Street production; but something of this reputation had already attached to it. There were jests about Grub Street divinity and the Puritan pamphleteers of Grub Street. There is no Grub Street now. The City authorities changed its name into "Milton Street" some time ago, partly to get rid of the associations with the old name, partly to commemorate the fact that Milton had lived close by. If it was thought good to rechristen any street in the neighbourhood by the name of "Milton Street," ought not the name to have been given to Bunhill Row itself[1]?

Bunhill or Artillery Walk was to be Milton's London residence for all the ten or eleven years of the rest of his life. There are reasons, however, why we should take separate note, in the first place, of that first portion of his residence in Bunhill which brings us through the year 1664 and to about the middle of 1665.

During that year and a half, marked politically by the Third and Fourth Sessions of the Cavalier Parliament, by the passing of the exasperating Conventicles Act by the first of these (May 1664), and by the beginnings of that naval war with the Dutch in which the Duke of York won his first laurels, Milton sat, in his blindness, in one of the rooms of his small house opposite the Artillery Ground wall, or in the garden outside, or was led about daily in the fields and purlieus of his obscure suburb. The appurtenances round him are the same as in Jewin Street,—his books, his papers, and the organ and bass-viol, for the recreation in which he delights most. The voices most about him are those of his

[1] Besides my own explorations of the Bunhill neighbourhood, and my consultations of Faithorne's map of London in 1658 (reprinted in 1878) and of other old maps and ward-maps in Stow's London by Strype (1720), I have used a very careful note by the late Mr. Thomas Watts of the British Museum, printed in the *Addenda* to Mitford's Life of Milton in Pickering's edition of Milton's Works (I. clxxiv), and also information given in various articles of Cunningham's Handbook of London and in Hunter's *Milton Notes*.

wife and his three daughters, little Deborah now old enough to take her turn with Mary oftener in reading to him. In and out come, one or other at a time, his volunteer readers and amanuenses from the neighbourhood, the young men who were glad to serve him in this way for the benefit of his conversation and lessons. Marvell is away in Russia, at Moscow, or elsewhere; but, with that exception, there are also continued visits from old acquaintances, who know at what hours he is to be seen. Steadily, by perseverance in a regular distribution of his time, the works he has in hand advance, and in the midst of these *Paradise Lost*. Begun in Petty France, continued in Jewin Street, the great poem, as we shall presently have evidence, was brought to a conclusion in the first year and a half spent in what is now Bunhill Row.

In Jewin Street, before the end of 1662, as we have seen reason to believe, Milton had advanced with his dictation as far at least as to Book VII, where there begin the great discourses between the Archangel Raphael and Adam on the creation of the visible universe of mankind. Let us suppose that these discourses, occupying now Books VII and VIII of the poem, but originally forming one long Book, were also completed in Jewin Street. Then the autobiographical passage at the opening of what is now Book IX may mark where Milton resumed the poem in Artillery Walk. He is now to bring Satan back from his wild wingings round and round the earth, and to tell the story of his actual temptation of the human pair in Paradise, and of its sad success and consequences. An interruption in his own name is therefore again appropriate :—

> No more of talk where God or Angel Guest
> With Man, as with his friend familiar, used
> To sit indulgent, and with him partake
> Rural repast, permitting him the while
> Venial discourse unblamed. I now must change
> These notes to tragic,—foul distrust, and breach
> Disloyal, on the part of man, revolt
> And disobedience; on the part of Heaven,

Now alienated, distance and distaste,
Anger and just rebuke, and judgment given,
That brought into this World a world of woe,
Sin and her shadow Death, and Misery,
Death's harbinger. Sad task! yet argument
Not less but more heroic than the wrath
Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
Of Turnus for Lavinia disespoused;
Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
Perplexed the Greek, and Cytherea's son:
If answerable style I can obtain
Of my celestial Patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation unimplored,
And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires
Easy my unpremeditated verse,
Since first this subject for heroic song
Pleased me, long choosing and beginning late,
Not sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deemed, chief mastery to dissect
With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
In battles feigned (the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung), or to describe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,
Impreses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
At joust and tournament; then marshalled feast
Served up in hall with sewers and seneshals:
The skill of artifice or office mean;
Not that which justly gives heroic name
To person or to poem! Me, of these
Nor skilled nor studious, higher argument
Remains, sufficient of itself to raise
That name, unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Depressed; and much they may if all be mine,
Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear.

In this passage we can see the author's feeling that his great task is approaching its close. We can see thorough satisfaction with what has already been accomplished, and an anticipation of the rank to which the poem will be entitled among the great poems of the world. We can see that the author is comparing it especially with the three great ancient epics, the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Aeneid, and with the mediaeval romances, and the modern epics or romances of Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser. We can see him preferring, or persuading himself to prefer, his own theme to the subjects of any of those older heroic poems. We can see him remembering his "long choosing," as far back as 1639–1642, when he had jotted down no fewer than about one hundred different subjects, from Scripture History or from the History of the British Islands, as fit for the tragedy or epic he had then in view. We can see him remembering how even then *Paradise Lost* had eclipsed all the others in his meditations, and how it had been schemed several times and finally adopted. We can see him thinking of all that had come in his life to postpone the work, and at length, after so many strange years of turmoil, of his "late beginning" of it so recently as 1658. But now, after five or six years bestowed upon it, with some haggard breaks, when he and it seemed alike in danger, he is drawing happily to an end. Why should he doubt? He lives in a late age and a cold climate, and is now an invalid, past his prime; but the inspiration he had prayed for, the old Hebrew inspiration of Oreb and Sinai, of Sion and the brook of Siloa, has not yet failed. How is it that he finds his dictation so easy, that his verse flows from him almost unpremeditated, that in the dead of night, as he lies sleepless or slumbering, a poor blind man, it should seem as if there were gleams of heavenly glory in the darkness, and with the glory came the song?

Absolutely there is nothing more to tell of Milton in Bunhill through 1664 and the first months of 1665 than what is here suggested. He is finishing his *Paradise Lost*. Let us pass on to June 1665. It was then certainly finished, and we may note a few of the synchronisms:—Marvell has

been back some months from his embassy to Moscow and the Baltic with the Earl of Carlisle. Edward Phillips has recently left his tutorship of Evelyn's son at Say's Court, just after having seen through the press his new edition of Baker's Chronicle, with the revised and enlarged continuation of the same in his own name, and has gone to reside with the Earl of Pembroke, as tutor to his son, Philip Herbert, afterwards seventh Earl. It is the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Sessions of the Cavalier Parliament, and the Houses are not sitting. Men's minds are absorbed in the war with the Dutch; and London is full of the thunderings of acclamation for the great victory of Lowestoft of June 3, and for the safe return of the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and others, from that battle. Just then, we say, it was that Milton had finished his *Paradise Lost*, bringing down the story to its last point, where Adam and Eve, expelled from Paradise, are seen taking their solitary way, with slow and wandering footsteps, hand in hand, through Eden. The manuscript had been brought to that termination in the midst of the Dutch war, and perhaps just about the time of the news of the battle of Lowestoft. But, besides the battle and the completed book, there was yet another novelty then in London. The plague, the red-spot plague, was running through the city.

It had been in the city since April, and in June the number of monthly deaths by it had reached 590. Then had begun that migration of all citizens of means into the country which in the following month, when the mortality in London rose to 4129, became general. In the months of August and September, as we know, when the mortality had reached the fearful rates of 20,046 and 26,230, London was a ghastly desert, traffic at an end, the grass growing in the streets, ranges of houses everywhere shut up as plague-stricken, the dead carts carrying their loads of corpses by day and by night to the plague-pits, and the remnant of the inhabitants moving about like spectres, or like brutes, in a world of coffins and burials. Of the plague-pits opened for the general reception of corpses that could not be buried individually the chief were that in Tothill Fields,

Westminster, and another in the suburb of Finsbury. As early as July 18 Pepys had been alarmed by hearing of the opening of the first; but the other acquired a yet more horrible celebrity. "I have heard," says Defoe in his History of the Plague, "that in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Crip-"plegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then "walled about, many who were infected, and near their end, "and delirious also, ran wrapped in blankets or rags and threw "themselves in, and expired there before any earth could be "thrown upon them." This "great pit in Finsbury" was, in fact, a pit in Bunhill Fields, just beyond the Artillery Garden, so that in no neighbourhood in all London can the death-cart, the death-bell, and all the sights and sounds of the plague, have been more familiar and incessant than close to Milton's house. The half-dead maniacs, of whom Defoe speaks, may have run past Milton's door, along the Artillery Garden wall, to fling their already putrid bodies into the Bunhill Fields pit[1].

Fortunately Milton and his family had left the spot in time. About the end of June, as far as we can determine the date, he had made arrangements for residing out of town while the plague lasted. His agent was his Quaker friend, young Ellwood. "I was desired by my quondam master, Milton," says Ellwood, "to take an house for him in the neighbourhood "where I dwelt, that he might go out of the city, for the "safety of himself and his family, the pestilence then growing "hot in London. I took a pretty box for him in Giles-"Chalfont, a mile from me; of which I gave him notice." Sometime in July 1665, therefore, before the Plague was at its worst, we are to imagine Milton's house in Artillery Walk shuttered up, and a coach and large waggon brought to the door, and the blind man helped in, and the wife and the three daughters following, with a servant to look after the books and other things they have taken with them, and the whole party driven away towards Giles-Chalfont[2].

[1] Pepys's Memoir from April 1665 onwards; Cunningham's London, *Bunhill Fields*.

[2] Ellwood's Life (edit. of 1714), p. 246. From the context there we learn that Milton's commission to Ellwood to find a country house for him was "some little time before" an incident which he mentions as happening on "the first day of the Fifth Month, 1665." Now, though

AT CHALFONT ST. GILES, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE: 1665–66.

Giles-Chalfont, or Chalfont St. Giles, is a village in Buckinghamshire, about three and twenty miles from London. There is now, and there was in Milton's time, an option of two ways to it from the great city. One, which may be called the Middlesex route, and is perhaps the more direct one, leads first to Uxbridge, on the west border of that county, and then has a northern bend of about eight miles more through the eastern skirt of Bucks. The other is by Watford and Rickmansworth, crossing the corner of Herts between these two towns before entering Bucks. At present it matters little whether the Uxbridge station of one railway or the Rickmansworth station of another is chosen as the access to Chalfont St. Giles. From either station there is a walk or drive of between six and eight miles before the village can be reached; and in this walk or drive from either station one can so arrange as to take Harefield, the scene of the *Arcades*, in the way. Few villages in the south of England, indeed, can lie more lazily and sleepily off the track of railways and out of the bustling world than Chalfont St. Giles, with its population of little over a thousand. Moreover, it lies, most remarkably, down in a cup or hollow. Whether you reach it by Uxbridge or by Rickmansworth, you descend into it at one end by a rather sudden steep; down at the foot of this steep you find the main village, consisting first of a small inn or two, with a duck-pond in front of them, and then rows of houses, some of them old and timber-joisted, with an old church and churchyard reached by a lane through the antique houses on the left side; and, when you pursue the main road or street quite through the village to the other end, you have to re-ascend considerably at that end before the general level of the country is again attained. "Down in a cup" I

the fifth month in the year in our present Calendar is *May*, it was then *July*, both in the common reckoning and in the reckoning of the Quakers, who did not use the heathen name *July*. Not till the year 1752, when there was the general change of Calendar by Act of Parliament, did the Society of Friends alter their former practice by making January the "First Month" in the year, instead of March. I should have inferred their former practice from other parts of Ellwood's own book, where it is only by recollecting that March was his "First Month" that one can reconcile his datings with the otherwise known dates of the facts he mentions; but see, for absolute proof, *Rules of Discipline of the Society of Friends* (third or 1834 edition), pp. 72—77.

have said; but, if you fancy the cup somewhat in the shape of a shallow cream-jug, the resemblance will be more exact. Coming from Uxbridge or Rickmansworth, you descend into the village at the handle end of the jug; and, after threading the village by the inns, the pond, and the houses, you reascend at the mouth. The road thence takes you to the market-town of Beaconsfield, which is about four miles distant.

The "pretty box" which Ellwood took for Milton in Chalfont still exists, and is known to all the villagers as "Milton's Cottage." It is the last house in the village on the left side of the end pointing towards Beaconsfield, and is about half-way up the slope at that end. It is a small irregular cottage, of brick and wooden beams, divided now into two inhabitable tenements, each with its own door. The door of the poorer tenement is to the slope of the village-road, and admits to two or three small and very uninviting rooms; the other tenement, regarded as Milton's cottage proper, has its front to a bit of garden off the road at right angles, with its door and latticed casements looking up the slope towards Beaconsfield over this bit of garden. Probably the two tenements were one in Milton's time, and not too much even then for the accommodation of a family such as his. The present humble inmates can count, in the two tenements together, four sitting-rooms and five bed-rooms; but no visitor, judging by the modern standard of what a room is, would allow that name to some of the very tiny and dark closets that are shown. The best part of the whole is certainly that which has its front to the garden off the road, looking up the slope. Here, on the ground-floor, level with the garden, are two tolerably pleasant small sitting-rooms, with very low ceilings, while above, up a short wooden stair, are small and low bed-rooms to correspond. These are the rooms that Milton and his family must have chiefly inhabited. One notes the lattices in these rooms, both on the ground-floor and above, opening into the garden. To all appearance the small lozenges of glass set in lead which one now sees are those which were there when Milton sat in the rooms; and some of the bolts about the lattices and doors also remain unchanged. Milton's favourite seat within doors at first must

have been at one of these latticed casements; where, knowing only at second-hand of the somewhat limited view thence of which others might complain, he could feel the summer air blowing in upon him from the garden, with the hum of bees and the odour of honeysuckles. Where there is merely a door now to the garden, with an old grape-vine trailed over that part of the front wall, there was once a porch, forming a kind of independent projecting room, in which Milton may have also liked to sit. Nightingales are plentiful about Chalfont, and he may have heard them from this porch in the evenings.

The walks possible to Milton from his cottage may be easily indicated. There was the walk up the slope out of the village, and along the higher road, with its variations, in the direction of Beaconsfield. Then there were various walks, by acclivities and declivities, on both skirts of the village itself, through green lanes and footpaths, well wooded, especially in the neighbourhood of the church. Or, if the walk were straight down into and through the village, then one might protract it in the same direction by reascending to the country towards Herts and Rickmansworth. In that direction, on an eminence about a mile from the village, was the old manor-house of the Vache, the chief estate of the parish of Chalfont St. Giles. The manor, with its name of legendary origin, dating from near the Conquest, had been in possession of the Fleetwood family, so well known to Milton. It had been acquired in 1564 by Thomas Fleetwood, Esq., whose son, Sir George Fleetwood, knight, was the grandfather of the regicide Colonel George Fleetwood, and of his younger brother, General Charles Fleetwood, Cromwell's son-in-law. For a century, therefore, the Fleetwoods had been the chief family of Chalfont parish, with their arms over houses in the village, and memorial tablets to some of them in the parish church. Not till 1661, when the regicide George Fleetwood, then proprietor of the Vache, was attainted of high treason, had the connexion of the Fleetwoods with Chalfont come to an end. The forfeited manor had then been gifted by the King to the Duke of York, who sold it in 1665 to a Sir Thomas Clayton. This Clayton, therefore, was the great man of the place when Milton came

to Chalfont for a temporary refuge. The late proprietorship of the Fleetwoods must, however, have been in his recollection. Horton, where Milton had lived from 1632 to 1639, is in the same county of Bucks, though about thirteen miles to the south of Chalfont; and Milton's friendship with Charles Fleetwood, recorded so carefully by himself as dating from Fleetwood's "very boyhood," may have begun in those days. If so, Milton was no stranger to Chalfont St. Giles, but had formerly seen with his eyes the hollows and roadways about which he had now to be led[1].

Milton and his family were probably very recluse in their cottage at the village-end. It was the great Plague year, and going and coming between village and village, anywhere in the south-east of England, or even between house and house in the same village, was a matter of some caution. The Plague had reached several of the Buckinghamshire towns, and the registers of Chalfont St. Giles prove that there were actually cases in that parish itself. The distance from London, therefore, did not give the Chalfont people and their neighbours perfect sense of security or freedom of movement. There may have been difficulties even in those occasional little journeys of Milton's wife and one of his daughters to Beaconsfield, or to Amersham, the other nearest market-town in a reverse direction, which must have been necessary for such purchases for the household as could not be made in Chalfont itself. Still, what a difference in this sleepy country hollow in Buckinghamshire, with its fields and trees, from the plague-desolated metropolis! If only for talk on that subject, there would be neighbours of Milton who would drop in at his cottage. The rector of the parish was a certain William Rolles, of Jesus College, Oxford, who had been appointed to the parish in September 1662 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the ejection of the former Presbyterian rector, Thomas Valentine, M.A., one of the original members of the Westminster Assembly[2]. Naturally, however, if there

[1] Account of the parish of Chalfont St. Giles in Lipscomb's History of Buckinghamshire, III. 225—236.

[2] Lipscomb's *Buckinghamshire* as above, and Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, I. 297.

were any Buckinghamshire Nonconformists about, these would be the readiest to call on the new occupant of the cottage. What of the Quaker Penningtons, living in the very next parish of Chalfont St. Peter's, and whose mansion in that parish, "The Grange," was within an easy walk from Chalfont St. Giles? What, especially, of young Ellwood, the tutor in the Pennington family, who had brought Milton into their vicinity by taking the present cottage for him?

Honest Ellwood, no doubt, had intended to be at the door of the cottage to receive Milton on his first arrival. But he had been prevented by one of those accidents to which the poor Quakers were everywhere liable in those days. Just after sending notice to Milton in London that he had taken the cottage for him, he and the Penningtons had gone to Amersham, to assist in the burial of Edward Parret, a Quaker of that town, in a private piece of ground designated by the deceased himself. A Buckinghamshire lawyer and justice-of-the-peace, named Bennett, had seen fit to interrupt the funeral procession, thrust the coffin from the shoulders of its bearers till it fell in the street, and order the apprehension of all concerned. The body, after it had lain in the open street for some time, was buried at night in a grave dug in the unconsecrated part of Amersham churchyard; but the offending Quakers were kept in custody in an inn till another justice-of-the-peace, who had been summoned, should arrive to aid Bennett in dealing with them. He was the Sir Thomas Clayton who has just been mentioned as having entered on the Vache property by purchase from the Duke of York. By him and Bennett together ten of the offenders, among whom were Pennington and Ellwood, had been committed to jail in Aylesbury, the assize town of the county; and here they had been kept for a month, Ellwood amusing himself, as he had done in his former imprisonment in Bridewell and Newgate, by writing verses. He gives us this specimen:—

Riddle.

Some men are free while they in prison lie;
Others, who ne'er saw prison, captive die.

Solution.

He's only free indeed that's free from sin;
And he is fastest bound that's bound therein[1].

This imprisonment of Ellwood's it was that had prevented him from waiting on Milton on his first arrival at Chalfont. "But now, being released and returned home," says Ellwood, "I soon made a visit to him, to welcome him into the country. "After some discourses had passed between us, he called for "a manuscript of his; which, being brought, he delivered to "me, bidding me take it home with me and read it at my "leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him, with my "judgment thereon. When I came home and had set myself "to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he "entitled PARADISE LOST. After I had, with the best atten- "tion, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned "him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favour he "had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me "how I liked it and what I thought of it; which I modestly, "but freely, told him: and, after some further discourse about "it, I pleasantly said to him, 'Thou hast said much here of "Paradise Lost, but what hast thou to say of Paradise Found?' "He made no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then "brake off that discourse, and fell on another subject[2]."—— The date of the first of the two visits connected in this memorable passage of Ellwood's Life must have been late in August, or early in September, 1665, when the Plague was at its worst in London. Ellwood, one sees, had been telling Milton of his verses in Aylesbury jail and elsewhere, and had perhaps repeated to him the specimen just quoted; and hence, the discourse having turned on poetry, and the scarcity of other auditors having made Milton unusually communicative, we may account for his extraordinary favour to the trusty, kindly, but somewhat thick-headed Quaker lad. The manuscript given to Ellwood, we may also be quite sure, was not the only copy then in Milton's possession.—The second of the two visits, when Ellwood returned the manuscript and gave

[1] Ellwood's Life, pp. 238—245. [2] Ellwood's Life, pp. 246—247.

Milton his impressions of it, must have been only a week or two after the first. For, before the end of September, Isaac Pennington having been again arrested and committed to Aylesbury jail, the household at the Grange had been broken up. Mrs. Pennington had then gone to Aylesbury to be near her husband, Ellwood and the younger children accompanying her, while Guli. Springett went to stay for a while with an old servant of the family settled in Bristol [1].

September 1665 passes in Chalfont, and October succeeds, and then the winter months of November, December, and January, bringing down the mortality by plague in London with reassuring rapidity. The fall in October was only to 14,373 deaths, still a frightful figure; but in November the bills gave but 3449, which sank in December to 1000, and in January still lower. Through those months of cooling weather, deepening into snow on the roads and fields, Milton continued in his Buckinghamshire retreat, more within doors than he had been at first, but doubtless with daily visits from some of his neighbours. Besides the great topic of the Plague and its gradual abatement, the chief news through these months was of the straggling continuance of the Dutch war and of the holding at Oxford of that short Fifth Session of the Cavalier Parliament (Oct. 9—Oct. 31) in which, unmollified by the Plague or by the clamours of the Nonconformists for indulgence after such a judgment, they added the dreadful Five Miles Act to their previous persecuting acts of the Clarendonian series and almost passed also an Act imposing the passive obedience oath universally on the nation.

Among several pieces of verse that have been attributed by vague tradition or conjecture to Milton, though never printed in his works, not one has any such appearance of being *possibly* his, or a mutilation of something he did dictate, as a fragment of a sonnet supposed to be of the date of his residence at Chalfont. It was first printed by Birch, in his Life of Milton in 1738, in this form :—

> Fair mirror of foul times! whose fragile sheen
> Shall, as it blazeth, break; while Providence,

[1] Ellwood's Life, 237—248.

Aye watching o'er his Saints with eye unseen,
Spreads the red rod of angry pestilence,
To sweep the wicked and their counsels hence:
Yea, all to break the pride of lustful kings,
Who Heaven's lore reject for brutish sense,
As erst he scourged Jessides' sin of yore
For the fair Hittite, when, on seraph's wings,
He sent him war, or plague, or famine sore[1].

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BACK IN ARTILLERY WALK, BUNHILL: 1666–67.

"After the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed "and become safely habitable again, he returned thither," is Ellwood's account of the termination of Milton's stay at Chalfont St. Giles. The wording may suggest the date. Pepys, who had returned to town on the evening of the 27th

[1] Birch introduces the fragment thus:—"I have in my hands a sonnet said to "be written by Milton upon occasion of "the Plague, and to have been lately "found on a glass-window at Chalfont." Then, after quoting the fragment, he adds, "But the obvious mistake in this "sonnet, in representing the pestilence "as a judgment upon David for his adul- "tery with Bathsheba, whereas it was on "account of his numbering the people, "renders it justly suspected not to be "our author's, who was too conversant "in Scripture to commit such an error. "For this and some other reasons, which "I might mention, I consider it only as "a very happy imitation of Milton's "style and manner. However, I am "informed by Mr. George Vertue that "he has seen a satirical medal upon "King Charles, struck abroad, without "any inscription, the device of which "corresponds extremely with the senti- "ment in this sonnet. On one side is "represented the King, drest in the most "magnificent manner, and on the reverse "his subjects perishing by a raging "pestilence sent from heaven."—Birch seems to have settled in the belief that the thing was *not* Milton's; for in the second edition of his Life in 1753 he does not reprint it. Todd, however, who prints it in a note (I. 118), says, "I have seen a copy of it written, ap- "parently in a coeval hand, at the end "of Tonson's edition of Milton's Smaller "Poems in 1713, where it is also said to "be Milton's."—I should not lay much stress on Birch's objection; but there seems a more fatal objection in the supposed *subject* or *occasion* of the sonnet. It seems to have been suggested by the sight of some glittering object, whether a medal or some curious piece of glass manufacture that would break in blazing; and this would negative the idea of its being by a blind man. But possibly the first two lines, which are the least Milton-like, may have been fitted on to the rest by some one who had the rest in his memory, but had forgotten the proper beginning. In any case, four lines are wanting to make the thing a complete sonnet of any kind; and there ought to be a re-arrangement of the order of the rhymes in the first part, with two additional rhymes in *een*, one in *ings*, and one in *ore*, to make it a Sonnet on the Miltonic model.—Birch's story of the discovery of the thing inscribed on a glass-window at Chalfont I give up as nonsense. Where was the pane of glass at Chalfont that could hold it; and, if the notion is that it was exhibited in 1665, what Chalfont householder was mad enough to advertise his disaffection by cutting the lines on his window with a diamond after having heard them in Milton's cottage? I wish people, when handing on a tradition, would always imagine distinctly the physical and historical possibility of what they are putting on paper.—Very likely Birch's decision was right; but "Jessides' sin" and "the fair Hittite" make one hesitate.

of November, had then found "few people yet in the streets, nor shops open." On the 13th of December he reports, "The town do thicken so much with people that it is much if the plague do not grow again upon us;" and there had been subsequent alarms of the kind when the mortality again rose. But for the week ending the 22nd of January 1665-6 Pepys could write, "Good news, beyond all expectation, of the decrease of the Plague, being now but 79 and the whole but 272." Under Jan. 31 he writes, "I find many about the city that "live near the churchyards solicitous to have the churchyards "covered with lime, and I think it is needful; and ours, "I hope, will be done." The next day, Feb. 1, the King and the Duke of York were back in town. From that time London, we may assume, was itself again,—safer, indeed, than much of the country round, inasmuch as the Plague, though nearly extinct in Middlesex, was still running its course in Kent and Essex. Milton, therefore, we may calculate, returned to his London house in February, or at latest in March, just when people were beginning to write 1666 instead of 1665. If Pepys was solicitous about having the churchyard round *his* place of worship (St. Olave's, Hart Street) covered with lime, much more may Milton have hesitated about again inhabiting his house in Artillery Walk before every possible process of cleansing had been applied to the field near by, which had been used as the most promiscuous plague cemetery for all London. The city authorities, however, were already alert on that subject. Bunhill Fields were no longer to be left a mere open piece of ground, but were to be enclosed with a brick wall "at the sole charges of the city of London," and converted permanently into what Southey calls "the Campo Santo of the Dissenters," i.e. the favourite burying ground thenceforward of all the Nonconformist sects of London. Visitors who go to Bunhill Fields burial ground now, to look at the monuments and tombstones of which it is full, and to linger before those of Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, John Bunyan, and Daniel Defoe, may remember that the brick-wall which was to enclose the Bunhill plague-pit ground for the regular purposes of such a cemetery was begun just about

the time when Milton and his family came back to their house in Artillery Walk from Chalfont St. Giles[1].

Paradise Lost having been complete in the autumn of 1665[2], one might have expected that Milton, on his return to town, would take steps for its publication in the course of 1666. Whether he did take such steps and found difficulties, or whether he voluntarily kept the manuscript for yet further revision, we have no means of knowing. Nor, in fact, have we a single certain glimpse of Milton's occupations between his return to London early in 1666 and the month of August in that year. To that month of August 1666 belongs the last of his printed Latin Familiar Epistles.

The reader will remember Milton's young German friend Peter Heimbach, who had been one of his admiring visitors in the house in Petty France, whom he had employed in Nov. 1656 to inquire about the sizes and the prices of the best atlases in Amsterdam (Vol. V. pp. 279–281), and to whom he had written a rather discouraging note in December 1657, in reply to a request that he would use his influence to obtain Heimbach's appointment to be secretary to Downing, then going as ambassador for the Protector to the Hague (Vol. V. pp. 380–381). Heimbach had since then returned to his native part of Germany, the Duchy of Cleves, and had improved his fortunes there. Since April 1664, he had held the rank of state-councillor to the Elector of Brandenburg for the affairs of the Duchy, then in possession of the house of Brandenburg; and he was still in that post in the year 1666. He had never, it appears, ceased to think of Milton, and now, after a long interval, he was moved to reopen correspondence with him, in a Latin letter, which may be translated as follows:—

[1] Ellwood's Life, 247; Pepys of dates; Cunningham's London, *Bunhill Fields Burial Ground.*

[2] Ellwood's words, like those of every other Quaker of that time, are to be absolutely trusted. But there is corroboration, though of a vague kind, in Aubrey's information, gathered from Phillips, that Milton finished *Paradise Lost* "about 3 yeares after the K's restauration." This might mean 1663 or 1664; but, even without Ellwood's correction, at least another year would have to be added to bring the date into accord with independent probability.

To his John Milton, a man above praise, Peter Heimbach.

Had there been earlier assurance among us, John Milton, man of the highest note every way, that you were still in the congregation of the living, I should also have sooner reverted in thought to London to testify our most friendly regards for you. For the rumour ran that, removed from our trifling affairs, you had been restored to your native heaven, and were looking down upon all our concerns from an eminence above the earth. As there is no access permitted to that kingdom, I had to check and restrain my pen, heretofore ready enough to write to men like you. And truly I, who admired in you not so much your individual virtues as the marriage-union of diverse virtues, do now, while I discern many things besides in you, admire especially how it has happened that, by the union of a grave dignity (exhibited in a face worthy of the wearer) with the calmest politeness, of kindness with prudence, of piety with policy, of policy with immense erudition, and, I will add, of a generous and far from timid spirit (even when younger minds were slipping) with a genuine love of peace, you have been an example of a mixture of qualities altogether rare and beyond the allowance of the age. Hence I pray God that all things may again turn out according to your own wish and purpose, one alone excepted. For, ample in years, and full of honours (even those you have refused), you desire nothing more now than the reward of quiet and the crown of justice; and your wish seems to be that of Simeon of old, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.' But *our* desire is far contrary: to wit, that God Almighty may suffer you to live on as long as possible in activity in the world of literature and to preside among us there. And so farewell, most learned Milton, and long life and happiness to you and all yours, with best salutations from us. Dated at Cleves, where we live as councillor on the Electoral territory, this 8th of June 1666 of the common Christian era. Again farewell; and continue to love us as much as you can, and gratify us as soon as possible with one of your most delightful replies[1].

To this odd, but not uninteresting, letter Milton did send a reply. It was partly ironical, as follows, and is worth study:—

To the very distinguished Peter Heimbach, Councillor to the Elector of Brandenburg.

Small wonder if, in the midst of so many deaths of my country-

[1] Translated from a copy communicated by the late Mr. Thomas Watts of the British Museum to the Appendix to Mitford's Life of Milton in the Pickering edition of his Works (I. cxcvi–vii). The Latin in that copy is dreadful, with false case-constructions and a syntax defying analysis; but the meaning is unmistakeable, and I have tried to render it exactly.

men, in a year of such heavy pestilence, you believed, as you write you did, on the faith of some special rumour, that I also had been cut off. Such a rumour among your people is not displeasing, if it was the occasion of making known the fact that they were anxious for my safety, for then I can regard it as a sign of their goodwill to me. But, by the blessing of God, who had provided for my safety in a country retreat, I am still both alive and well, nor useless yet, I hope, for any duty that remains to be performed by me in this life.—That after so long an interval I should have come into your mind is very agreeable; although, from your exuberant expression of the matter, you seem to afford some ground for suspecting that you have rather forgotten me, professing as you do such an admiration of the marriage-union in me of so many different virtues. Truly, I should dread a too numerous progeny from so many forms of the marriage-union as you enumerate, were it not an established truth that virtues are nourished most and flourish most in straitened and hard circumstances; albeit I may say that one of the virtues on your list has not very handsomely requited to me the hospitable reception she had. For what you call *policy*, but I would rather have you call *loyalty to one's country*, —this particular lass, after inveigling me with her fair name, has almost expatriated me, so to speak. The chorus of the rest, however, makes a very fine harmony. One's country is wherever it is well with one.—And now I will conclude, after first begging you, if you find anything incorrectly written or without punctuation here, to impute that to the boy who has taken it down from my dictation, and who is utterly ignorant of Latin, so that I was forced, while dictating, not without misery, to spell out the letters of the words one by one. Meanwhile I am glad that the merits of one whom I knew as a young man of excellent hope have raised him to so honourable a place in his Prince's favour; and I desire and hope all prosperity for you otherwise. Farewell!

London, Aug. 15, 1666[1].

[1] Milton's *Epistolæ Familiares*, No. 31.—I hardly like to express in the text a fancy that has occurred to me in translating the letter and studying it in connexion with Heimbach's,—to wit, that Milton may not merely have been ironically rebuking Heimbach for his adulation and silly phraseology, but may also have been suspicious of the possibility of some trap laid for him politically. Certainly, if this letter of Milton's to a Councillor of the Elector of Brandenburg had been intercepted by the English Government, it is so cleverly worded that nothing could have been made of it.—But Heimbach may have been as honest as he looks. Even then, however, Milton, knowing little or

When this letter was written all London was alive with the last successes against the Dutch. Not only had there been the great four days' battle of June 1–4 off the North Foreland, in which Albemarle, Rupert, and the other English admirals had managed to win what they could call a victory over Ruyter and De Witt; not only had there been another and less dubious battle on the 26th of July; but news had reached London of the proceedings of Rear-Admiral Holmes's detachment on the Dutch coasts, on August 8 and 9, when a vast number of Dutch merchantmen were burnt and destroyed, the quiet Dutch island of Schelling was ruthlessly invaded and devastated, and the chief town of that island left in a blaze. Less than a month after that, as we know, or exactly eighteen days after Milton's letter to Heimbach, London itself was in a blaze. In other words, the Great Fire of London (Sept. 2—Sept. 5, 1666) inserts itself into Milton's biography at this point.

The Fire was no collateral casualty for Milton, but an actual and tremendous experience. For three days or so he and his household were among the huddled myriads on the edge of that roaring, crackling, conflagration, which was reducing two-thirds of the entire city to ashes, drawing down the vast bulk of St. Paul's and a hundred other towers and steeples from their familiar solidity on the old sky-line, hurling burning timbers and scorching smoke whichever way the wind blew, turning the sun overhead by day into a blood-coloured ball, and lighting up the sky at night over four counties with a lurid glare like that from a thousand furnaces. Helpless on the edge of this horror and commotion, only the sounds of which could come into his own sensation, while the sights had to be reported to him, the blind man sat for three days and three nights.—Not till the third or fourth day could it be known where, in any direction, the conflagration would stop, or whether it would ever stop. Then it was known that the area of the fire included the 436 square acres from the Tower to

nothing of Heimbach for the last nine years, had reason to be cautious.—For some further particulars about Heimbach see Stern's *Milton und Seine Zeit*, III. 184 and note to that page.

Temple Bar, and from the river to Aldersgate, Cripplegate, and Moorgate, and that what remained of London was but the irregular fringe of built ground round this desolated space, consisting of a shred of the east side of the old city within the walls, and of the suburbs beyond the walls to the north. Having been stopped on the north, by the City Wall and Ditch, exactly at the three gates mentioned, it *had* spared the two suburbs with which we have had principally to associate Milton. It had spared the Aldersgate Street suburb, including Aldersgate Street itself, where he had lived from 1640 to 1645, the Barbican, where he had lived from 1645 to 1647, and Jewin Street, where he had lived more recently. It had spared, and only just spared, the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, immediately outside the walls,—the church which had been Milton's parish church in his Barbican days, again his parish church when he was in Jewin Street, and which was his parish church still. As nearly as I can measure, the fire had come within a quarter of a mile of Milton's house in Artillery Walk, leaving so much of a belt of unburnt streets and lanes, Chiswell Street and Grub Street among them, to separate him from the part of the ruins that lay between Cripplegate and Moorgate.—Inside, among the ruins, in the very centre of the map of the fire, there lay, as Milton knew, whatever remained distinguishable or indistinguishable of what had formerly been his native Bread Street, with the rest of the neighbourhood of old Cheapside. His house in Bread Street, the Spread Eagle of his birth and boyhood, "which was all the real estate he had then left," as Wood expressly tells us, was, of course, totally gone, its very site hardly to be identified; and, as there could be no more visits of admiring foreigners to that house "to see the chamber where he was born," so to himself there was to be the cessation thenceforward of what had hitherto been no unimportant part of his yearly income. It is to be remembered, therefore, in Milton's biography, that he was not merely on the edge of the Great Fire among the myriads of witnesses for three days and nights, but was also one of the sufferers by it in property.

We know with what alacrity the Londoners set themselves to repair their great disaster. Not for six or seven years was there to be anything like a completely re-edified city; but already, through the winter of 1666–7,—the Sixth Session of the Cavalier Parliament (Sept. 21, 1666—Feb. 8, 1666–7) having thrown the necessary legislative energy into the business by enacting bills for the relief of the dishoused citizens, bills for rebuilding, and bills for a judicature to settle disputed sites and claims,—the operations had begun. What has to be remembered, however, is that they had then only just begun, and that through that winter, and into the next spring and summer, the whole heart of London remained one vast chaos of ruins and rubbish-heaps, with workmen and surveyors here and there busy among them, but amid which it was dangerous for any others to walk. "This day," says Pepys, under date June 16, 1666–7, more than four months after the fire, "I observe still in many places the smoking "remains of the late fire: the ways mighty bad and dirty;" and again on the 26th of February, "I did within these six "days see smoke still remaining of the late fire in the City;" and yet again, as late as the 16th of March, "It is observable "that within these eight days I did see smoke remaining, "coming out of some cellars, from the late great fire, now "above six months since." After that the smouldering of actual remains of the fire anywhere among the rubbish-heaps may be supposed to have ceased; but the rubbish-heaps themselves were still there, with charred masses of wall wherever a church or other strong stone building had not quite fallen, and with carts and men moving about in the unsightly confusion. Such was the state of things in London when Milton began the printing of his *Paradise Lost*.

It is possible that the first step necessary in those days towards the publication of a book had been taken by Milton before the Fire. This was the transmission of the complete manuscript to the appointed official licencer, to be examined by him and approved as fit to be printed. The Press Act of May 1662, reviving the system of censorship for books of all kinds as well as for newspapers, was now very stringently in

force. By that Act, as we know, the duty of licensing books of general literature had been assigned to the Secretaries of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London; but it was exceptional for any of those dignitaries to perform the duty in person. It was chiefly performed for them by a staff of under-licencers, paid by fees. Roger L'Estrange, one of the censors by royal appointment since 1663, was still peculiarly busy as a licencer of books in 1666; but five or six others, most of them chaplains for the time to the Archbishop of Canterbury, were employed in the work and had a share in the perquisites. Whether an author could choose his own licencer, or whether manuscripts had to be left at the porter's lodge in Lambeth Palace, or at some other appointed place, thence to be distributed among the members of the licensing staff and take their chance, does not appear very distinctly. In either case, the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* came into the hands of the Rev. Thomas Tomkyns, M.A. of Oxford, then domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury and also rector of St. Mary Aldermary,—in which living he had recently succeeded Dr. Robert Gell, that old acquaintance of Milton, who, as we have seen reason to believe, had performed the marriage ceremony for Milton and Elizabeth Minshull, not long ago, in St. Mary Aldermary church. Tomkyns was not more than eight-and-twenty years of age; but he was a great favourite of Archbishop Sheldon, and he had already distinguished himself by one or two publications in a zealous Royalist and High Church spirit. One, which had appeared in 1660, bore the title *The Rebel's Plea Examined: or Mr. Baxter's Judgment concerning the late War;* another, which appeared in 1661, had consisted of strictures on the Covenant; and to these was soon to be added a third, equally characteristic, under the title of *The Inconveniencies of Toleration.* "Liberty of "conscience," says Tomkyns in this last, "is a thing which "hath often made a very great noise in the world, and is at "the first view a thing highly plausible; but, although it "looks hugely pretty in the notion, yet it was always found "strangely unmanageable whenever it came to be handled by

"experience; and we shall continually find that those which "cried it up for the most reasonable thing in the world, when "themselves stood in need of it, as soon as ever they came "into power would never endure to hear of it any longer." Tomkyns, one can see, was no fool; but, with such opinions, now that he had his turn of power, he was not likely to be a very propitious examiner of books from suspected quarters. Next to Roger L'Estrange he was perhaps the most active licencer in 1666, and he had a number of books then in hand[1]. With Sheldon beside him, and perhaps talking with him about the manuscripts, he was likely to examine *Paradise Lost* with more than usual vigilance. Accordingly, the tradition, through Toland, is that the world "had like to be "eternally deprived of this treasure by the ignorance or "malice of the licencer; who, among other frivolous ex- "ceptions, would needs suppress the whole poem for imaginary "treason in the following lines:—

> 'As when the Sun, new-risen,
> Looks through the horizontal misty air
> Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon,
> In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
> On half the nations, and with fear of change
> Perplexes monarchs.'"

One would think that Tomkyns might have found passages more dangerous to Church and State than this towards the end of Book I (lines 594–599); but, whether because he got tired of reading beyond that Book, or because he allowed himself to be reasoned out of his objections, he did at length give his imprimatur to the whole poem. The actual press-manuscript of the First Book still exists, with this inscription on the inside of the first leaf in Tomkyns's hand, applicable not only to that First Book, but to all the rest. "IMPRIMATUR: THO. TOMKYNS, *R^mo. in Christo Patri ac Domino, D^no. Gilberto, Divinâ Providentiâ Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, a sacris domesticis*," i.e. "AUTHORIZED TO BE PRINTED: THOMAS TOMKYNS,

[1] Stationers' Registers of the time; Wood's Ath. III. 1046–8; Tomkyns's *Inconveniencies of Toleration*; Newcourt's Repertorium, I. 436.

domestic chaplain to the Right Rev. Father and Lord in Christ, Gilbert, by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [1]."

With Tomkyns's authority in his possession, some time early in 1667, Milton was free to negotiate with any printer or publisher. It was a bad time commercially. The Great Fire, injurious to every trade in London, had affected the book-trade in particular. "The loss of books," says Baxter in his account of the Fire in his autobiography, "was an exceeding great detriment to the interests of piety and learning. "Almost all the booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard brought "their books into vaults under St. Paul's Church, where it "was thought almost impossible that the fire should come. "But, the church itself being on fire, the exceeding weight "of the stones falling down did break into the vaults and let "in the fire, and they could not come near to save the books. "The library also of Sion College was burnt, and most of the "libraries of ministers, conformable and nonconformable, in "the City, with the libraries of many Nonconformists of the "country, which had been lately brought up to the City. I "saw the half-burnt leaves of books near my dwelling at "Acton, six miles from London; but others found them near "Windsor, almost twenty miles distant." Pepys's summary account is that books to the value of £150,000 were burnt in and round St. Paul's and "all the great booksellers almost undone." To the loss of their stock was added that of their premises. Some of the more enterprising of them found temporary premises outside the ring of the ruins, not to return to their former quarters for several years; but meanwhile the London book-trade was thrown into fewer hands [2].

The leading London publisher at that time, as we know (ante, pp. 403–405), was Henry Herringman, "at the sign of the Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange,"

[1] Toland's Life of Milton (edit. 1761), p. 121; Sotheby's Ramblings in Elucidation of Milton's Autograph (1861), p. 165 and p. 196, with plate there. The original manuscript press-copy of the First Book of *Paradise Lost*, mentioned by Newton as existing in 1761, is now, or was recently, in the possession of William Baker, Esq., of Bayfordsbury, Herts.

[2] Baxter's Life (1696), Part III. p. 16; Pepys, under dates Oct. 5, 1666 and Jan. 14, 1667–8.

in the middle of the Strand. As his shop had fortunately escaped the range of the Great Fire, there can have been less of interruption to his business than to that of most of his brethren. It would not have been surpising, therefore, if *Paradise Lost* had been published by Herringman, and so if Milton had been remembered as one of that numerous group of the most celebrated authors of the reign of Charles II. who were to be seen tending, habitually or occasionally, to Herringman's shop in the afternoons.

Whether he did go to Herringman only Herringman knows. The actual bargain was with a printer and publisher in a far inferior way of business. He was a Samuel Simmons, "next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate Street," probably a son or nephew of the Matthew Simmons, of the same Aldersgate Street premises, who had published Milton's *Bucer Divorce Tract* in 1644, and his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in 1649, and who, probably by Milton's means, had been the official printer for the Commonwealth in the first years of Milton's secretaryship, and had in that capacity published also Milton's *Observations on Ormond's Peace with the Irish*, and his *Eikonoklastes*. This Matthew Simmons seems to have been now dead, for, on the 7th of March 1663–4, a Mary Simmons, probably his widow, is found registering a part of Caryl's Commentary on Job, the previous parts of which had been the copyright of Matthew Simmons. The Samuel Simmons who had at length taken up the family business in the old premises was, therefore, new in the business when Milton went to him; but his relationship to the former Simmons, and the nearness of his premises to Artillery Walk, may have been recommendations.

The following is the agreement between Milton and Simmons in the matter of *Paradise Lost*. There were, of course, two copies of the agreement; and it is the copy signed for Milton by proxy and kept by Simmons that has been preserved:—

These Presents, made the 27th day of Aprill 1667, Betweene John Milton, gent., of thone p̄tie, and Samuel Symons, Printer, of thother p̄tie, Wittness:—That the said John Milton, in considera-

tion of five pounds to him now paid by the said Sam[ll]. Symons and other the considerations herein mentioned, hath given, granted, and assigned, and by these p̄nts doth give, grant, and assigne, unto the said Sam[ll]. Symons, his executors and assignes, All that Booke, Copy, or Manuscript of a Poem intituled Paradise lost, or by whatsoever other title or name the same is or shalbe called or distinguished, now lately Licensed to be printed, Together with the full benefitt, proffitt, and advantage thereof, or w[h]. shall or may arise thereby. And the said John Milton, for him, his ex[rs]. and ad[s]., doth covenant with the said Sam[ll]. Symons, his ex[rs]. and ass[ns]., That hee and they shall at all tymes hereafter have, hold, and enjoy the same, and all Impressions thereof accordingly, without the lett or hinderance of him, the said John Milton, his ex[rs]. or ass[ns]., or any p̄son or p̄sons by his or their consent or privitie, And that the said Jo. Milton, his ex[rs]. or ad[s]., or any other by his or their meanes or consent, shall not print or cause to be printed, or sell, dispose, or publish, the said Booke or Manuscript, or any other Booke or Manuscript of the same tenor or subject, without the consent of the said Sam[ll]. Symons, his ex[rs]. and ass[ns]. In consideracion whereof, the said Sam[ll]. Symons, for him, his ex[rs]. and ad[s]., doth covenant with the said John Milton, his ex[rs]. and ass[ns]., well and truly to pay unto the said John Milton, his ex[rs]. and ad[s]., the sum of five pounds of lawfull english money at the end of the first Impression which the said Sam[ll]. Symons, his ex[rs]. or ass[ns]., shall make and publish of the said Copy or Manuscript; Which impression shalbe accounted to be ended when thirteene hundred Books of the said whole Copy or Manuscript imprinted shalbe sold and retaild off to p̄ticular reading Customers: And shall also pay other five pounds unto the said Mr. Milton, or his ass[ns]., at the end of the second Impression, to be accounted as aforesaid, And five pounds more at the end of the third Impression, to be in like manner accounted; And that the said three first Impressions shall not exceed fifteene hundred Books or volumes of the said whole Copy or Manuscript a peice: And further, That he the said Samuel Symons, and his ex[rs]., ad[s]., and ass[ns]., shalbe ready to make oath before a Master in Chancery concerning his or their knowledge and beleife of or concerning the truth of the disposing and selling the said Books by Retail, as aforesaid, whereby the said Mr. Milton is to be intitled to his said money from time to time, upon every reasonable request in that behalfe, or in default thereof shall pay

the said five pounds agreed to be paid upon each Impression, as aforesaid, as if the same were due, and for and in lieu thereof.—In wittness whereof the said ptíes have to this writing indented interchangeably sett their hands and seales, the day and yeare first abovewritten.

John Milton

Sealed and delivered in the
presence of us,
John Fisher,
Beniamin Greene, servt. to Mr. Milton [1].

[1] The original of this famous Agreement is in the British Museum, having been presented to that collection in 1852 by Samuel Rogers, the poet, who had purchased it in 1831, for a hundred guineas, from Mr. Pickering, the publisher. It had come down in the possession of the famous publishing family of the Tonsons, who had acquired part copyright of *Paradise Lost* in 1683 and the whole before 1691, and had thus got into their hands this evidence of the original sale. It is distinctly mentioned by Bishop Newton, in his Life of Milton in 1749, as being then in the possession of Jacob Tonson, *tertius*, together with the manuscript copy of the First Book of the poem, containing Tomkyns's imprimatur. After the death of this Jacob Tonson in 1767, when the great publishing business of the Tonson family ceased, the business papers of the firm were negligently kept in the premises of a Bank in the Strand, of which Tonson had been a partner. Some of them got astray in the hands of clerks, who appropriated them as relics; and not till 1824 is the contract with Simmons again heard of. It was then in the possession of a tailor in Clifford Street, Bond Street, who said it had been left him, with other papers, by a lodger, who had been in arrears with his rent. It was sold by this tailor, with the other papers (some Tonson papers relating to Dryden, Addison, Steele, &c.), for £25, to Mr. Septimus Prowett, a London bookseller, who was then bringing out an edition of *Paradise Lost* with illustrations by Martin. Prowett sent the papers to a sale by auction on the 28th of February, 1826, when the Simmons and Milton contract was bought, by itself, by Mr. Pickering, for £45 3*s*. Sold afterwards by Mr. Pickering for £60 to Sir Thomas Lawrence, it remained in the possession of Sir Thomas till his death in 1830, when Mr. Pickering re-acquired it, to sell it again, in the following year, to the poet Rogers. For farther details see Mr. Leigh Sotheby's *Ramblings*, pp. 202—204.—— Notwithstanding the vague history of the document between 1767 and 1824, there is not the least doubt as to its genuineness. It is the actual copy of the agreement as kept by Simmons. But there has been a general mistake as to the signature. The poet Rogers, who was proud of the relic, never doubted, when he showed it to his friends, that the signature was Milton's own; most of those who now look at the relic in the British Museum never doubt it. Most certainly, however, the signature is not Milton's own, but a signature written for him by some one else, and certified by the touch of Milton's finger and by the annexed Milton family seal of the Spread Eagle. This might have occurred to any one on reflecting that Milton in 1667 had been fifteen years totally blind. The signature in the contract is not like any signature of Milton's before his blindness; and how unlike it is to the only now known signature of Milton after his blindness will be apparent to any one who will turn back to p. 475. The present signature cannot even have been by Milton's pen led by another person. The writing is too neat and regular for that.

The substance of this bargain, drawn up in such unusually strict legal form, was that Milton, for five pounds paid down, and for the chance of three future payments of a like sum of five pounds, had parted absolutely and for ever with the copyright of *Paradise Lost*. But for the second and third clauses, one might imagine that Milton had sold only the three first editions of the book for the £20 thus part paid and part in prospect, and that after the third edition the copyright would revert to himself or his representatives. As the copyright of books was then regarded as perpetual, such a reversion of the book to the author after a certain number of editions might be of consequence. Clearly, however, if Milton contemplated the possibility of more than three editions, he was willing to waive any interest or expectation of his own after the third. Simmons was to be the proprietor of the book for ever; all impressions of it to the end of time were to be by him, his representatives and assigns, and none others; and for this absolute possession he had settled the purchase money in such a way that, if the book were a failure, he could hardly lose a farthing in addition to his costs in printing and the £5 paid down. To allow a margin, perhaps, for gift-copies, the first edition as printed off might actually consist of 1500, but in the account with Milton 1300 copies were to constitute an edition. After a retail sale of 1300 copies Milton was to be entitled to another £5; if 1300 copies more should go off in a second edition, a third £5 would be due; a fourth £5 would follow after the sale of a third edition of 1300; after that nothing. According to the present value of money it was as if Milton had received £17 10*s*. down, and had to expect at the utmost three more sums of that amount, making £70 in all for his *Paradise Lost*. That was on the supposition of a sale of 3900, or say a circulation of 4500 copies. Beyond that Milton's thoughts did not range.

From April, through May, June, July, and August, 1667, we are to conceive the proof-sheets passing between Simmons's printing premises at the Golden Lion in Aldersgate Street and Milton's house in Artillery Walk, and most careful revisions of them by some scholarly person or persons assisting

Milton, and also by Milton himself, so far as his sensitive ear could detect mispunctuations or other errors in the successive pages as they were read to him aloud. But through what a new turmoil in London, round the ruins and rubbish-heaps, was this quiet process between author and printer carried on! The public debt by this time so enormous, and the paralysis of trade by the Great Fire so complete, that the sailors and all in the employment of Government were in mutiny for arrears of pay, and the whole population excited and turbulent, with outcries growing ever louder against Clarendon and the Court! Negotiations, therefore, reluctantly begun by Charles for a peace with the Dutch; these negotiations in progress, and all the larger vessels of war in the Thames and Medway laid up in dock, and the works of fortification that had been going on down the river stopped, and the river-banks crowded with the mutinous sailors, and dock-labourers, and their wives,—when lo, from the 10th to the 14th of June, that disgrace which marked England's lowest point of degradation even in the reign of Charles II, and which brought back to the lips of the Londoners the name of their unforgotten, and now sorely regretted, Oliver! Ruyter's Dutch fleet off the Nore, come to revenge Holmes's outrage on the Isle of Schelling; Ruyter's Dutch fleet up the river, breaking booms and obstructions, cannonading forts, capturing and burning at will the best ships of the English navy; London blockaded, and uncertain whether the Dutch would not be in what remained of her streets for sack and pillage, below the Tower or around Whitehall itself; the Court in a panic; the drums beating in the streets to call the citizens to arms; the citizens packing their goods for escape into the country; the country itself astir for miles and miles, as far as there was the sound of the Dutch cannon! During those five dreadful days of June 1667 Simmons in Aldersgate Street, then about half through the printing of *Paradise Lost*, must have had to interrupt the work. But on the 14th of June the Dutch were gone, towing the Royal Charles in flames after them, and having otherwise had revenge enough; and, though the execration

against the Court and Clarendon was all the fiercer, and Clarendon's great new house in Piccadilly was attacked by the mob, the panic had passed away. On the 21st of July peace with the Dutch was concluded at Breda; and on the 29th the King, meeting the two Houses, who had been summoned in the panic for an extraordinary session, informed them that, as the necessity for such a session was over, he would not require their attendance till the day in October to which they stood formally prorogued. The printing of *Paradise Lost* was then nearly complete; and our next notice of it is in the Stationers' Registers under date Aug. 20, when it was ready, or nearly ready, to appear.

In the seven months of the year 1667 preceding that of the publication of *Paradise Lost*, there had been forty-two registrations in the books of the London Stationers' Company. Among them I note the following: — Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, licensed by L'Estrange, and published by Herringman (Jan. 21, 1666–7); *The Reasons of the Christian Religion*, by Richard Baxter, licensed by Mr. Thomas Cook, and published by Mr. Eyton (March 12); a Translation of the *Visions of Don Francisco de Quevedo*, licensed by L'Estrange, and published by Herringman (March 26, 1667); *The Princes, or the Death of Richard the Third, a Tragedy*, licensed by L'Estrange, and published by Thomas Dring (June 1); the second part of Bishop Jeremy Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, licensed by Tomkyns, and published by Royston (June 29); Sprat's *History of the Institution, Design, and Progress of the Royal Society of London for the advancement of Experimental Philosophy*, licensed by Mr. Secretary Morrice, and published by John Martyn and James Allestree (July 25); and *Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings, and Death, of those noble, revered and excellent personages, that died or suffered by sequestration, decimation, or otherwise, for the Protestant Religion, and the great principle thereof, Allegiance to their Sovereign, in the late wars from the year* 1627 *to* 1660, the author being David Lloyd, the licencer Tomkyns, and the publisher Samuel Speede (July 27). The following is a complete list of the registrations for August 1667, the Master of the Stationers' Company being

then Mr. Humphrey Robinson, and the two Wardens being Mr. Evan Tyler and Mr. Richard Royston :—

Aug. 7 :—Herringman registers, under licence from L'Estrange, "three new plays: viz. *The Usurper*, a tragedy, *The Change of Crowns*, a play, and *The London Gentleman*, a comedy; all three written by the Hon. Edward Howard, Esq."

Same day :—Herringman registers, also under licence from L'Estrange, *Mustapha*, a tragedy by the Earl of Orrery.

Same day :—Herringman registers, also under licence from L'Estrange, "*An Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, &c., *The Wild Gallant*, a comedy, and *The Maiden Queen*, a comedy, by John Dryden, Esq."

Aug. 12 :—Ralph Needham registers, under licence from Mr. John Hall, "*Disquisitio anatomica de formato foetu, autore Gualtero Needham.*"

Aug. 19 :—Herringman registers his acquisition, by purchase from Anne Moseley, of the copyrights of the following books, which had belonged to her late husband, Humphrey Moseley :—Cowley's *Miscellanies*, his *Mistress or Love Verses*, his *Pindarique Odes*, and his *Davideis*; Donne's *Poems, Songs, Sonnets, and Elegies*; Davenant's *Love and Honour* (one-half), *Unfortunate Lovers*, *Albovine*, *Just Italian*, *Cruel Brother*, *Madagascar with other Poems*, and the masques called *Luminalia*, *Salmanda*, *Thelia*, *Temple of Love*, and *Britannia Triumphans*; Carew's *Poems*, with a masque of his; Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple*; Ben Jonson's Works, Vol. III, containing fifteen masques, *Horace's Art of Poetry in English*, *English Grammar*, *Timber and Discoveries*, *Underwoods*, *The Magnetic Lady*, *A Tale of a Tub*, *The Sad Shepherd*, *The Devil is an Ass*, *The Widow*; Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of *Il Pastor Fido*, with annexed poems; Sir John Suckling's *Poems, Letters and Plays, and Remains*; Denham's *Cooper's Hill*, *The Sophy*, and *Translation of the Second Aeneid*. These, being old copyrights, did not need fresh licence.

Aug. 20, 1667 :—"Mr. Sam. Symons entered for his copie, under "the hands of Mr. Thomas Tomkyns and Mr. Warden Royston, a "booke or copie intituled *Paradise lost, a Poem in Tenne Bookes*, "by J. M." The association of the name of one of the wardens in the registration with that of the official licencer is not peculiar to this entry, but occurs in nearly all. One notes it as curious, however, that the attesting warden in this case should have been the staunch Royalist Royston, the publisher of the *Eikon Basilike* and the other works of Charles I.

Same day :—Thomas Rooke registers, under licence from Thomas Cook, *Decimal Arithmetick, or a Plainer and* [*more*] *Familiar Teaching the said Art than has hitherto been published : Also Tables of Interest upon Interest, the Value of all Sorts of Purchases*

at any rate of interest from five to twelve per cent., &c. By James Hodder, Schoolmaster, late of Lothbury, now at Bow.

Aug. 30:—Mrs. Anne Maxwell registers, under licence from L'Estrange, *The Life and Death of Mother Shipton.*

Although only Milton's initials are given in the registration, the book itself appeared with Milton's name in full on the title-page thus:—"*Paradise lost.* | *A* | *Poem* | *written in* | *Ten Books* | *By John Milton.* | *Licensed and Entred according* | *to Order.* | *London* | *Printed, and are to be sold by Peter Parker* | *under Creed Church, neer Aldgate; And by* | *Robert Boulter at the Turks Head in Bishopsgate-street;* | *And Matthias Walker, under St. Dunstons Church* | *in Fleet-street,* 1667." It is to be observed that in this title-page the printer Simmons does not give his own name, but only the names of three booksellers whom he had employed to sell the book. The shops of these three booksellers were, of course, in the unburnt fringes of the City, two at the east end, and one at the west end, nearer Westminster and the fashionable world. It is worth while also to note that Simmons cannot have at once distributed the whole impression he had printed among the three booksellers, Parker, Boulter, and Walker, but only a certain number of bound copies for the first supply of the market, keeping the rest in sheets on his own premises in Aldersgate Street.

Copies of the book may have been out in London in the last week of August 1667. The selling price was 3*s.* per copy; which is as if a similar book now were to cost 10*s.* 6*d.* The volume was of small quarto size, and of rather handsome appearance, with good yellowish paper, and good legible type. It consisted of 342 pages; but this could not be ascertained from immediate inspection, inasmuch as the pages were not numbered, the heading in every page giving only the running title of the poem, with the number of the Book. To make up for this deficiency, the lines in each Book were numbered in tens on the outer margin of each page, so that reference to any passage might be easy. Once or twice, in some copies at least, there is a miscounting of the lines. As the numberings on the outer margins are contained between two per-

pendicular lines, as the headings are within two similar parallels, and as there are single lines along the inner margin and at the foot, each page of the text has the look of being inclosed neatly in a frame. The general look of neatness thus given to the pages is not belied on closer examination of the text. The spelling is, of course, the customary one of Milton's day, with some recurring peculiarities that must have been regulated by himself, but in the main exhibiting that instability or want of uniformity, that alternation at will between two spellings of the same word, or variation at will among three or four different spellings of the same word, which characterizes all books of the time Nor is the pointing on any strictly logical principle, or uniformly on any principle of any kind; it is, as most pointing is to this day, a mere empirical compromise, for the reader's convenience, between pause-marking and clause-marking. Altogether, however, the book had been printed with wonderful accuracy. I do not know that any other book of Milton's was put forth in his lifetime so accurately printed and in such pleasant form. One peculiarity of the form was that the book contained no preface or other preliminary matter whatever. You passed from the title-page at once to the text of the Poem.

Not only is it memorable that *Paradise Lost* appeared in London when the heart of the City was one great space of hardly touched ruins after the Fire, and that it had been printed while the Londoners were in their first phrenzy of rage and shame on account of the national disgrace inflicted by the Dutch outrages and triumphs on the Thames and Medway: the very week of the announcement of the book is marked most exactly by another coincidence. It was the week of Clarendon's fall. On Monday, the 20th of August, when Simmons was registering the book, Clarendon, then in mourning for his wife, whom he had buried three days before in Westminster Abbey, could still hope that the support of the King and the Duke of York would carry him through the crisis of his unpopularity. Only a day or two after that, however, there came to him in Piccadilly the stunning message from the King that he must resign the seals; on

Monday the 26th there was that interview between him and the King when, to cut short his passionate remonstrances, the King at last rose in gloom, dismissing him through the private garden, to be gazed at by Lady Castlemaine; and it was on Friday the 30th, while he still proudly or madly hesitated, that there came the peremptory warrant, through Secretary Morrice, which compelled him to give up the seals. The first copies of *Paradise Lost*, from Parker's shop or Boulter's in the east end, or from Walker's in the west end, may then have been in the hands of readers here and there in the streets, turning over the leaves as they went along; and the poem was gradually to find its way about, and make its first impression, during those next three months of the year 1667 which were the time of Clarendon's desperate lingering in London, till the danger of capital impeachment by the Parliament, after their meeting in October for their Seventh Session, drove him into his perpetual banishment.

PARADISE LOST.

The other day, tired with excess of readings in the English Literature of the Restoration, I took up again, by a kind of instinct, Dante's *Divina Commedia*, in Cary's translation. I read no farther than to where Dante, astray in the gloomy wood, is met by Virgil, who offers to be his guide through two of the regions of the eternal world, explaining that he has been sent for that purpose by Beatrice, and promising that Beatrice herself will be his guide into the realms of the highest. At that point, remembering what a succession of things and visions was to follow, first in the Inferno, then in the Purgatorio, and then in the Paradiso, I had suddenly to stop, overcome by the thrill already as I held the book in my hand, and exclaiming once and again, "Mercy of heaven! this *is* a book, here *is* literature." Hardly otherwise can a reader have been impressed who took up *Paradise Lost* on its first appearance and compared it with the printed productions into the midst of which it had come.

The comparison of *Paradise Lost* with the *Divina Commedia*

is more obvious now than it could be then. In the one poem as in the other we have the personal philosophy of a great and much exercised man, set forth in the form which poetry requires, and which alone constitutes poetry, i. e. in the form of optical or visual phantasy. Moreover, in the actual plans and contents of the two poems there are resemblances or correspondences. Both are cosmological visions, including things and ongoings beyond the known universe, but exhibited as everlastingly in connexion with that universe, and inter-involved with the actions of mankind. Under this general similarity, however, there is a specific difference. It may be defined in terms of the common and still useful distinction between the subjective mood or genius and the objective mood or genius in poetry.

With Dante, preeminently a subjective poet, the vast personal purpose preceded and caused the cosmological vision. His head and heart were full of a history of men and things on earth, this history composed largely of personages and transactions belonging to the Italy of his own time, or of times lately past, but ranging a little over the rest of mediæval Europe for select figures and instances, and with a winding path back through Roman and Greek antiquity to the Hebrews and the primeval patriarchs. He had formed his theory of this history, concluded what had been good and what had been evil in it, who were the scoundrels and who the heroes or the more or less meritorious. He had his ideal also of what might still be accomplished in the moral and political system of Italy, and in the system of the world as instructed and regulated from that centre. When, accordingly, he had resolved to express all that was thus in his mind, his ethics, his politics, his notions of empire, his judgments of those he had known, his hatreds and his sorrows, his admirations and his hopes, in a poem that should be adequately symbolic of such a mental medley, he had but to fall into the poetic musing, let the musing protract itself, and accept the visions as they then infallibly came. It was in his thirty-fifth year, as he tells us, while he was still in Florence, that his dream of the three worlds began, and it

followed him, haunted him, grew upon him, in his subsequent years of exile, wanderings, and penury, till it was optically complete, and nothing remained that had not been put into it somehow. He had actually *seen* the three worlds in succession, circle after circle of each, and conversed with their inhabitants; and what he had thus seen, the glorious and the grotesque together, was to be regarded as nothing arbitrary or determined by will merely, but as, by strict poetic law, the translation of his entire mind and life into the one visual phantasmagory that was fully and exactly equivalent. In order, therefore, that it should be known in future times how Dante had thought and felt on all subjects, human and divine, while he was alive, he would report this strange vision of his Hell, his Purgatory, and his Paradise, to their last particulars, in studied song, and burn it into the imagination of the Italians for ever.

> "Se mai continga che 'l poema sacro
> Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
> Sì che m' ha fatto per piú anni macro,
> Vinca la crudeltà che fuor mi serra
> Del bello ovile ov' io dormii agnello
> Nimico a' lupi che li danno guerra,
> Con altra voce omai, con altro vello,
> Ritornerò poeta."

In the case of Milton the process was, in some sense, reversed. He had chosen a subject, and whatever of his own mind and philosophy he could insert into his poem had to come in the course of his treatment of this subject as already chosen. Nor was Milton different in this from his former self. Though the subjective genius of a great personality was as conspicuous in his life as in Dante's, though he had striven and suffered in the actual affairs of his time as vehemently as Dante had in the affairs of his, though he too had been an opinionist and idealist in ethics and politics, a man of hatreds and antipathies, a controversialist all but incessantly, one observes generally in his poems from the first less of the subjective element than in Dante's, and more of the habit of the objective artist. In his earlier poems,

Miltonic though they all are, full of his own peculiar character and of no other, what one generally sees is a theme or incident externally given, and accepted and treated artistically on its own account, the Miltonism inevitable indeed, but infused or superinduced. Even in his *Comus* this is apparent. If, as is probable, the myth or story of that masque was an invention of Milton's own in the interest of that principle of the invincibility of virtue which he meant the masque to inculcate, then the claim of the poem to be classed as one of the subjective kind would be considerably enhanced; nor on any other supposition, providing an independent origin for the myth, can the strongly subjective character of the poem be denied. Milton is there the young Plato of Horton, making his masque for Ludlow Castle enforce a spiritual lesson and subserve an idea that had taken possession of his own mind. But what fidelity at the same time to the story itself, what pure love of the objective phantasy for its own sake, what artistic tact for the capability of beautiful addition, valuable for poetic reasons only, in every turn and circumstance of the sylvan vision! And so when, in his later age, he formally resumed his "singing-robes," after so long and stormy an interval, the same general poetic method is still visible, the same essential priority of the objective conception to the subjective infusion. *Paradise Lost*, at all events, is primarily a poem of the objective order. As long ago as 1640 or 1641, when he set down on paper no fewer than a hundred subjects miscellaneously for consideration, with a view to the selection of that one, or those two or three, that should seem fittest eventually, the story of Adam and Eve had fascinated him most, captivated him most, of all the hundred. It was to this subject, accordingly, that he had returned in his fiftieth year, when the competition of the rest had faded; and the great epic which he had now given to the world in his fifty-ninth year was simply that old Biblical story of the beginnings of humanity on our earth, as his imagination had dared at last to shape it out poetically and perfectly, with the Bible for his main authority and the Spirit of God for his guide. As Dante's conception of the

three worlds in connexion with ours had been left burnt for ever into the imaginations of his countrymen, so was this Miltonic conception of the beginnings of human history to be impressed with luminous distinctness for ever on the imaginations of all who should read or speak English. The difference is that the visual phantasy bequeathed by Dante was mainly a congeries of intense and intricate symbolisms of his own personality, whereas that offered by Milton was mainly a sublime version of an independent objective tradition.

Be the genius of a poet, however, as resolutely objective as it may, the personality has nevertheless already asserted itself in this very matter of his choice of a subject. An artist left free to choose his subjects will be drawn to those with which he is in affinity constitutionally or by education, those into which he feels he can put most of himself. The subject chosen by a poet is thus a kind of declaration or allegory of his own mind and intentions. Why had Milton been so fascinated by the subject of Paradise Lost? Why had he abandoned all the other subjects that had once attracted him, and fixed at last conclusively on this as the subject for his great epic? It was because he felt that this subject would enable him to throw into the epic form the largest possible amount of his own philosophy of Man and History. True, the title he had given to the subject when it first seized him, *Paradise Lost* or *Adam Unparadised*, did not necessarily suggest very much. It suggested, indeed, the infant earth, with two human beings upon it, and the garden of loveliness in which they moved, and the forbidden tree in the midst, and the story of the temptation, fall, and expulsion, as told in the first three chapters of the Book of Genesis. Adequately treated, there might be a rich and beautiful poem out of the subject within those limits. But, from the first moment when Milton meditated the subject, it was evident that he did not mean to remain within those limits, and more and more, as he thought of the subject, those limits had been discarded. In his first drafts of the subject for an intended tragedy one had heard of Michael, and Gabriel, and Lucifer, and choruses of

Angels, showing that even then the scenery and action were not to be only on the infant earth, but there were to be connexions of that infant earth with the grander pre-human realms of being, out of which earth and mankind had sprung, and which still encircled them invisibly. When the fuller epic was schemed these transcendental connexions of the merely terrestrial story had necessarily assumed still larger proportions. At the core of the epic was still to be the story of Adam and Eve in Paradise on the newly-created earth; but, in the interest of that human story itself, the poet was to range back into the infinitudes of more absolute existence that had preceded the appearance of the earth in space and the whole rondure of luminaries to which it belongs. Thus the epic was to be no epic of man and the earth merely, but, by implication thence, an epic of the entire created universe, in its relations to prior and aboriginal eternity. Here was a subject Miltonic enough even for Milton. It could receive and express all his physics, all his metaphysics, all his theology. He could tell the story of the Fall of Man so that it should be a poetic representation of his profoundest views as to the origin of the world, God's purposes with mankind, the connexion through all historic time of man and his world with other realms of created and active being, the causes of the sad course of human history hitherto, and the prospects of simplification and recovery. In short, *Paradise Lost*, as it left Milton's hands, was a complete cosmological epic, setting forth his theory of all things, physical and historical, in the form of an optical and narrative phantasy, conceived mainly in conformity with that pre-Copernican system of belief respecting the arrangements of the universe which was still prevalent while he lived. This matter of the Pre-Copernicanism of *Paradise Lost* deserves farther attention.

In our own days the necessary peculiarity of the educated conception of nature, the cosmos, the mundus, the physical or created all of things, is absolute unboundedness. We walk on a ball 8000 miles in diameter, called the earth; this earth spins on its axis, and the attendant moon goes round the earth

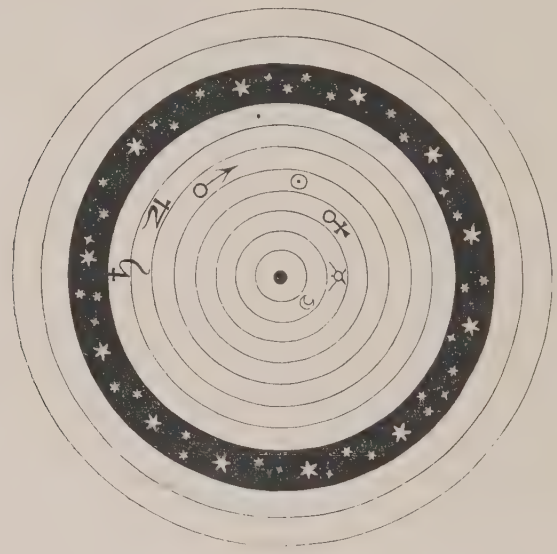
in an orbit; earth and moon together perform their longer annual journey round the sun; this sun, however, has other bodies also obeying him and wheeling round him at various distances,—two of them, Mercury and Venus, nearer to him than the earth, and others, Mars, the asteroids, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, farther off, some with moons and some without; and the eight principal planets, with their moons, the asteroids, and the sun himself, form what is called the solar system, to which appertain also the visitants called comets. But this solar system, enormous as is its extent in our measurements, is a mere shining set of particles in the astronomical whole. It is but a small frame-work of lamps, hung, or rather sailing,—for the sun himself not only rotates on his axis, but is advancing in some mightier orbit, with all the planets in his convoy,—in a vaster vague of space, studded with similar systems, similar orbs and star-islands, all glittering and all moving. There are the stars, the galaxy, the nebulæ, at incredible distances from the solar system, the thousand luminaries that we see in the nocturnal heaven, and the myriads more that the telescope reveals, each a suggestion of sun and planets, or whatever else, with millions and billions of miles of sheer space separating the twinkling systems; and these banks of shining worlds recede from the telescope in depth after depth of circular immensity, the last depth reached still hazy with the dispersed shimmer of them, and the certainty still being that they exist and sparkle potentially in endless depths beyond. Our imagination of the physical cosmos, therefore, or rather that inconceivable puzzle which our imagination cannot compass and from which it always retires baffled, is that of an absolute, boundless, ocean of azure space, pervaded by stars and starry archipelagos. We cannot by any effort send our imaginations completely round it; we cannot at any point of telescopic distance say "Here "the Universe ends: here the boundary is reached." Lo! at that point, though it would take millions of years to reach it, we can still stretch out the arm in fancy into space beyond, and still see fresh star-islands glimmering into view out of the unfathomable obscurities. By a daring act, we may, in

our fatigue, refuse to imagine the starred portion of space as boundless; but then all we can do is to conceive the enormous sphere of blue in which our astronomy hangs as backed and surrounded at last by a still outer shell of blackness, which must itself be infinite. Such an act of imagination may be illegitimate, but we may rest in it if we like. Anyhow, boundlessness, infinitude, space out and out, up and down, interspersed with starry worlds, but of immeasurable profundity in every direction, without bar or stoppage anywhere against which the thought may strike and from which it is obliged to rebound: this is the conception of the cosmos to which we are habituated by the teachings of modern science.

Now, this was not always the mode of thinking about the physical all of things. There was the pre-Copernican mode of thinking, that mode of thinking which prevailed before the views of Copernicus, first propounded in 1543, were generally adopted. The pre-Copernican system of astronomy is known more specificially as the Ptolemaic system, because it was expounded in its main extent by the Greek astronomer Ptolemy in the second century of our era. It is also called the Alphonsine system, because it was expounded in more developed form by the famous king and astronomer, Alphonso X. of Castille, in the thirteenth century. This Alphonsine or Ptolemaic system, though there had been traces of dissent from it here and there, was the system of belief about physical nature in which all human beings, in the most civilized countries of the earth, lived and died, till it was superseded by the system of Copernicus. As the doctrine of Copernicus was much resisted and made way very slowly, the change of belief was not complete even at the close of the seventeenth century.

What was this Ptolemaic or Alphonsine system? In brief, and with particulars omitted, it was that the earth is the fixed and immoveable centre of the physical universe, and that all the rest of this universe consists of ten successive spheres of space wheeling round the earth with diverse motions of their own, but all subject to one outermost motion

which carries the whole spectacle of the heavens regularly round the earth every twenty-four hours. More in detail, it was as follows :—



The earth at the centre : a small orb, with the element of air immediately around it.

The seven planetary spheres.

1st sphere : that of the moon, regarded as a planet.
2nd sphere : that of the planet Mercury.
3rd sphere : that of the planet Venus.
4th sphere : that of the sun, regarded as a planet : "the glorious planet sol," as Shakespeare calls him.
5th sphere : that of the planet Mars.
6th sphere : that of the planet Jupiter.
7th sphere : that of the planet Saturn (the last planet then known).

8th sphere : that of all the fixed stars : differing from the preceding seven spheres in this, that, while each of those seven spheres had but one luminary in its circumference, to wit, its own particular planet, this 8th sphere was studded with stars multitudinously throughout. At this 8th sphere (which was called also the firmament, because it "walled in and steadied" all the inner spheres), Ptolemy

and the ancients had stopped, reckoning the sphere of the fixed stars the outermost, and attributing to it the general diurnal motion which carried all the heavens round in twenty-four hours. Observed irregularities in the heavenly motions on that hypothesis, however, had required the addition, before the time of King Alphonso, of two extra spheres for the purposes of astronomical explanation, thus :—

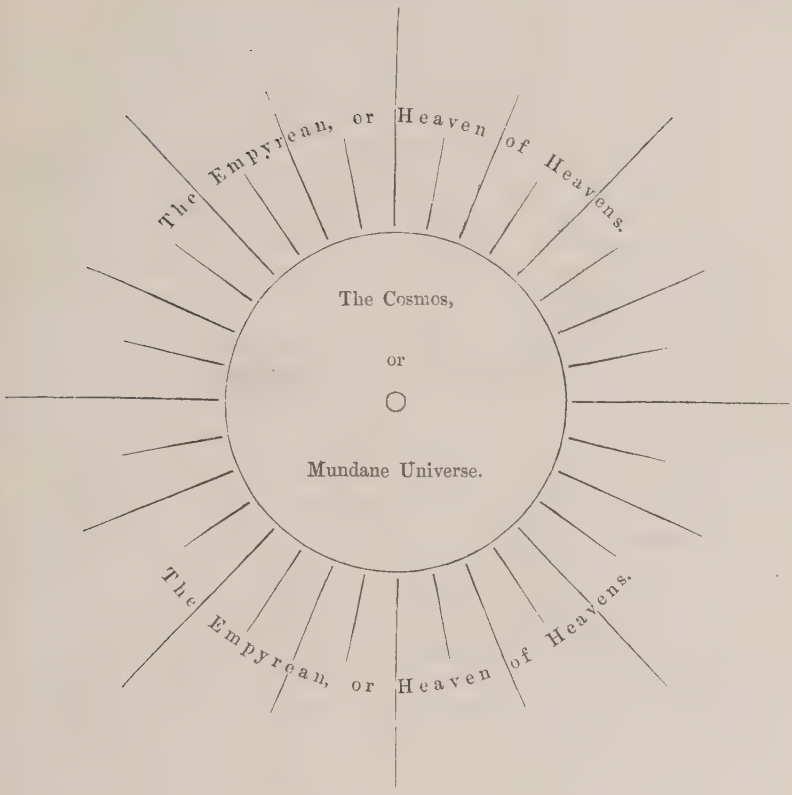
9th sphere : the Crystalline.

10th sphere : the PRIMUM MOBILE, or "FIRST MOVED," enclosing all like a solid outermost shell, and causing the general diurnal wheeling of all the spheres, while the separate motions of the inner spheres accounted for other astronomical phenomena.

This pre-Copernican system of the mundane universe was, certainly, a comfortable system. It afforded an explanation of phenomena which was satisfactory for the time, and yet the conception which it gave of the totality of things was pleasant and manageable. It was not unpleasant to think of oneself as living on a ball fixed at the very centre, and of ten successive heavens or spheres of space wheeling variously round this ball, most with their single lights, but one radiant with innumerable lights, and all strongly shelled in by the primum mobile. True, this primum mobile was vastly distant; but vast distance does not burst the imagination like infinitude, and here there was no infinitude. All was comfortably bounded. You could put your hand round the whole, as it were, and pat the primum mobile on the outside.

There were compunctions and difficulties, nevertheless. There was some difficulty, for example, in imagining the nine inner spheres as concentric and yet independent spheres of mere transpicuous space, sliding and slipping complexly among each other at different angles and with different velocities, and only the tenth or outmost as having a certain shelly solidity, like that of opaque or dull-brown glass. There may have been some compunction also in the thought of so many vast motions of sun, planets, and stars round so small a body as the earth, and all merely for her particular convenience and pleasure. That compunction, it appears, was easily pacified.

Did not the system of the ten revolving spheres round a fixed earth accord with the glory of man and of human nature? What better occupation for sun, planets, and stars, than to revolve round the little orb on which man, the monarch of the created universe, had his abode, delighting him by their changes among themselves, and exhibiting to him, every twenty-four hours, in most parts of the earth, the eternally repeated alternation of clear sunlit day and sapphire night with her jewels? A third difficulty was more important. The puzzle of infinitude still remained. Though the Ptolemaic system rather numbed and discouraged the sense of the boundlessness of space, by keeping men's thoughts mainly to the ongoings in the great visual round of things *within* the primum mobile, yet they could not really, if they did persist in thinking and imagining, be stopped by the primum mobile. They could send their thoughts beyond it, and could fancy the outer ocean of space, if space it could be called, beating and roaring against the opposing and excluding bosses of the last sphere of the mundane. This is what the pre-Copernicans could not avoid doing, and actually did. But even here they extracted a kind of relief for their reason out of the crude definiteness of their peculiar cosmology. It was a comfort to them to call all *within* the primum mobile by one name, regarding it as nature, the creation, the cosmos, the mundane universe, man's world of time and space and motion, about which he could speculate and have real knowledge, and to regard all *beyond* that boundary by a different name, voting it to be the motionless empyrean, the supernatural or metaphysical world, the universe of eternal mysteries, the home of Godhead, the restful heaven of heavens, into which the reason of man could never penetrate, and of which he could have glimpses only through faith and inspiration. This, accordingly, may pass as a supplementary diagram to that of the pre-Copernican cosmology :—



The inner circle is simply the previous circle of the ten spheres of the knowable, with the bounding lines of the inner spheres omitted. It is the entire cosmos or mundane universe of man, consisting of the orb of earth at the centre, the seven planetary heavens next to the earth, the eighth and more distant heaven of the fixed stars, the ninth or crystalline heaven beyond all the stars, and the tenth heaven or heaven of the primum mobile, including all. It represents, accordingly, that whole round of visible things which constitutes in a special sense THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH of Scripture and of common speech. But beyond all the mundane heavens is the EMPYREAN HEAVEN, or HEAVEN OF HEAVENS, the abode of Deity and of all eternal mysteries.

That cannot be exhibited as bounded in any way by any geometrical figure or possible circumference. Let the outgoing rays of corona or sunflower round the primum mobile suggest at once the mystery and the infinitude.

One thing more. The diagram represents infinitude after the universe of man, or the present cosmos of heavens and earth, had come into being. But that cosmos had not been always there. It had been created; and the creation of it, according to the Biblical belief, had been the work of six days at a certain definite epoch of past time. What had preceded the created cosmos in that part of infinitude which it now occupies? Was infinitude before the creation of the cosmos all one pure uninterrupted empyrean, or had there been anything intermediate, in the space of the present cosmos, between the pure aboriginal empyrean and the orderly heavens and earth that were to come? There does not seem to have been perfect uniformity of belief or imagination on this point; nor indeed did it come into discussion much among the ordinary holders of the pre-Copernican creed, but only among those who were not contented with the conception of the mundane universe as existing round them, but would speculate on the mode of its genesis. Among these the general belief, favoured by primeval and even classical tradition, and not out of accord with hints in Scripture, seems to have been that deity did not create the mundane universe immediately out of nothing, but out of a prior CHAOS, or huge aggregate of formless matter, which had been prepared for the purpose, and had been waiting for a time indefinite, in and round the predestined purlieus of the cosmos, for the consummating miracle of the six days. Perhaps as homely an expression of this traditional belief as can be found is that of Du Bartas in Sylvester's translation:—

> "As we may perceive
> That he who means to build a warlike fleet
> Makes first provision of all matter meet,
> As timber, iron, canvas, cord, and pitch, . . .
> So God, before this Frame he fashioned,
> I wot not what great word he uttered
> From 's sacred mouth, which summoned in a mass

Whatsoever now the heaven's wide arms embrace . . .
That first world yet was a most formless form,
A confused heap, a chaos most deform;
A gulf of gulfs, a body ill compact,
An ugly medley."

Such was the pre-Copernican system of cosmology, with its common adjuncts. What has now to be noted, and what does not seem ever to have been noted sufficiently in connexion with the literary history of our own or of other nations, is the immense influence of this system on the thinkings and imaginations of mankind on all subjects whatsoever till about two hundred years ago. There are surviving traces of Ptolemaism or Pre-Copernicanism in our current speech yet. We still speak of a person as being "out of his sphere," and the fine old fancy of "the music of the spheres" has not lost its poetical significance. But we must go back into the older literature, and especially the older poetry, of the various countries of Europe, to be aware of the strength and the multiform subtlety of the effects of the pre-Copernican cosmology on all human thought. Of course, the amount of Pre-Copernicanism discernible in any old poet or other writer will vary with the nature of the poetry or the writing, generally or in particular pieces. Where the themes are the histories, actions, and humours of men in society on this earth, with the miscellaneous objects and scenery of earth that go along with such social history and action, e. g. in dramas and the great majority of poems, it will only be incidentally, in the form of phrases, allusions, or short passages, that the pre-Copernican mode of thinking will be detected. These, however, are far more numerous than might be supposed. From the whole series of the English poets, from Chaucer to the Elizabethans and beyond, Shakespeare not excepted, there might be culled an extraordinary collection of passages assuming the mundane constitution of the successive spheres, with the primum mobile as the last of them, and the empyrean over and above, and requiring the recollection of that system for their due enjoyment and interpretation. These poets lived and died in the pre-Copernican belief, and thought and wrote in the

language of it whenever there was occasion. Naturally, however, it is when a poem, or a part of a poem, is of a highly comprehensive or philosophical kind, when the nature of the subject leads the poet to treat in any way of the world and human history as a whole, that the pre-Copernicanism becomes pronounced and formal. Then the poem is actually unintelligible to modern readers, or at least fails of complete effect, if the cosmology which it assumes is not taken into account. There are masses of old poetical matter, in English and in other languages, that can be adequately understood by no other key than that the imagination of the poet worked by a distinct optical diagram of the Ptolemaic constitution of the universe, or by some personal variation from that model [1].

We may recur to Dante. To every edition of the *Divina Commedia* there ought to be prefixed a diagram, however vague and crude, of the cosmological scheme adopted in the poem or invented for it. That scheme is essentially the Ptolemaic. You begin on the surface of one hemisphere of the earth, and, after some mystic preliminaries, you find yourself descending, in the company of Virgil and Dante, through a kind of funnel or inverted cone, of nine successive whorls or circles, shrinking in width as you descend, till you come to the very apex of the cone at the earth's centre. This descending funnel of nine whorls is HELL or THE INFERNO; in the lowest depth of which, jammed through a strange aperture at the earth's centre, is the hideous form of Satan or Lucifer, "the abhorred worm that boreth through the world." It is only by clutching the hairy hide of this monster, sinking by such clutches to his middle, and then turning round painfully at the proper moment, that Virgil and Dante wriggle through the aperture and find themselves on the other side of the centre. Thence their journey is no longer one of descent, but of ascent to the air again through the bowels of the other hemisphere of the earth. They emerge at that solitary

[1] I may mention Sir David Lyndsay's *Vision* and his *Monarchy*, Drummond's poetry generally, and parts of Donne's. Chaucer, I should say, from recollection, would yield many illustrative passages; Spenser and other Elizabethans not a few; Shakespeare some, but fewest of all. Shakespeare recognised all that "heaven's air in this huge rondure hems" (Sonnet 21), but his customary image of space for his dramas did not, I think, go beyond the orbit of the moon.

ocean-island of the antipodes, the remains of the original Eden, where the PURGATORIO awaits their vision. It is a huge tapering mountain rising from the island into the ether, and taking the form at last of seven successive ledges or terraces, corresponding to the seven deadly sins that have to be cleansed, each ledge and the ascent to it easier as they rise higher in the ether. When they do reach the summit, they are in the upheaved residue of the terrestrial Paradise which was once Adam's; but that name only foreshows what is to come. Virgil now disappears, leaving Dante suddenly, while Beatrice descends to undertake the rest and be his guide through the true PARADISO. It is represented in the nine successive heavens, or wheeling spheres, above and round the precincts of earth. First there is the heaven of the moon, then that of Mercury, then that of Venus, and so on, through the fourth heaven or sphere of the sun, the fifth heaven or sphere of Mars, the sixth heaven or sphere of Jupiter, the seventh heaven or sphere of Saturn, and the eighth heaven or sphere of the fixed stars, till the ninth sphere or heaven is reached. That sphere is the last or highest in Dante's reckoning, as it was generally in the reckoning of his contemporaries and for an age or two longer, though the Alphonsine completion of the Ptolemaic system required a tenth. In fact the ninth sphere or heaven was the primum mobile in Dante's reckoning, the outermost sphere of the cosmos, and the boundary between it and the empyrean or heaven of heavens. Into the empyrean itself, the consummate and eternal Paradiso, Dante is vouchsafed admission; and the poem ends with a glimpse of the unspeakable glories of that transcendental world, the brightness of the living Godhead, and a vision of the mystery of mysteries in the Trinity and the Incarnation[1].

Such is the general optical scheme of Dante's poem. The filling out of the vision, with all the dense circumstance of

[1] Diagrams and other optical helps for the *Divina Commedia* have, of course, been provided by the Italian commentators; and there is a beautiful reproduction of the best of these, with additional artistic suggestions, in *A Shadow of Dante* by Miss Maria Francesca Rossetti. This is an admirable and most compact little book in introduction to Dante, a book which it is a pleasure to read and a duty to recommend.

figure, physiognomy, colloquy, incident, imaginary scenery, and grotesque or mystical symbolism, that is crowded into every part of it, defies all art of diagram or continuous painting, and will remain to the end of time a matter of negotiation between Dante himself and his readers. What is to be observed in the general optical scheme, in addition to the fact that it adopts the customary Ptolemaic cosmology, is that it makes Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise itself, *parts* of that cosmology, i. e. intramundane. Hell is a funnel down through one hemisphere of the earth to the centre; Purgatory ascends skywards from the other hemisphere; and, though the Paradiso ends everlastingly in the empyrean, twenty-nine of the thirty-three cantos dedicated to it detain us still within the cosmos, in the spheres of wheeling space from the earth to just beyond the stars.

Milton also inherited the Ptolemaic cosmology. In passages of his minor poems, e. g. *The Hymn on the Nativity*, the *Arcades*, and *Comus*, it will be found assumed, especially in the form of a delight in the poetic notion of the music of the spheres; which notion is also the subject of one of his Latin academic exercises, *De Sphærarum Concentu*. In his Italian tour, in 1638 or 1639, he saw and conversed with Galileo, then old and blind, in his villa near Florence, where he was still in a manner "a prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking "in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican "licencers thought," i. e. for his obstinacy in the Copernican heresy. From that moment Milton's admiration for Galileo may have given him more favourable thoughts of that heresy than he had entertained before; but, after his return to England, we still find him so far a Ptolemaist that the book from which he taught astronomy to his nephews and other pupils from 1640 to 1647 was the *De Sphæra* of Joannes a Sacrobosco or John Holywood, a popular work of the thirteenth century, and entirely and especially Ptolemaic. *Paradise Lost* had been then schemed; but, before he began to write it in its epic form, his Ptolemaism had greatly abated, if it had not been wholly exchanged for Copernicanism. There is some uncertainty on the point. From 1650 on-

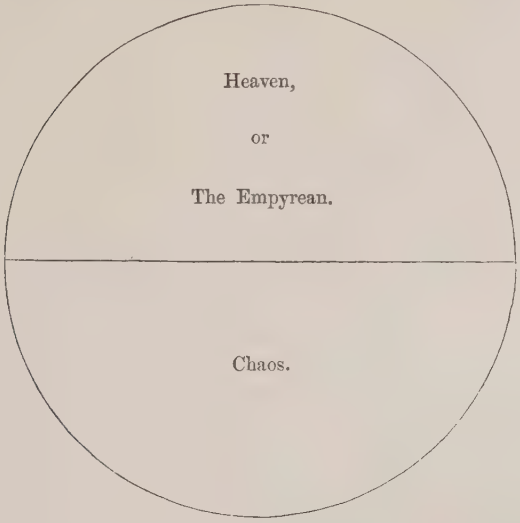
wards the two systems of astronomical belief were still struggling with each other for the possession of even the most educated intellects in England, and only the most forward of these, Hobbes conspicuous among them, had unhesitatingly embraced and advocated the views of Copernicus and Galileo. Milton's position seems to have been that of thorough acquaintance with the Copernican system and with the arguments for it, and of private conviction of its truth, or its superiority for the purposes of scientific explanation. But, for the purposes of his *Paradise Lost*, what was he to do? He required a cosmology for that poem, and the cosmology of all European poetry hitherto, of his own poetic imaginings hitherto, had been the Ptolemaic. This cosmology had followed him into his blindness, and it was mainly in accordance with it that the optical visions rose,—those visions of heaven, hell, chaos, and the mundane universe, in their relations to each other, which he was to set forth in his epic. He must reduce all to coherence and clearness, and for that purpose must fuse through his own imagination all that he could remember from his past readings, or could still have read to him, of the disquisitions of the fathers, the talmudists, the mediæval doctors, and more modern scholars and theologians, on such fantastic subjects as the situations of hell and heaven in space, the time and process of the mundane creation, the nature of the angels, and the time of *their* creation. A quantity of cumbrous lore of this kind he must have let pass through his mind for the sake of a hint here and a hint there; he had drunk deeply and sympathetically of Dante, and must have known his great poem better than any other Englishman alive; but he was shaping out a phantasy of the universal by independent art. And so, his very blindness, as I believe, assisting him in his stupendous task, by having already converted all external space in his own sensations into an infinite globe of circumambient blackness or darkness through which he could dash brilliance at his pleasure, there did come forth a cosmical epic which was without a precedent and remains without a parallel. It adopted, indeed, in the main the Ptolemaic or pre-Copernican

cosmology, but in such a simplified way, with such inserted caveats, and with such extraordinary Miltonic adjuncts, that the poet could expect the effective permanence of his work in the imagination of the world, whether Ptolemy or Copernicus should prevail.

In the cosmology of *Paradise Lost,* and indeed in the whole matter and tenor of the epic, Milton, it is interesting to know, was true, as far as a poet could be true, to his personal beliefs. What appears as grand song and free imagination in the poem may be seen reduced to the dry bones of corresponding theological proposition in his Latin *Treatise of Christian Doctrine.* That treatise illuminates us particularly on two matters in which Milton positively rejects the cosmology of the *Divina Commedia.* Dante, as we have seen, places his hell within the earth, his purgatory on the earth, and makes even his heaven in some sense intramundane. Milton, on the other hand, places his hell and his heaven out of the cosmos altogether, representing them as necessarily extramundane. The reasons appear in his theological treatise, chap. XXIII., where he says, "Hell appears to be situated beyond the limits of this universe," refers to Chrysostom, Luther, and some later divines, as holding this opinion, and quotes texts from Scripture decidedly disproving the more general opinion that hell was "in the bowels of the earth." Connected with this is his difference from Dante as to the date of the creation of the angels. It is revealed to Dante by Beatrice, in the twenty-ninth canto of the Paradiso, that the creation of the angels was contemporaneous with that of mankind, and that St. Jerome's opinion to the contrary was unsound. Here Beatrice followed Thomas Aquinas and the orthodox majority; but Milton decides the controversy the other way, reverting to the doctrine of St. Jerome. "Not "six thousand years of the existence of our world have yet "been fulfilled," that father had said; "and so it is to be "imagined what eternities there were before, what stretches "of time, what cycles of ages, in which angels, thrones, "dominations, and other virtues, served God, and subsisted "by God's ordination, without our changes and measures of

"season[1]." So Milton, in chap. VII. of his treatise, admitting that "it is generally supposed that the angels were created at the same time with the visible universe," argues against that opinion, and agrees with those of the Fathers, most of them Greek, though some Latin, who had maintained the indefinite pre-mundane existence of the angels. This, like the other supposition as to the situation of hell and heaven, is a necessary postulate in the *Paradise Lost*. For the rest, a sketch of the actual story, in the chronological order of the incidents, will present the poem in the aspects in which it here concerns us, as a revelation of Milton himself, and as a novelty in English Literature and in European Literature in the year 1667. I avail myself partly of what I have written already on the subject[2]:—

"Before the creation of our earth or of the starry universe "to which it belongs, universal space is to be considered, ac- "cording to the requisites of the poem, not as containing "stars or starry systems at all, but as, so to say, a sphere of "infinite radius, divided into two hemispheres, thus—



[1] Cary's note to line 38, Canto XXIX. of his translation of the Paradiso.

[2] What is within quotation marks in the following is from the Introduction

"The upper of these two hemispheres of primeval infinity "is HEAVEN, or THE EMPYREAN—a boundless, unimaginable "region of light, freedom, happiness, and glory, in the "midst whereof Deity, though omnipresent, has his im- "mediate and visible dwelling, and where he is surrounded "by a vast population of beings, called 'the angels,' or "'sons of God,' who draw near to his throne in worship, "derive thence their nurture and their delight, and yet live "dispersed through all the ranges and recesses of the region, "leading severally their mighty lives and performing the "behests of Deity, but organized into companies, orders, and "hierarchies. Milton is careful to explain that all that he "says of Heaven is said symbolically, and in order to make "conceivable by the human imagination what in its own "nature is inconceivable; but, this being explained, he is "bold enough in his use of terrestrial analogies. Round the "immediate throne of Deity, indeed, there is kept a blazing "mist of vagueness, which words are hardly permitted to "pierce, though the angels are represented as from time to "time assembling within it, beholding the divine presence "and hearing the divine voice. But Heaven at large, or "portions of it, are figured as tracts of a celestial earth, with "plain, hill, and valley, whereon the myriads of the sons of "God expatiate, in their two orders of seraphim and cherubim, "and in their descending ranks as archangels or chiefs, "princes of various degrees, and individual powers and in- "telligences. Certain differences, however, are implied as "distinguishing these celestials from the subsequent race of "mankind. As they are of infinitely greater prowess, im- "mortal, and of more purely spiritual nature, so their ways "even of physical existence and action transcend all that is "within human experience. Their forms are dilatable or "contractible at pleasure; they move with incredible swift- "ness; and, as they are not subject to any law of gravitation, "their motion, though ordinarily represented as horizontal

to *Paradise Lost* in the Cambridge Edition of Milton's Poetical Works (1874), and also in the subsequent Golden Treasury and Globe Editions. Where I add or deviate the quotation marks cease.

"over the heavenly ground, may as well be vertical or in any "other direction, and their aggregations need not, like those "of men, be in squares, oblongs, or other plane figures, but "may be in cubes, or other rectangular or oblique solids, "or in spherical masses. These and various other particulars "are to be kept in mind concerning Heaven and its pristine "inhabitants. As respects the other half or hemisphere of "the primeval infinity, though it too is inconceivable in its "nature, and has to be described by words which are at best "symbolical, less needs be said. For it is CHAOS, or The Un-"inhabited—a huge, limitless ocean, abyss, or quagmire of "universal darkness and lifelessness, wherein are jumbled in "blustering confusion the elements of all matter, or rather "the crude embryons of all the elements, ere as yet they are "distinguishable. There is no light there, nor properly earth, "water, air, or fire, but only a vast pulp or welter of un-"formed matter, in which all these lie tempestuously inter-"mixed. Though the presence of Deity is there potentially "too, it is still, as it were, retracted thence, as from a realm "unorganized and left to night and anarchy; nor do any "of the angels wing down into its repulsive obscurities. "The crystal floor or wall of Heaven divides them from it; "underneath which, and unvisited of light, save what may "glimmer through upon its nearer strata, it howls and rages "and stagnates eternally.

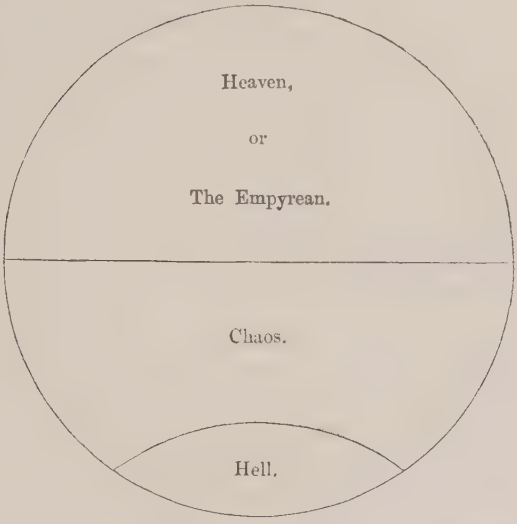
"Such is and has been the constitution of the universal "infinitude from ages immemorial in the angelic reckoning. "But lo! at last a day in the annals of Heaven when the "grand monotony of existence hitherto is disturbed and "broken. On a day—'such a day as Heaven's great year "brings forth'—all the empyreal host of angels, called by "imperial summons from all the ends of Heaven, assemble "innumerably before the throne of the Almighty; beside "whom, imbosomed in bliss, sat the Divine Son. They "had come to hear this divine decree:—

> 'Hear, all ye Angels, progeny of Light,
> Thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, powers,
> Hear my decree which unrevoked shall stand!

> This day I have begot whom I declare
> My only Son, and on this holy hill
> Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
> At my right hand. Your Head I him appoint;
> And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
> All knees in Heaven, and shall confess him Lord.'

"With joy and obedience is this decree received throughout "the hierarchies, save in one quarter. One of the first of the "archangels in heaven, if not the very first—the coequal of "Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, if not their superior—is the "archangel known afterwards (for his first name in Heaven is "lost) as Satan or Lucifer. In him the effect of the decree "is rage, envy, pride, the resolution to rebel. He conspires "with his next subordinate, known afterwards as Beelzebub; "and there is formed by them that faction in Heaven which "includes at length one third of the entire heavenly host. "Then ensue the wars in Heaven—Michael and the loyal "angels warring against Satan and the rebel angels, so that "for two days the Empyrean is in uproar. But on the third "day the Messiah himself rides forth in his chariot of power, "armed with ten thousand thunders. Right on he drives, "in his sole might, through the rebel ranks, till they are "trampled and huddled, in one indiscriminate flock, incapable "of resistance, before him and his fires. But his purpose is "not utterly to destroy them,—only to expel them from "Heaven. Underneath their feet, accordingly, the crystal wall "or floor of Heaven opens wide, rolling inwards, and disclosing "a spacious gap into the dark Abyss or Chaos. Horrorstruck "they start back; but worse urges them behind. Headlong "they fling themselves down, eternal wrath burning after "them, and driving them still down, down, through Chaos, "to the place prepared for them.

"The place prepared for them! Yes, for now there is a "modification in the map of universal space to suit the "changed conditions of the universe. At the bottom of "what has hitherto been Chaos there is now marked out a "kind of antarctic region, distinct from the body of Chaos "proper. This is HELL—



"a vast region of fire, sulphurous lake, plain, and mountain,
"and of all forms of fiery and icy torment. It is into this
"nethermost and dungeon-like portion of space, separated
"from Heaven by a huge belt of intervening Chaos, that the
"fallen angels are thrust. For nine days and nights they
"have been falling through Chaos, or rather being driven
"down through Chaos by the Messiah's pursuing thunders,
"before they reach this new home. When they do reach it,
"the roof closes over them and shuts them in. Meanwhile
"the Messiah has returned in triumph into highest Heaven,
"and there is rejoicing over the expulsion of the damned.

"For the moment, therefore, there are three divisions of
"universal space—HEAVEN, CHAOS, and HELL. Almost im-
"mediately, however, there is a fourth. Not only have the
"expelled angels been nine days and nights in falling through
"Chaos to reach Hell; but, after they have reached Hell and
"it has closed over them, they lie for another period of nine
"days and nights stupefied and bewildered in the fiery gulf.
"It is during this second nine days that there takes place a
"great event, which farther modifies the map of infinitude.
"Long had there been talk in Heaven of a new race of beings

"to be created at some time by the Almighty, inferior in "some respects to the angels, but in the history of whom and "of God's dealings with them there was to be a display of the "divine power and love which even the angels might contem- "plate with wonder. The time for the creation of this new "race of beings has now arrived. Scarcely have the rebel "angels been enclosed in Hell, and Chaos has recovered from "the turmoil of the descent of such a rout through its depths, "when the paternal Deity, addressing the Son, tells him that, "in order to repair the loss caused to Heaven, the predeter- "mined creation of Man and of the World of Man shall now "take effect. It is for the Son to execute the will of the "Father. Straightway he goes forth on his creating errand. "The everlasting gates of Heaven open wide to let him pass "forth; and, clothed with majesty, and accompanied with "thousands of seraphim and cherubim, anxious to behold the "great work to be done, he does pass forth—far into that "very Chaos through which the rebel angels have so recently "fallen, and which now intervenes between Heaven and Hell. "At length he stays his fervid wheels, and, taking the "golden compasses in his hands, centres one point of them "where he stands and turns the other through the obscure "profundity around. Thus are marked out, or cut out, "through the body of Chaos, the limits of the new Universe "of Man—that starry universe which to us seems measureless "and the same as infinity itself, but which is really only a "beautiful azure sphere or drop, insulated in Chaos, and hung "at its topmost point or zenith from the Empyrean. But, "though the limits of the new experimental creation are thus "at once marked out, the completion of the creation is a work "of six days. On the last of these, to crown the work, the "happy earth received its first human pair—the appointed "lords of the entire new creation. And so, resting from his "labours, and beholding all that he had made, that it was "good, the Messiah returned to his Father, reascending "through the golden gates, which were now just over the "zenith of the new World, and were its point of suspension "from the Empyrean Heaven; and the seventh day or Sabbath

"was spent in songs of praise by all the heavenly hosts over "the finished work, and in contemplation of it as it hung "beneath them,

> 'another Heaven,
> From Heaven-gate not far, founded in view
> On the clear hyaline.'

"And now, accordingly, this was the diagram of the universal "infinitude :—

"There are the three regions of HEAVEN, CHAOS, and HELL, as "before ; but there is also now a fourth region, hung drop- "like into Chaos by an attachment to Heaven at the north pole "or zenith. This is the NEW WORLD, or the STARRY UNIVERSE "—all that universe of orbs and galaxies which man's vision "can reach by utmost power of telescope, and which even to "his imagination is illimitable. And yet as to the propor- "tions of this World to the total map Milton dares to be "exact. The distance from its nadir or lowest point to the "upper boss of Hell is exactly equal to its own radius ; or, in "other words, the distance of Hell-gate from Heaven-gate is

"exactly three semi-diameters of the Human or Starry Uni-
"verse."

This NEW WORLD, introduced by Milton into his map of infinitude at this point in the chronology of his poem, is substantially the Ptolemaic cosmos. In his account of the creation of the six days, indeed (Book VII, lines 205–550), there is no specific mention of the ten Ptolemaic spheres, nor anything that compels the supposition of them. After the earth, the sun is first made, as being the chief of celestial bodies; then the moon, as the lesser of the two great lights for the use of man; and on the same fourth day all the other luminaries appear, stars and planets together, with no enumeration of the latter by their orbs or distances. This is in strong contrast to the description of the fourth day's creation in Du Bartas, which propounds the procedure most elaborately according to the Ptolemaic mechanism and nomenclature, with an inserted passage of anti-Copernican invective. Clearly Milton did not want to commit himself. The Ptolemaism of his general conception is implied, however, in two things. In the first place, the suggestion decidedly is that the earth is steady at the centre, and that all the other bodies, the great sun himself included, move round her and minister to her. In the second place, and more emphatically, it is an absolute postulate of the poem that there is a definite boundary to the created universe, an uttermost convex of the great round, by which it is all walled in from circumambient chaos:—

"Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds;
This be thy just circumference, O World,"

had been the words of the Messiah, as he turned the point of the golden compasses through chaos for the express purpose of circumscribing that scoop of chaos that was to be occupied by the new cosmos. Hence, whatever the constitution of the interior of the spherical World of Man seen pendent in the last diagram from the Empyrean into remaining Chaos, the circular boundary has necessarily to be imagined as a hard, impervious shell, equivalent to the Ptolemaic primum

mobile. This requisite of the poem is maintained throughout; the action from first to last depends upon it; and it is pressed upon the attention with every study of optical art in several very notable passages. It is in one of these that the poet does seem to intimate formally in three lines that he does not care though he should accept wholly for his poetical purpose the Ptolemaic constitution of man's world. In those lines he not only affixes to the outermost convex its Ptolemaic name of primum mobile, or "first moved," but also mentions rapidly the seven planetary spheres, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the ninth or crystalline sphere, as the successive heavens or divisions of cosmical space that must be passed through in ascending from the earth to the primum mobile (III. 481–483). But for that passage we should hardly have been able to say that the *interior* of Milton's cosmos was imagined by him with strict Ptolemaic precision. The impression would rather have been of an uninterrupted single sphere or hollow round, centred by the little earth, irradiated by stars and other luminaries, but with the sun predominant in size and splendour.

"Meanwhile, just as the final modification of the map of "infinitude has been accomplished by the creation of the six "days, Satan and his rebel adherents in Hell begin to re-"cover from their stupor—Satan the first, and the others "at his call. There ensue Satan's first speech to them, "their first surveys of their new domain, their building of "their palace of Pandemonium, and their deliberations there "in full council as to their future policy. Between Moloch's "advice for a renewal of open war with Heaven, and Belial's "and Mammon's counsels, which recommend acquiescence in "their new circumstances and a patient effort to make the "best of them, Beelzebub insinuates the proposal which is "really Satan's, and which is ultimately carried. It is that "there should be an excursion from Hell back through Chaos, "to ascertain whether that new universe, with a new race of "beings in it, of which there had been so much talk in "Heaven, and which there was reason to think might come "into existence about the time, *had* come into existence.

"If it had, might not means be found to vitiate this new "universe and the favourite race that was to possess it, and "to drag them down to the level of Hell itself? Would not "such a ruining of the Almighty's new experiment at its "outset be a revenge that would touch him deeply? Would "it not be easier than open war? And on the stepping-"stone of such a success might they not raise themselves to "further victory, or at least to an improvement of their "present condition, and to an extent of empire that should "include more than Hell?

"Satan's counsel having been adopted, it is Satan himself "that adventures the perilous expedition up through Chaos in "quest of the new Universe. He is detained for a while at "Hell-gate by the ghastly shapes of Sin and Death, who are "there to guard it; but, the gates being at length opened "to him, never to shut again, he emerges into the hideous "Chaos overhead. His journey up through it is arduous. "Climbing, swimming, wading, flying, through the boggy "consistency—now falling plumb-down thousands of fathoms, "again carried upwards by a gust or explosion—he reaches "at length, about midway in his journey, the central throne "and pavilion where Chaos personified and Night have their "government. There he receives definite intelligence that "the New World he is in search of has actually been created. "Thus encouraged, and directed on his way, again he springs "upward, 'like a pyramid of fire,' through what of Chaos "remains; and, after much farther flying, tacking, and "steering, he at last reaches the upper confines of Chaos, "where its substance seems thinner, so that he can wing "about more easily, and where a glimmering dawn of the "light from above begins also to appear. For a while in this "calmer space he weighs his wings to behold at leisure "(II. 1046) the sight that is breaking upon him. And "what a sight!—

> 'Far off the Empyreal Heaven extended wide
> In crescent, undetermined square or round,
> W th opal towers and battlements adorned
> Of living sapphire, once his native seat,

And, fast by, hanging in a golden chain,
This pendent World, in bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.'

"Care must be taken not to misinterpret this passage. "Even Addison misinterpreted it woefully. He speaks of "Satan's distant discovery 'of the earth that hung close by "the moon' as one of the most 'wonderfully beautiful and "poetical' passages of the poem. But it is more wonderfully "beautiful and poetical than Addison thought. For, as even "a correct reading of the passage by itself would have shown, "'the pendent world' which Satan here sees is not the earth "at all, but the entire starry universe, or mundane sphere, "hung drop-like by a golden touch from the Empyrean above "it. In proportion to this Empyrean, at the distance whence "Satan gazes, even the starry universe pendent from it "is but as a star of smallest magnitude seen on the edge of "the full or crescent moon.

"At length Satan alights on the opaque outside, or convex "shell, of the New Universe. As he had approached it, what "seemed at first but as a star had taken the dimensions of "a globe; and, when he had alighted, and begun to walk on "it, this globe had become, as it seemed, a boundless con- "tinent of firm land, exposed, dark and starless, to the stormy "Chaos blustering round like an inclement sky. Only on the "upper convex of the shell, in its angles towards the zenith, "some reflection of light was gained from the wall of Heaven. "Apparently it was on this upper convex of the outside of "the new world, and not at its nadir, or the point nearest Hell, "that Satan first alighted and walked. At all events he had "to reach the zenith before he could begin the real business "of his errand. For only at this point—only at the point of "attachment or suspension of the New Universe to the Em- "pyrean—was there an opening into the interior of the "Universe. All the outer shell, save at that point, was hard, "compact, and not even transpicuous to the light within, "as the spherical glass round a lamp is, but totally opaque, "or only glistering faintly on its upper side with the re- "flected light of Heaven. Accordingly,—after wandering on

"this dark outside of the Universe long enough to allow "Milton that extraordinary digression (III. 440–497) in "which he finds one of the most magnificently grotesque "uses for the outside of the Universe that it could have "entered into the imagination of any poet to conceive,—the "Fiend is attracted in the right direction to the opening at "the zenith. What attracts him thither is a gleam of light "from the mysterious structure or staircase which there serves "the angels in their descents from Heaven's Gate into the "Human Universe, and again in their ascents from the Uni- "verse to Heaven's Gate. Sometimes these stairs are drawn "up to Heaven and invisible; but at the moment when Satan "reached the spot they were let down, so that, standing "on the lower stair, and gazing down through the opening "right underneath, he could suddenly behold the whole in- "terior of the Starry Universe at once. He can behold it "in all directions—both in the direction of latitude, or depth "from the pole where he stands to the opposite pole or nadir, "and also longitudinally,—

> 'from eastern point
> Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears
> Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
> Beyond the horizon.'"

Into this glorious world, through the opening, the Fiend, after a pause of wonder, suddenly precipitates himself. Winding his way among the fixed stars, he makes first for the sun, which attracts him by its all-surpassing magnitude. Alighting on its body, and finding the archangel Uriel there, who has been sent down from the empyrean to be regent of the great luminary, he disguises himself and pretends to be one of the lesser angels who, not having been present at the creation, has now come alone, out of curiosity, to behold its glories. To his inquiries as to the particular orb which is the abode of newly-created man, Uriel replies by pointing out the earth shining at a distance in the sunlight. Thus informed, he wings off again from the sun's body, and, wheeling his steep flight towards the earth, alights at length on the top of Mount Niphates, near Eden.

It might seem at first sight that the advent of Satan into the mundane universe and his arrival on the earth took place only a day or two after the creation. There are passages of the poem which suggest this interpretation. It is evident, however, that a transcendental or arbitrary measure of time has to be applied to some of those extra-mundane actions which had brought Satan from Hell to Earth; for, when we first see the primal pair and hear them conversing in their bowers of happiness, with the Fiend now close by their side, and eyeing them with mingled envy and pity, we are aware that the paradisaic life has already for some time been going on, and that the new universe has been wheeling for some time in quiet beauty, diurnal and nocturnal, round the earth and its creatures. "That day I oft remember," Eve is made to say to Adam in their first dialogue, describing her sensations when she first awoke to the amazement of existence, and to the sight of him as the sole other human being; and there are various other passages which similarly throw back the beginnings of the paradisaic life to a considerable distance. Not till now, however, when the Fiend is at hand on the scene, does the poet put forth his hand to paint for us all the loveliness of that grand and simple life of original innocence, with all the richness and deliciousness of beauty round it in Paradise itself, bound in by its verdurous wall and steep woody slopes from the rest of Eden. But now he does put forth his hand, and succeeds to a marvel. The Adam and Eve of Milton are "not intended in any sense," it has been well said, "to represent men and women such as we know them, "worn with the wars of thought and passion, made complex "or dwarfed by civilization, but the archetypal man and "woman, fresh from the hand of God [1]." Here was Milton's difficulty, and he has overcome it. He abstains from all attempt at complexity or intricacy of portraiture; the lineaments are simple, unsophisticated, and majestic; and yet the characters are distinct, the pure masculine and feminine of the imaginary primal world. Nor are their surroundings

[1] Mr. Stopford Brooke's *Milton* in Mr. Green's Series of *Classical Writers*.

unworthy of themselves. Did ever a blind man before so trust to his own mastery in recollections of the world of sight and colour as did Milton when he dreamt out in his darkness a fit paradise for his first human pair, lavishing on it such wealth of lawn and hillock, golden dawn and sparkling night-sky, sylvan shade and fruit-trees blooming, bowers of myrtle and walks of roses?

Uriel, whose gaze has followed Satan from the sun, and discovered by his gestures on earth that he was probably one of the rebel spirits escaped from Hell, has descended to give warning to the archangel Gabriel, who commands the legion of angels that are in guard of Paradise. Through the night, accordingly, Paradise is searched; and Satan, detected by the scouts, "squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve," insinuating false dreams into her sleep, starts up in his own gigantic shape, and is brought before Gabriel. They exchange words of mutual defiance, and there was about to be battle between Satan and the angelic guard, when, reading the result in one of the shining constellations, the Fiend betakes himself to flight, one knows not whither. Next day rises, presenting Eve alarmed by her dream and Adam consoling her, and then their hymn of worship, and their pleasant work in the garden, till at noon there is the glorious apparition of the Archangel Raphael, who has been despatched from Heaven that Adam may be fortified against the coming danger by his discourses and admonitions. The conversations between Raphael and Adam begin at line 361 of Book V., and extend through the rest of that Book, and the whole of Books VI., VII., and VIII.; and it is in these that there comes in, by relation from Raphael to Adam, that history of pre-mundane events, including the rebellion of a third part of the Angels, the wars in Heaven, the expulsion of the rebel Angels from Heaven, their inclosure in Hell and the subsequent creation of man's universe in Chaos immediately under Heaven, which is already assumed in the poem, but which Adam had not yet known. In return, Adam relates to Raphael his recollections of his first existence and thoughts and of the creation of Eve. It is in these conversations also that there occur poetical

summaries of Milton's physics, physiology, and metaphysics. Especially curious is that long passage (VIII. 15–178) in which the relative merits of the Ptolemaic theory of the cosmos and the Copernican theory are made the subject of an express discussion between Adam and the Archangel. Adam is represented as having arrived by intuition at the Copernican theory; and Raphael, in reply, leans also distinctly to that side, and criticises severely the intricacy of the Ptolemaic system, with the shifts of "centric and eccentric," "cycle and epicyle," to which it had been driven to save its main notion of "orb in orb." On the whole, however, he discourages the speculation as too abstruse, and represents the decision either way as of no great consequence to man's chief business, which is to enjoy life innocently, do his duty, and fear God. After these conversations, at only part of which Eve has been present, the two colloquists part, the Archangel to Heaven and Adam to his bower.

Six days have passed since the departure of Raphael when Satan, who has meanwhile been winging vaguely in the mundane spaces round and round the earth, keeping in her shadow as much as possible, returns to Paradise as a mist in the night, enters the sleeping serpent, and addresses himself in that guise to his work of evil. Finding Eve alone, the Fiend succeeds. At his temptation, she eats of the forbidden fruit; at hers, Adam, when she has rejoined him, eats of it also; and mankind is ruined.

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> "Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
> In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan;
> Sky loured, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
> Wept at completing of the mortal sin
> Original."

The rest is misery. The Angels forsake the Earth; Satan hies back to Hell to announce his victory; the Son of God comes down to pronounce doom; and the guilty pair, who, after their first delirium of guilt, have broken out in mutual reproaches and revilings, are left wailing a night and a day in inconsolable despair. Their wild rage of wailing and mutual revilings dies at last into a kind of sobbing calm, with some

ray of hope from recollection of the very words in which they had been judged; and they fall prostrate in prayer. Their prayer is heard. Another of the archangels, Michael, is sent down from Heaven, with a band of cherubim, to expel the fallen pair from Paradise, but also to comfort them before their expulsion by foreshowing them the future history of the ruined world to the very end of things, with the golden thread through that history which certifies retrieval and redemption. The last two books of the poem relate this prospective vision, vouchsafed to Adam through Michael, of the things that were to be on earth; and at the close of all we see the eastern side of Paradise waved over by a flaming brand, and the gate thronged with dreadful faces and fiery arms, while the ejected pair, with slow footsteps, are taking their solitary way through Eden, hand in hand,

> "The world was all before them, where to choose
> Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

Already, before their expulsion, there had been certain modifications in the structure of the Mundane Universe in consequence of their sin. "In the first place, there had been "established, what did not exist before, a permanent communi- "cation between Hell and that Universe. When Satan had "come up through Chaos from Hell-gate, he had done so with "toil and difficulty, as one exploring his way; but no sooner "had he succeeded in his mission than Sin and Death, whom he "had left at Hell-gate, felt themselves instinctively aware of "his success, and of the necessity there would thenceforward "be for a distinct road between Hell and the New World, by "which all the infernals might go and come. Accordingly, "they had constructed such a road,—a wonderful causey or "bridge from Hell-gate, right through Chaos, to that part of "the outside of the New Universe where Satan had first "alighted,—i. e. not to its nadir, but to some point near its "zenith, where there is the break or orifice in the primum "mobile towards the Empyrean. And what a consequence "from this vast addition in the physical constitution of the "Cosmos! The infernal host are no longer confined to Hell,

"but possess also the New Universe, like an additional island "or pleasure-domain, up in Chaos, and on the very confines of "their former home, the Empyrean. Preferring this conquest to "their proper empire in Hell, they have been thenceforth perhaps "more frequently in our World than in Hell, winging through "its various spheres, but chiefly inhabiting the air round the "central earth and passing as the gods and demigods of the "earth's various polytheisms and mongrel religions. But the "new causeway from Hell to the World, constructed by Sin and "Death, was not the only modification of the physical universe "consequent on the fall. The interior of the Human World as "it hangs from the Empyrean received some alterations for the "worse by the decree of the Almighty himself. The elements "immediately round the earth became harsher and more "malignant; the planets and starry spheres were so influenced "that planets and stars have ever since looked inwards upon "the central earth with aspects of malevolence; nay, perhaps "it was then first that, either by a heaving askance of the "earth from her former position, or by a change in the sun's "path, the ecliptic became oblique to the equator. All this "apart from changes in the actual body of the earth, including "the obliteration of the site of the desecrated paradise, and "the outbreak of virulence among all things animate since "Sin and Death fastened on the Earth to begin their ravages." And so it has been, and so it will be, a world always from worse to worse, but for the remedy. That had been predicted in the invocation beginning the epic, where it had been announced that the theme of the poem was to be man's first disobedience, with its consequences of death, woe, and the loss of Eden,

> "till one greater Man
> Restore us and regain the blissful seat."

From this sketch and exposition it will have appeared that *Paradise Lost* was, properly and professedly, as we have called it, a new cosmical epic. The very characteristic, in respect of aim and matter, by which it offered itself as one of the great poems of the world, or, which is the same thing, as a contri-

bution to the permanent mythology of the human race, was that it connected, by a narrative of vast construction, the inconceivable universe anterior to time and to man with the beginnings and history of our particular planet. This it had done by fastening the attention on one great supernatural being, supposed to belong to the angelic crowd that peopled the empyrean before our world was created, by following this being in his actions as a rebel in heaven and an outcast in hell, and by leaving him at last in apparently successful possession of the new universe for which he had struggled. If "the hero" of an epic is that principal personage who figures from first to last, and whose actions draw all the threads, or even if success in some sense, and command of our admiration and sympathy in some degree, are requisite for the name, then not wrongly have so many of the critics regarded Satan as "the hero" of *Paradise Lost*. There is, at all events, no other "hero" there, unless Humanity itself, which is the noble contrary object of our affections and hopes throughout, and which we may accept as personified distributively in Adam and Eve, can stand to us in that character. But, however that verbal question may be settled, it remains incontestable that the heroic substance of the poem, though it all bears on the catastrophe on earth, includes an extraordinary proportion of the superhuman and extramundane. The action in the empyrean or heaven of heavens itself, direct or reported, occupies about a fourth part of the whole; that in hell and chaos not much less; a certain proportion even of the intramundane action is not on the earth, but in the mundane spaces round the earth; the sum of the extramundane action and the non-terrestrial action within the mundus taken together considerably exceeds all that is left of the properly terrestrial; and even of the properly terrestrial action it is but a portion that consists of the sweet human life paradisaic. This must have been perceived at once by the first readers of the book. They, of course, were at liberty, while perceiving the compound character of the whole, and acknowledging the wonderful poetical unity, the organic necessity of the interconnexion, to divide the book into parts on the more private ground of their own

preference for this or the other moiety of the contained matter. Some of them, perhaps, may have had the feeling to which not a few have confessed from that time to this, and to which Tennyson has given such subtle expression in his Horatian ode :—

"O mighty-mouth'd inventor of harmonies,
O skill'd to sing of Time or Eternity,
God-gifted organ-voice of England,
Milton, a name to resound for ages;
Whose Titan angels, Gabriel, Abdiel,
Starr'd from Jehovah's gorgeous armouries,
Tower, as the deep-domed Empyrean
Rings to the roar of an Angel-onset:
Me rather all that bowery loneliness,
The brooks of Eden mazily murmuring,
And bloom profuse of cedar arches
Charm, as a wanderer out in ocean,
Where some refulgent sunset of India
Streams o'er a rich ambrosial ocean isle
And crimson-hued the stately palmwoods
Whisper in odorous heights of even."

Praise like this, whether of the angelic grandeurs of the poem or of its paradisaic beauties, could come only after consent that the artistic execution had not fallen beneath the sublime conception. On this question, whether the verdict were to come sooner or later, there could be no doubt what it would be. The "mighty-mouthed," the "skilled to sing," the "organ-voice of England," the "inventor of harmonies," were epithets for Milton which remained to be devised, but some presentiment of which could not but be felt wherever the first copies of the poem came into the hands of fit readers. In whatever respect the poem was examined, it answered the test of the superlative. Was it the conduct of the story; was it the sustained elevation of the style and the perfect texture and finish of the wording; was it the music of the verse, varying from the roar of hurricane and the tramp of bannered hosts to the charm of bees and birds; was it the plenitude of gem-like phrases and of passages memorable individually and sure to be quoted for ever; was it wealth of maxim and weight of thought; was it the incessant suggestion of subjects for

other forms of art, whether of single figures and statuesque moments for the sculptor, or of groups, incidents, and landscapes for the painter? In any or all of these respects what a poem it was! Then, through all, and imparting to all a sense of difference from anything known before, who could miss that tone of a certain personal something, that boom of self-conscious magnanimity, for which we have no name yet but the Miltonic? Even the occasional languours and lapses into the prosaic, as when some doctrine of Puritan theology had to be expounded in set terms, might give pleasure to many. What were they but the rests or sinkings of the eagle, that he might prove his strength of plume the next moment by again soaring to his highest in the sunbeams?

Apart from every other recommendation of the poem, its scholarliness, its extraordinary fulness of erudition of all sorts, must have been admired immediately. What abundance and exactness of geographical, as well as of astronomical, reference and allusion; what lists of sonorous proper names rolled lovingly into the Iambic chaunt; what acquaintance with universal history; what compulsion of all the lusciousness of Ægean myth and Mediterranean legend into the service of the Hebrew theme! This man, who had the Bible by heart, whose verse, when he chose, could consist of nothing else than coagulations of texts from the Bible or concurrent Biblical gleams from the first of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse, had also ransacked and enjoyed the classics. Though his flight was above the Aonian mount, yet Jove and Jason, Proteus and Apollo, Pan and the Nymphs, the Fauns and the Graces, all came into view as they were wanted, captives to his heavenly muse. The epic, while planned from the Bible, and while original in the entire conception and in every part, was also a mosaic of recollections from all that was best in Greek and Latin literature. Homer, Hesiod, the three Greek tragedians, Plato, Lucretius, Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and the rest, had all yielded passages or flakes of their substance to be melted into the rich English enamel. But the learning displayed included more than the classics. The author's readings had evidently been wide and various in the

mediæval Latinists and later scholars of different countries, and especially close and familiar in Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, and others of the Italians. Of his acquaintance with all the preceding poetry of his own tongue there was no room for doubt. There were proofs, more particularly, of his intimacy with Spenser, Shakespeare, and those minor English poets of his own century who are best described as the Spenserians, and of whom Browne, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, and Drummond of Hawthornden, were the finest representatives. Had it been worth while, it could have been proved from *Paradise Lost* that Milton was no stranger to the writings of Cowley and Davenant[1].

We are thus brought back to the fact that *Paradise Lost* made its appearance in Davenant's Laureateship and belongs by right of date to the English literature of the first years of the Restoration. On a comparison of the poem with all that was then recent or current what can have been the impression? The last things even nominally of the heroic or epic kind in

[1] In connexion with this subject of the *learning* shown in Paradise Lost one might lose oneself again in the inquiry, prosecuted at such length by Todd and others, as to the amount of Milton's possible indebtedness to previous writers, Italian, Spanish, Latin, German, Dutch, and English, for this or that in his epic. Having elsewhere (*Cambridge Milton*, I. 36—40) given my impressions of the results of these miscellaneous bibliographical researches, and characterized them as, with one or two exceptions, "laborious nonsense," I will advert here only to that one form of the inquiry which seems to me the most curious biographically. Was Milton acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon Cædmon? The Cosmos of Cædmon has, of course, nothing in common with Milton's Cosmos, and is but a very limited and homely old Northumbrian world indeed; but there are some striking coincidences between notions and phrases in Satan's soliloquy in Hell in the Cædmonian *Genesis* and notions and phrases in the description of Satan's rousing himself and his fellows in the first book of *Paradise Lost*. Very probably the coincidences imply only strong conception of the same traditional situations by two different minds; but it is just possible that there was more. When the Cædmonian fragments were first published, at Amsterdam, in 1655, by the Teutonic scholar Franciscus Junius, i.e. François Dujon, Milton, it is true, had been blind for three years, and there is some difficulty in understanding how he could then have found a reader fit to spell out to him the small quarto of 106 pages containing the fragments, printed as they were in the old Anglo-Saxon characters, running on painfully in prose fashion, without metrical break, and without comment or translation of any kind. The unique manuscript from which the volume was printed, however, had been in Archbishop Usher's library, and had been given by the Archbishop to Junius about 1651; and Junius, having been a resident in London continuously from 1620 to that year, must almost certainly have been a personal acquaintance of Milton's. Hence it is just possible that Milton had become acquainted with the precious Cædmonian manuscript before he was blind. If he heard of the discovery of such a thing, he was not likely to remain ignorant of its nature or contents.

English poetry were Cowley's *Davideis,* Davenant's *Gondibert,* and Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis.* None of these, of course, could stand within the sight of such an epic as this; nor, in going back through previous English poetry in search of the latest book, nominally of the epic order, worthy of being named with this in respect of general importance, could one bestow even a passing thought on Drayton, Daniel, or any of the rest of that century, or stop short of the *Faery Queene.* Then, the view enlarging itself, and the distinction of poetry into kinds ceasing to be relevant for the farther purpose of estimate, the recollection would be that the English nation had hitherto possessed but three poets of any kind that all the world could regard as really consummate. Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare were the trio of England's greatest, with none, later or intermediate, that could rank in their company. And now what had happened? A fourth poet had stepped out who must be associated for ever with those three predecessors. He had stepped out,—who could have expected it?—in the person of a blind man domiciled in an obscure suburb of London, who, though there was a dim remembrance that he had professed poetry in his youth, had been known through his middle life as a Puritan pamphleteer, a divorcist, an iconoclast in Church and State, and who seven years ago, when Charles came to the throne, had been so specially infamous for his connexion with the Republic and the Regicide that he had barely escaped the gallows. Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, were thenceforth to be the quaternion of largest stars in the main portion of the firmament of English poetry. Nay, if there was to be a discrimination of degrees among the four, was it not Milton that was to be named inevitably whenever, on any plea of coequality of poetic genius visible through difference of modes, the supreme radiance of Shakespeare was to be challenged by the contrast of a peer or second? That is the understanding now, and it was formed with unusual rapidity, we shall find, in Milton's own generation. Meanwhile we are still in the year 1667. *Paradise Lost* has yet to find its readers, and there are lions in the path.

BOOK III.

AUGUST 1667—NOVEMBER 1674.

HISTORY:—English Politics and Literature from 1667 to 1674.

BIOGRAPHY:—The Last Seven Years of Milton's Life.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLISH POLITICS AND LITERATURE FROM 1667 TO 1674.

THERE are few periods during which it is more difficult to describe the mechanism of the English government than during the seven years following the fall of Clarendon. The difficulty has been acknowledged, rather than explained, by calling the period, or the greater part of it, THE TIME OF THE CABAL ADMINISTRATION.

No need now to correct the old popular fallacy that the word *cabal* was an invention of that time. Most people know that the word *cabal* had already been in use in England, as a designation for any number of persons putting their heads together for any object whatever, but more especially as an alternative name for that secret committee of the King's privy council and ministry which had been long known as *The Junto*, and which we now call *The Cabinet*. Though the strict constitutional theory was that the right and duty of advising the sovereign lay in the whole body of the privy council, and that each minister was the independent servant of the crown in his own department, the two connected institutions of *The Junto* and *The Premiership* are so rooted in the very necessities of politics and of human nature that the existence of one or other, or of both together, had been more or less an open fact in the reigns of all recent English sovereigns. That neither was liked, that both were regarded as unconstitutional, and that the premier or favourite for the time being, and other members of the Junto or Cabal for the time being, always ran peculiar risks, had not prevented the

definite transmission of both institutions through the reigns of James I. and Charles I. The Clarendon Administration for Charles II. from 1660 to 1667 had been in reality a government by intermixed cabal and premiership. What, then, was the difference from 1667 onwards? It was that, instead of a government by continued cabal and premiership in combination, there was now a government by continued cabal without any steady premiership. In other words, Charles himself, so far as he took trouble with public affairs, was now more the master than he had been. No one stood now by his side as indubitably and necessarily the prime minister; and, while he still had his general privy council and ministry of some thirty or forty persons, to be used as a formal agency of state, he could depute the real work of deliberation for him and co-operation with him in state-affairs to any five or six, or any seven or eight, of the privy councillors and ministers most in his confidence. These were his *Cabal* or *Cabinet*, as distinct from the general body of the privy council and ministry; and the peculiarity was that, as the composition of the cabal depended entirely on his own pleasure, it might fluctuate from month to month, or even from week to week. At certain times, indeed, there might even be two halves of the one nominal cabal, separately employed and consulted by the King, and played off against each other.

FROM AUGUST 1667 TO APRIL 1670.

Immediately after the fall of Clarendon, the Duke of Ormond being then absent in his Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, the cabal round Charles for English affairs consisted of the Duke of York, the Duke of Albemarle, the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Orlando Bridgman (made *Lord Keeper* in succession to Clarendon as *Lord Chancellor*), *Lord Privy Seal* Roberts, and Lord Arlington and Sir William Morrice, the two *Secretaries of State;* with whom, for occasional purposes, were associated Lord Ashley, as *Chancellor of the Exchequer* and one of the *Commissioners of the Treasury*, Sir Thomas Clifford, as *Comptroller of the Household* and one

of the *Commissioners of the Treasury*, and Sir William Coventry, as one of the *Commissioners of the Treasury*. This cabal was modified by some subsequent changes. In June 1668 Clifford was promoted to the *Treasurership of the Household*, the *Comptrollership* going to Lord Newport. In September in the same year Sir William Morrice, who had been dwindling in importance, retired from his *Secretaryship of State* for £10,000, and was succeeded by Sir John Trevor. In March 1668–9, in consequence of a quarrel with Buckingham, Sir William Coventry was dismissed. Early in 1669, the Duke of Ormond having been removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland by Buckingham's contrivance, Lord Roberts went to Ireland as his successor. On the 3rd of January 1669–70 Monk died of a dropsy, at the age of sixty-one, and there was to be no farther influence of his in the affairs of the Restoration. The general effect of these changes had been to increase the importance of Ashley and Clifford in the cabal. On the whole, however, the chiefs from the beginning were Buckingham (without office till he became *Master of Horse* by purchase from Monk) and Lord Secretary Arlington. A kind of pseudo-premiership, indeed, had been accorded to Buckingham, which might have been turned into a real premiership but for his incorrigible fitfulness and the scandal of his private profligacies. As it was, the steadier, calmer, and more laborious Arlington was more than his rival, especially in the foreign department. Ashley was first distinctly adopted into the cabal as an adherent of Buckingham, and Clifford as an adherent of Arlington [1].

Consisting mainly of a selection of the politicians that had been in opposition to Clarendon, the very characteristic of this cabal of Buckingham's pseudo-premiership was its willing agreement with the King in an endeavour to reverse some parts of Clarendon's policy, and more especially his rigid church-policy, as it had taken shape in such barbarities as the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicles Act, and the Five Miles Act.

[1] Beatson's Political Index; several Articles in Wood's *Ath.* and *Fasti*; Pepys in various places; Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, II. 1—4.

Already, since the Great Fire of London, and partly in consequence of that event, there had been a considerable relaxation of the severities against Nonconformists. After the burning of so many churches, it was thought "a thing too gross" to try to prevent the ejected Nonconformist ministers of London from meeting their distressed and impoverished old congregations in the open air, or in temporary tabernacles amid the ruins. The liberty thus recovered by sheer necessity in London had extended itself by contagion into most parts of the country. Nonconformist ministers everywhere were preaching openly, and crowds were flocking to hear them. With this breaking down of the practice of the Acts against Nonconformity there had naturally come a disposition to revive the question of their expediency. Now that England had an established Episcopal Church, with abundant powers and revenues, and that Church was safe, was there no other mode of dealing with the dissenters from that Church than the systematic coercion by pains and penalties, the systematic persecution, that had seemed necessary to Clarendon, Sheldon, and the rest, and had been organized into statutes by the Cavalier Parliament? Might there not be a return to that policy of a moderate indulgence in religious matters, a regulated toleration of Nonconformist worship, which the King had promised from the first, which he had again and again recommended in vain, and which he was understood still to favour[1]?

Buckingham's Cabal, if we may so call it, took this very proper view of things, and were all so far of the King's mind in that matter. There were, however, two sets of politicians in the Cabal, with a corresponding difference in their reasons for inclining to a policy of toleration. There was the *Protestant Liberal* section of the Cabal, consisting of Lord Keeper Bridgman, who was an Episcopalian of a temperate order, Monk and Roberts, who had been Presbyterians and retained Presbyterian sympathies, and Buckingham and Ashley, who were Sceptics or Deists in the guise of Church-of-England

[1] Baxter, Part III. p. 22.

men. There was also the *crypto-Catholic* section of the Cabal, represented by the Duke of York, Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford. The former were inclined to a policy of toleration by arguments of natural good sense, Buckingham by far the most liberal of them, and willing to go to great lengths, but the rest recognising limits, and Ashley with an express reservation, which he had put on paper, that no toleration to be granted could with political safety be extended to the Roman Catholics or the Fifth Monarchy men[1]. One of the very motives of the crypto-Catholics of the Cabal, on the other hand, in concurring in a policy of toleration for the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Baptists, and other Protestant sects, was that the Roman Catholics might be included, and there might thus be farther study of Roman Catholic interests and prospects in England. Charles himself, it was to appear very notoriously, was inspired, and had all along been inspired, by this peculiar motive in *his* efforts for a toleration. His Majesty, therefore, was best represented, and knew himself to be best represented, in the religious question, by the crypto-Catholic section of his Cabal. They were sincere enough in their desire for a general toleration, and were influenced by the same reasons of good sense and good nature that actuated their liberal Protestant colleagues; but their conduct of the toleration question practically was liable to a subtle influence from their secret motive. A toleration of the Roman Catholics being a notion to which the mass of the English people were obstinately opposed, might not the only way to educate them in that notion, and to obtain a toleration for the Roman Catholics, be to give full rein now and then to the persecution of the Protestant Nonconformists of all varieties? Might not the Nonconformists be thus driven, for their own sakes, into conjunction with the Roman Catholics and a demand for a general toleration of all religionists? This peculiar subtlety of motive on the part of the crypto-Catholic tolerationists of the Cabal of 1667 was to take effect in occasional infidelities to their principle of toleration, and relapses into the persecuting policy.

[1] Memorial on Toleration by Ashley in Christie's *Shaftesbury*, Vol. II. Appendix.

Not, however, at any time between 1667 and 1670. During those years the King and the Cabal collectively moved in a straightforward course on the religious question. They allowed the subject of toleration to be freely ventilated and discussed; Sheldon, Morley, and the other High Episcopal divines found themselves out of favour; and the agreement was to let the persecuting Acts be as inoperative as possible. They even did their best for a repeal in Parliament itself of the Clarendonian Acts against the Nonconformists. Here, however, they ran against a rock.

Parliament was not sitting when the Buckingham Cabal was formed; and, when it did meet for its *Seventh Session* on the 10th of October 1667, the great business for some time was the impeachment of Clarendon. That having been ended by Clarendon's flight to France and an Act for his perpetual banishment, and the two Houses, after an adjournment for seven weeks, having reassembled on the 6th of February, 1667–8, the question of a toleration for the Nonconformists was most expressly recommended to them by a speech from the King. Neither the speech nor the subsequent exertions of ministers and others in debate had any effect. The Parliament, though it had just been impeaching Clarendon for high treason, was, in two thirds of its bulk, an obdurate mass of unmitigated Clarendonianism still in all matters ecclesiastical. There were resolutions in the Commons humbly desiring the King "to enforce obedience to the laws in force concerning "religion and church-government;" there were complaints of the "insolent carriages" of Nonconformists; and, after a debate of several days on the motion "that his Majesty be "desired to send for such persons as he shall think fit to "make proposals to him in order to the uniting of his "Protestant subjects," the proposal was lost on the 8th of April by 176 votes to 70. There had also been brought in a bill for continuing the *Conventicles Act* of May 1664, which had expired on the 2nd of March 1667–8, and the expiry of which had contributed somewhat to the recent liberty of the Nonconformists. This bill passed the Commons by 144 votes to 78 on the 28th of April, and it would doubtless have passed

the Lords too, had not the two Houses adjourned themselves for three months, by the King's desire, on the 9th of May. By farther adjournments, followed by a prorogation, they were to be kept from farther concern with public affairs for seventeen months[1].

Evidently, it was better for the Nonconformists that Parliament should not be sitting, and that they should be left to the mercies of the King and the Cabal. For seventeen months, accordingly, there was a continued breathing-time for the milder Nonconformist sects. The King and the Cabal even persevered in the design in which they had been baffled by Parliament. Dr. John Wilkins having been made Bishop of Chester in November 1668, there was a negotiation in the following year by this liberal bishop, Lord Keeper Bridgman, and Chief Justice Matthew Hale, on the part of the government, with Baxter, Manton, and other leading Nonconformists, pointing not only to a settlement of terms for a limited *toleration* of sects beyond the Established Church, but even to a revival of the question of a *comprehension*. The negotiation was still in progress when Parliament met again, Oct. 19, 1669[2].

This, the *Eighth Session* of the Cavalier Parliament, was a short one, for the Houses were again prorogued by the King on the 11th of December. But in those two months they fell again with such fury on the Nonconformists that the King and the Cabal had to succumb. The negotiation with the Presbyterians was quashed; there were numerous informations and complaints in the two Houses as to evasions of the Conformity Acts, the increase of conventicles and wooden "tabernacles" in London, &c.; and a bill was again brought in for renewing the Conventicles Act. Only the brevity of the session prevented the passing of such a bill. That and other things were reserved for the *Ninth Session* of the Parliament, which was to meet on the 14th of February 1669–70.

Connected more intimately than was then known with the

[1] Commons Journals and Parl. Hist. of dates.
[2] Baxter, III. 23, *et seq.*

domestic question of religion which had been thus managed by the Cabal from 1667 to 1670, and agitated between them and Parliament, had been certain transactions of the foreign policy of Charles and the Cabal during the same years. They cluster themselves in English history under the two names of THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE and THE SECRET NEGOTIATION WITH FRANCE.

Since the death of Mazarin in 1661 Louis XIV. had been acting the Grand Monarque superbly and laboriously for himself. The dominant idea of this young monarch in his foreign relations, the idea which was to determine all the vicissitudes of his unusually long reign, had been fully revealed. He was bent on the *Spanish Succession*, i.e. on the triumph of France at last over her European rival, the decaying empire of Spain, by the assertion of the rights of his wife, Maria Teresa, the daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, to her full Spanish inheritance after her father's death. Direct application to Philip IV. having failed, Louis had negotiated on the subject with other powers, and especially with the Dutch. Admitting that the succession to the main Spanish monarchy should belong, by Spanish law, to Philip's male heir, the young child Carlos, born by a second marriage, he had contended that a portion of the Spanish Netherlands ought to come at once to Maria Teresa on the death of Philip. To induce the Dutch to favour his claim, he had proposed that they and he should, on Philip's death, partition the Spanish Netherlands between them. The Dutch had declined the temptation, dreading the proximity of such a power as the French to their Republican seven provinces, and thinking it better that those dear-bought provinces should continue to have their old enemies, the now weakened Spaniards, for their neighbours and their barrier against France. Accordingly, when Philip IV. of Spain did die in 1665, leaving all his dominions to the feeble and sickly Carlos II., Louis had acted alone. Having reiterated his demands on Spain for the immediate cession of the portion of the Spanish Netherlands which he claimed as his wife's, he had, in 1667, sent an invading French army into the disputed

territory. But the invasion had spread uneasiness throughout Europe. The Pope, the German Emperor, and other friends of Spain, were in alarm; the Dutch were in alarm: how was England to act? Anxious to secure the co-operation or the neutrality of England, Louis had sent an embassy, with magnificent offers to Charles himself, and with money to bribe his advisers; but, though Charles inclined decidedly to a bargain with Louis, popular feeling and the feeling of a part of the Cabal ran in the other direction. The result was that Sir William Temple, then English agent at Brussels, had been instructed to open negotiations with the Dutch. Sir William, in a few interviews at the Hague with the Dutch Grand Pensionary De Witt, had done his work well; and, on the 23rd of January, 1667–8, there was the famous TRIPLE ALLIANCE, consisting of three treaties, one of them secret, pledging England, the United Provinces, and Sweden, to act in concert in compelling Louis to accept one or other of two alternative sets of terms he had been offered by Spain. Then, more easily than had been expected, Louis had given way. On the 15th of April 1668 he made peace with Spain on the arrangement of keeping his conquests in Flanders and resigning others. He had so managed matters that, while seeming to yield, he lost nothing. But the conduct of the Dutch rankled in his memory. By adopting the alternative which allowed him to retain his conquests in Flanders, he had become deliberately their close neighbour; and he had vowed a terrible revenge[1].

Hardly had the TRIPLE ALLIANCE been formed when there began THE SECRET NEGOTIATION WITH FRANCE for undoing it. The first overtures were made by Charles himself, in conversation with the French ambassador Ruvigny, in April 1668; and through the rest of that year and the whole of 1669 the negotiation went on, with missions and cross-missions, divisions in the Cabal, distributions of French money among the members of it, and the employment of Buckingham and Arlington alternately as chief negotiator for Charles.

[1] Mignet's great work entitled *Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV.*: Introd. and Vols. I. and II. It is a pleasure to refer to such a work as this, so masterly in its kind for luminousness, accuracy, and insight.

What Louis wanted was simply the co-operation of England in his meditated war against the Dutch; and for this he was ready to pay Charles most handsomely. So far nothing could be more agreeable to Charles. What *he* wanted above all things was money. The vast sums voted him by Parliament had been squandered no one knows how; he was immeasurably in debt; the pay of the navy, the household, the public offices, was wretchedly in arrears; the daughters of the horse-leech were clamorous. Readiness to accept money in the largest possible quantity from any quarter had thus become nine-tenths of the whole soul of Charles. He hated the Dutch, and was pleased enough to be a party to a war against them, and to receive money on that account. But in the proposed partnership with his young cousin Louis he foresaw a splendid futurity of money generally. Might he not increase his price at once by throwing something else into the bargain besides that promise of co-operation against the Dutch which Louis wanted? Might he not, for example, offer to declare himself a Roman Catholic? There is no doubt that the crypto-Catholicism of Charles was as sincere a sentiment as any he felt, and that he had never ceased in a lazy way to remember his secret overtures to the Pope in 1662–3. Equally certain it is, however, that his negotiation with Louis came upon him rather unexpectedly as a fit opportunity, and that a judicious use of the opportunity for money purposes was part of his calculations. There were family consultations on the subject, ending in a conference held in the Duke of York's house on the 25th of January 1668–9. It was at this conference, at which, besides Charles himself and the Duke, there were present Arlington, Clifford, and the Roman Catholic Lord Arundel of Wardour, that the scheme took formal shape. The Duke had for some time been so honestly a Roman Catholic as to be uneasy in concealing the fact, and it was agreed that he and Charles should declare themselves Roman Catholics together at the right moment. It was then communicated to Louis that Charles desired to enlarge the scope of the negotiation that had been going on between them. He would assist Louis, as required, against the Dutch;

but he would also declare his change of religion, and thus take a step towards the re-establishment of Catholicism in his dominions, if Louis would be his patron in that intention. It may be doubted whether Louis altogether liked the idea of becoming patron and paymaster of so stupendous an enterprise as the conversion of the British Islands to the true faith in the manner proposed. He felt it impossible, however, to decline; and so the negotiation did proceed on the double basis of *the Declaration of Catholicity* and *Partnership in a War against the Dutch*. The utmost secrecy had now to be studied. All but the crypto-Catholic members of the Cabal were kept in the profoundest ignorance of the extended purpose of the negotiation; even M. Colbert de Croissy, who had succeeded Ruvigny as French ambassador in London, was kept in ignorance for a time. The agents for Charles and his brother were Arlington, Clifford, Lord Arundel, and Sir Richard Bellings; and the special link of communication between king and king was Charles's favourite and only remaining sister, the Princess Henrietta, now for seven years the unhappy wife of Philip, Duke of Orleans, the only brother of Louis. The differences that arose in the course of the enlarged negotiation were on two questions. Whether should the declaration of Catholicity or the war with the Dutch have the precedence; and how much would Louis give to Charles on the two accounts? While Louis was for the war first and the declaration of Catholicity afterwards, Charles and the Duke of York were for giving precedence to the declaration of Catholicity; and, while Louis wanted to give as little on either account as would be accepted, Charles wanted all he could obtain. On the 18th of December 1669, Colbert having by this time been taken into complete confidence, there was submitted to him, on the part of Charles, a draft treaty, reducing all to regular form. It fixed the price of the Declaration of Catholicity at £200,000 sterling, stipulating farther that Louis should "assist his Britannic Majesty with troops and money" if there should be any rebellion in England in consequence of the declaration; and it fixed the subsidy to be paid by Louis to Charles for the Dutch War at £800,000

a year while the war should last. Louis, at sight of the draft treaty, pronounced the demands exorbitant; Charles intimated that they might be lowered; and, Louis having agreed that the time of the declaration of Catholicity should be left to the discretion of Charles, the two Kings were chaffering over the sums when the *Ninth Session* of the English Parliament met[1].

From Feb. 14, 1669–70, when Parliament met, to April 11, 1670, when it adjourned, much of its attention was occupied by a piece of business of an apparently private nature. This was known as "Lord Roos's business," and consisted in the pushing of a bill through the two Houses to enable John Manners, Lord Roos, the eldest son of the Earl of Rutland, to marry again, notwithstanding that his wife, accused of infidelities to him, was still alive.

What gave importance to the bill was the knowledge that it was pushed with an ulterior purpose, interesting to the whole kingdom. Charles's Portuguese Queen was childless, and an heir by her to the throne seemed an impossibility. Would Charles acquiesce in leaving the succession to his brother, or to that brother's children, the grandchildren of the exiled Clarendon? Might he not be either divorced from his present wife, so as to be able to marry again, or permitted that bigamy for which there had been precedents in other countries and arguments by some of the reforming divines? The method of divorce seeming the easiest, Buckingham had undertaken to create the necessary precedent for legitimizing a second marriage after divorce by carrying the Lord Roos bill. Introduced into the Lords on the 5th of March, it did not pass the first reading till the 17th, when, after a long and vehement debate, there was the narrow success of 41 present lords and 15 proxies in favour, to 42 present lords and 6 proxies against. The Duke of York, whose interests were at

[1] Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771—1778), II. 3—56; Lingard (second edition), XII. 200—206; Mignet, III. 1—168. The substance of the extraordinary revelations was first given to the world by Dalrymple from archives in the French Foreign Office; but Mignet's narrative is the most elaborate and thorough.

stake, was, of course, one of the most strenuous opponents of the bill; and he was backed by the two archbishops, nearly all the bishops, and a number of the peers, among whom were Bristol and other Roman Catholics. The second reading having been carried with the same extraordinary difficulty, it seemed very likely that it might be thrown out on the third. What was the surprise of their Lordships when, at this stage,—to wit, on the 21st of March,—the King sauntered into the House unexpectedly, and announced that he meant to renew a laudable custom of his predecessors long ago, by coming in among them now and then in a friendly and informal way and listening to their debates! Their Lordships, though much perplexed, thanked his Majesty for his condescension; and from that day all order was at an end in the upper House, in consequence of the King's formed habit of dropping in when he liked, standing by the fire, chatting with the peers in groups, and soliciting them for anything he wanted. He had been several times in the House in this fashion when, on the 28th of March, the Lord Roos bill passed the third reading, still after much opposition, and with the recorded dissents of the Duke of York and many bishops and peers. Going into the Commons that day, it passed the second reading there next day by 141 votes to 65, and the third reading on March 31[1].

The bill for enabling Lord Roos to marry again was consequently one of the bills to which Charles had the pleasure of giving his assent on the 11th of April 1670, when there was an adjournment of the two Houses for six months. Another of the bills, to which he gave his assent more reluctantly, was a *New Conventicles Act*. At the beginning of the session he had let it be known to the Nonconformists that, as he needed supplies from Parliament, he could no longer resist the determination of that highly Clarendonian assembly to revert to the full stringency of Clarendon's ecclesiastical laws. The New Conventicles Act had, accordingly, been carried without more formidable opposition than

[1] Lords and Commons Journals of dates; Parl. Hist. IV. 447; Burnet, I. 452—455; Lingard, XII. 210—214.

could be offered by private members. In some respects it was more severe than the former Act, and Marvell calls it the "quintessence of arbitrary malice." It defined an illegal conventicle to be any meeting for worship, otherwise than according to the practice of the Church of England, at which more than four persons should be present in addition to the members of the family in whose house it should be held, or at which, if it were in the fields or an uninhabited place, more than four persons should be present in all. Any person over sixteen years of age attending such a conventicle was to be liable to a fine of five shillings for the first offence, and of ten for every subsequent offence, while the penalties for preachers or teachers in conventicles were to be £20 for the first offence and £40 for every other, and householders allowing conventicles in their premises were to forfeit £20 for each offence. One third of the fines in every case was to go to the informer and his assistants. Justices of peace and constables were empowered to break open doors if necessary in execution of the Act; lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, and officers of the militia, were to disperse conventicles with horse or foot, if necessary; and, in all cases of doubt, the Act was to be interpreted most beneficially for the suppression of conventicles[1].

FROM APRIL 1670 TO JUNE 1673.

The most curious result of Charles's interest simultaneously in two such matters as the Secret Negotiation with France and the Marriage Bill of Lord Roos was the disintegration of the Cabal for the time into two halves. For the negotiation with France the real Cabal consisted only of the crypto-Catholic members of the nominal Cabal,—viz. the Duke of York, Arlington, and Clifford,—while Buckingham, Ashley, Trevor, and the rest, were kept quite in the dark as to the King's true drift. For the Lord Roos business, on the other hand, Charles had worked precisely through Buckingham, Ashley, and Trevor, with assistance from Lauderdale and the Earl of Orrery, while the Duke of York, and Arlington and

[1] Statutes at Large, 22 Car. II. cap. 1; Grosart's edition of Marvell, II. 316.

Clifford, in the Duke's interest and in the interest of Roman Catholicism, were keenly in the opposition. This co-existence of two Cabals could hardly continue long; and it depended on Charles's choice between perseverance in the French negotiation and perseverance in the design of a second marriage which of the two should have to be discharged and which extended to the necessary dimensions by recruitment. The difficulty was solved by the abandonment of the project of a second marriage. Although there was talk of a Royal Divorce Bill, to be brought into Parliament when it reassembled, Charles seems to have given little attention to the subject after the passing of the Lord Roos Bill, or rather to have made up his mind that it would be harsh and unnecessary to insult and disturb the poor Portuguese lady who was his wife. Hence, from April 1670 onwards, an apparently reunited Cabal. It consisted of BUCKINGHAM, ARLINGTON, ASHLEY, CLIFFORD, the Scottish LAUDERDALE, the Duke of York, Lord Keeper Bridgman, and co-Secretary Sir John Trevor, with one or two subordinates. The first five being the real chiefs, and some ingenious person having observed that the initials of their names, if taken in a certain order, actually formed the word CABAL, the anagram has come down as a convenient device for recollecting the personal composition of Charles's Cabinet from 1670 to 1673. It is not to be forgotten, however, that there was still a division of the Cabal, which Charles could recognise on occasion. There was the Liberal Protestant section, of which the chiefs were the Deists Buckingham and Ashley and the Scottish Presbyterian Lauderdale; and there was the crypto-Catholic section, headed by Arlington and Clifford, in private league with Charles and the Duke of York for the secret purposes of the negotiation with France[1].

That negotiation reached a definite conclusion in the so-called SECRET TREATY OF DOVER of May 22, 1670. The Duke of Orleans had sulkily consented that his wife, the Princess Henrietta, should visit her brother in England for

[1] Burnet, I. 454—455; Lingard, XII. 233—238; Christie's *Shaftesbury*, II. 53—55.

the purpose, on the strict condition that she should remain but a few days and should not go to London. Charles had met her, on her arrival at Dover on the 15th, with the fondest demonstrations of affection; and it was under cover of festivities in honour of her visit, dramatic performances for her entertainment, and the like, that the treaty was arranged, signed, and sealed. The signatories on the English side were Charles himself, and Lord Arlington, Lord Arundel, Sir Thomas Clifford, and Sir Richard Bellings, as his commissioners, while M. Colbert de Croissy alone, as representative of Louis, signed on the other part. The treaty consisted of one general article, constituting perpetual alliance and amity between the two kingdoms, and of ten specific articles. Nine of these ten specific articles related to the co-operation of the two powers for the assertion of any rights to the Spanish succession that might eventually accrue to Louis, but chiefly to their co-operation in an immediate war with the Dutch. Charles bound himself to furnish a land force of 6000 foot, in aid of the French army invading the United Provinces, and to be paid and maintained by Louis, and also to furnish a fleet of fifty men-of-war to be conjoined with a smaller French fleet, the combined fleets to be under the command of the Duke of York. For this service Charles was to receive from Louis an annual subsidy of three millions of *livres tournois* (about £230,000 sterling) as long as the war should last. This subsidy was to be quite independent of what was promised to Charles by the first of the ten specific articles. That article, the article of *The Declaration of Catholicity*, ought to be given textually:—

"His Majesty the King of Great Britain, being convinced of the truth of the Catholic Religion, and resolved to make his declaration of the same, and to reconcile himself with the Church of Rome, as soon as the interest of the affairs of his kingdom may permit, has every ground of hope and assurance, from the affection and loyalty of his subjects, that none of them, even of those on whom God may not yet have so abundantly shed his grace as to dispose them by this so august example to a like conversion, will ever fail in the inviolable obedience which all peoples owe to their sovereigns, even when of a contrary religion. Nevertheless, as there are found sometimes turbulent and unquiet spirits who endeavour to trouble

the public tranquillity, especially when they can cover their designs with a plausible pretext of Religion, his Majesty of Great Britain, who has nothing more at heart, after the peace of his own conscience, than to confirm that which the gentleness of his government has procured for his subjects, has thought that the best means to prevent alteration of the same will be to be assured, in case of need, of the assistance of his Most Christian Majesty: who, on his part, wishing to give to the King of Great Britain indubitable proofs of the sincerity of his friendship, and to contribute to the good success of a design so glorious, so useful to his Majesty of Great Britain, and even to the whole Catholic Religion, has promised and hereby promises to give for this purpose to the said King of Great Britain the sum of 2,000,000 *livres tournois* [about £154,000 sterling]; of which one half shall be paid in cash three months after exchange of ratifications of the present Treaty to the order of the said King of Great Britain at Calais, Dieppe, or Havre de Grace, or remitted by letters of change to London, at the risk, peril, and expense of the said Most Christian King, and the other half in the same manner three months afterwards. Moreover, the said Most Christian King binds himself to assist with troops his Majesty of Great Britain, to the amount of 6000 foot if necessary, and also to raise and maintain them at his own charge and expense, so long as the said King of Great Britain shall judge them needful for the execution of his design; and the said troops shall be transported by vessels of the King of Great Britain to such places and ports as he shall judge the fittest for the interest of his service, and from the day of their embarkment shall be paid as aforesaid by his Most Christian Majesty, and shall obey the orders of the said King of Great Britain. And the time of the Declaration of Catholicity is left entirely to the choice of the said King of Great Britain [1]."

"*Vendidit hic auro patriam:* This man sold his country "for gold." If ever that sentence of infamy to all ages was applicable to an English sovereign, it was to Charles II. after these transactions with Louis. Had they been divulged at the moment, who knows what might have happened? But the Treaty of Dover was kept as secret as the grave, and the

[1] The substance of the story of this treaty was first given to the world as late as 1773 in Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs*; but the text of the perfected Treaty had eluded his researches in the French Foreign Office. It was first published in 1829, in the original French, by Dr. Lingard, who had obtained his copy from Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, the descendant of the Clifford of the Treaty (Lingard, 2nd edit. XII. 215—218, and note at end of the volume). But all the facts and particulars, with the most correct text of the Treaty and elucidations, are now to be studied best in the third volume of Mignet's *Négociations Relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, published in 1842. The French dating of the Treaty is "June 1, 1670."

gathering of so many people, French and English, for a fortnight or three weeks in the English port-town nearest the French coast, seemed only the natural celebration of the visit of the charming Duchess of Orleans to her native land and her meeting with her brother. For her the festivities were to have a swift confusion. She had parted from her brother at Dover a few days after the treaty had been signed, and had returned to her husband at St. Cloud, when the shocking news came of her death there on the 20th of June after a sudden and short illness. The suspicion ran immediately that she had been poisoned by her husband, or by persons about him, and it was not allayed by the negative evidence of a *post-mortem* examination attended by two English physicians. Charles was greatly shaken; but he lived on to prosecute for many years yet the compact with Louis which his sister had arranged for him. At the age of forty years he had become the pensionary of a foreign King, eight years his junior, but with fifty times his intellect and a thousand times his dignity; and from this moment he was never to dream of being anything else. He was to go on begging and receiving new sums and subsidies of French money, permitting his ministers and mistresses to receive French presents and pensions, and in return taking instructions from Louis on all the affairs of the British Islands, even in such matters as the times of calling, proroguing, and dissolving the Parliaments of England. One agreeable fruit of his secret alliance with Louis was the arrival, in November 1670, of a clever and beautiful young Frenchwoman, Mademoiselle Louise de Querouaille, who had been maid of honour to his dead sister, and was now sent over by Louis to be a new mistress for his Britannic Majesty and a connecting link between the two nations. Lady Castlemaine, this year created Duchess of Cleveland, had been in and out of favour very often of late, and had for some time had publicly established competitors in Nell Gwynn and Moll Davis; but now Mademoiselle de Querouaille, made a lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, took her place as chief of the harem[1].

[1] Mignet, III. 206—214; Lingard, XII. 218; Burnet, I. 522—527; Pepys, July and Aug. 1667, et seq.; Evelyn, Nov. 1670.

Just before the arrival of the new mistress, viz. on the 24th of October 1670, the *Ninth Session* of the Parliament was resumed after its six months of adjournment. There was, of course, not the least idea in either House of any alliance between Charles and Louis, or any suspicion that the Triple Alliance of January 1667–8 was not still in full force as the compact paramount in the foreign relations of England. It was, therefore, by various general pretexts, and even with professions of zeal for the maintenance of the Triple Alliance, that Charles contrived, through his ministers, to extract from Parliament the very considerable subsidies he wanted for fitting out a fleet and raising some land forces. Having been tolerably successful in this, and not desiring that the Parliament should be in session when he should proclaim the Triple Alliance defunct and proceed to carry out the Secret Treaty of Dover, he got rid of the two Houses by another prorogation on the 22nd of April 1671. The prorogation was to be extended twice, and Charles was not to see the face of Parliament again for nearly two years[1].

Meanwhile, formal ratifications of the Secret Treaty of Dover having been exchanged between Charles and Louis, the only remaining obstruction to Charles, in the matter of a war with the Dutch, to be conducted by himself and his Cabal in the abeyance of Parliament, had been cleverly removed. Only two members of the Cabal, it is to be remembered, had signed the treaty of Dover, the crypto-Catholics Arlington and Clifford, while the other three chiefs, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, had been kept purposely ignorant that there was such a treaty at all. They were, and were to remain, as ignorant of the fact as the rest of the world. Not the less was it necessary, for the carrying out of the treaty, that these Protestant chiefs of the Cabal should be made parties to it in all save the promised *Declaration of Catholicity*. With no engagement of that kind could they or would they have concurred; they would probably have broken with Charles on the mention of it, and appealed to the nation. There was no

[1] Lords Journals of date, and Parl. Hist. IV. 456—497.

reason, however, why they should not consent easily enough to all in the treaty that concerned the promised co-operation with Louis in a war against the Dutch. And, in fact, their consent had been brought about by a most extraordinary and prolonged deception. Buckingham had been sent on an embassy to France, as if to end by his own abilities and exertions the intricate negotiations that had been going on between Louis and the whole Cabal in 1668 and 1669,—from which negotiations with the whole Cabal the Catholicity project had been always carefully excluded. The result was that Buckingham, gravely fooled by Louis in Paris, and fooled and played with after his return to London by Arlington, Clifford, and Colbert, worked out, apparently by his own exertions and against irritating opposition, a treaty which was identical in all points with the secret treaty of Dover, except that the article about religion was omitted and the £154,000 sterling promised by that article to Charles for his change of creed was promised in the other form of an increase exactly to that amount in the subsidy for the Dutch war. This *traité simulé* or "mock treaty," as it was called at the time in the correspondence of Charles and Louis, had been solemnly concluded at London on the 21st of December 1670, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale putting their names to it, in the belief that it was the only and real one, while Arlington and Clifford also signed, to complete the delusion. The whole of the Cabal was thus pledged to the war with the Dutch by the later document, while Charles and the crypto-Catholics of the Cabal were pledged also to the Catholicity project by the earlier[1].

Charles, when he had received the £154,000 for his *Declaration of Catholicity*, seemed suddenly less eager about that part of his bargain. His brother James was behaving manfully, not indeed proclaiming himself a Papist, but not caring who knew the fact; and, after May 31, 1671, when he lost his Duchess, Clarendon's daughter, and it transpired that she had been a Roman Catholic for some time, the fact became notorious. But through the whole of 1671, when all seemed

[1] Mignet, III. 199—268.

ready for the royal Declaration of Catholicity, Charles procrastinated. He was not so sure now that the declaration should precede the war with the Dutch. He wanted to consult theologians as to the proper method; he wanted to consult the Pope; he wanted the Pope to send a French legate into England to manage the business; he was of opinion that the concession by the Pope of the sacrament in both kinds and the mass in English would gain most of the English bishops and facilitate a national reunion with the Roman Church. He was more and more convinced that a precipitate declaration would cause enormous commotion among his subjects, and that only extensive foreign help, and a much larger amount of money than the £154,000 he had received, could carry him through the crisis. He could not expect more from his brother Louis, who had been very generous already; but might not the Pope be persuaded to open his purse, and might there not be a general subscription among the French clergy? About a million sterling more, or say half a million, and up would go the Catholicity! —Louis was only amused by these vacillations. Having conceded to Charles his own time for the Catholicity Declaration, and never having cared much himself for that fancy part of the bargain, he was resolved to invest no more money in it than the £154,000 already paid, and for which he had duly taken receipts, and was content with the loss if Charles would keep his engagement for the Dutch War[1].

How could Charles keep that engagement? His government was bankrupt. What with the expenses of fitting out a fleet and fortifying garrisons, what with the drain by interest on previous debts and reckless current lavishness of every kind, all the regular revenue, all the extraordinary supplies of last session of Parliament, and the £154,000 paid by Louis, were exhausted or on the point of exhaustion, while credit, or power of fresh borrowing anywhere, was also gone. How

[1] Dalrymple, II. 83—84, and an instructive memoir by Colbert to Louis XIV, translated in Appendix to Christie's *Shaftesbury*, Vol. II. This memoir proves distinctly that the understanding was not only that Charles should profess Roman Catholicism himself, but that he should also attempt the establishment of that religion among his subjects.

could such a government go to war? The difficulty was overcome by the famous *Stop of the Exchequer* on the 2nd of January 1671–2. Formally, this was the suspension for twelve months of all payments to public creditors of whatever denomination; and, practically, it was the retention of about £1,300,000 owing to goldsmiths and bankers who had advanced moneys to government on the security of assignments upon the revenue. The shock to the commercial world was terrible and the distress among hundreds of families incalculable. The immediate purpose of Charles and the Cabal, however, was served; and, with some ready money in possession, and an advance from Louis, they were able to face the war. On the 2nd of February 1671–2 there was signed at Whitehall, by the five chiefs of the Cabal and Colbert, a third edition of the Secret Treaty, renewing the articles as they had been expressed in the second edition, or *Traité Simulé*, but, on account of the straitened circumstances of Charles, relieving him for a year from his obligation to furnish a land force together with his fleet. On the 18th of March the English and French declarations of war against the Dutch appeared simultaneously. In the following month, as if to signalize the momentousness of the enterprise to which England was thus committed, and also Charles's continued trust in the ministers who were to aid him in it, there was a remarkable distribution of honours among the members of the Cabal. Buckingham, being a duke, and having also the pre-eminent honour of being Master of the Horse, could be raised no higher; but Arlington, from being a baron only, became Earl of Arlington, Lord Ashley became Earl of Shaftesbury, and Sir Thomas Clifford became Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, while the Earl of Lauderdale, for his various merits, was made Duke of Lauderdale and a Knight of the Garter. There were some new admissions to the privy council and minor ministerial rearrangements about the same time [1].

Though surprised at the sudden rupture of the policy of

[1] Burnet, I. 532—533; Lingard, XII. 238—247; Christie's *Shaftesbury*, II. 56—71 and 83—84; Mignet, III. 699—711; Parl. Hist. IV. 512—515; British Chronologist.

the Triple Alliance, the English public do not seem to have objected much to a new war with their old enemy. At all events, when news was received of the first great naval battle of the war, the patriotic spirit was roused. It was the battle of Southwold Bay on the Suffolk coast, fought, on the 28th of May 1672, between the combined English and French fleets under the Duke of York and the Dutch fleet under Ruyter. It was a confused and desperate fight, with heavy slaughter on both sides, but ending in Ruyter's retreat and so in a kind of victory for the English, though the victory was saddened for them by the loss of one of their admirals, the brave, wise, and gentle Earl of Sandwich. His body was recovered and brought to Westminster Abbey for public funeral. He was forty-seven years of age, and had for some time been disgusted with the state of affairs and with his own concern in them. He had lived to see but the beginnings of a war which was more and more to astound all Europe [1].

The battle of Southwold Bay, though it had not been won by the Dutch, had at least so crippled the English and French fleets as to ward off for the time the threatened descent of those fleets on the Dutch coasts, to co-operate with the invading French army of 110,000 men led by Louis. That army had to act independently, but with what shattering effect upon the Dutch! On the 31st of May, or three days after the battle of Southwold Bay, the whole army, having approached the Dutch territories by the circuit of the Rhine, had crossed that river; and within a week from that day the three provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, and Overyssel were overrun, and the other four provinces were in consternation. Once more the Hollanders were driven to that last resource of theirs which they had learnt in their war of independence, the opening of their sluices and dams so as to flood the country in front of the invaders, leaving their towns as mere islands on which to live and fight. Especially the young Prince of Orange, at the head of the little Dutch army of 25,000 men, was moving about among those islands and their canals and

[1] Burnet, I. 561—562; Evelyn's Diary, May 31—July 3, 1672; Mignet, IV. 16—19.

dykes, animating his countrymen and doing his best to harass and keep back the French. But why should this young hero, the descendant of those illustrious ancestors who had created Holland, the inheritor of their great wealth and of their German and French titles of Nassau and Orange, be fighting now as the mere general of a Dutch Republican Government headed by the grand pensionary John De Witt and his brother Cornelius? Who but those De Witts and the bourgeois or Republican party which they led, and which had been in power since the death of the last Stadtholder in November 1650, had cultivated the French alliance, had starved the Dutch land army to its present dimensions, had persuaded the Dutch to trust to their naval strength only, and so had brought about this disaster of an overwhelming French invasion? Why not revert even now to the policy of the old military, or Orange, or semi-monarchical party, which had been suppressed for more than twenty years? True, it had recently been paralysed beyond recovery, as it seemed, by the so-called *Perpetual Edict* of 1667, pledging the States-General on oath never to revive the Stadtholderate, but to maintain the strictly Republican constitution of the Seven United Provinces for ever. The present Prince of Orange, then but sixteen years of age, had been sworn to the observance of that edict, and so had resigned all claims to the succession to his father in the Stadtholderate. But, now that he was in his twenty-second year and the military hope of his country, why should not the edict be repealed? Such were the excited questions and discussions in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Delft, and other Dutch towns, formulated at last into the universal popular cry *Down with the Whites;* and, the States of the various provinces having deliberated with what formalities were possible at such a time, the great revolution was accomplished with electric rapidity, and on the 30th of June 1672 William Henry, Prince of Orange, went to the Hague to be invested with the dignity of Stadtholder, Captain General, and Admiral of the United Provinces. Six weeks later, in the same city, there was the brutal murder of the two brothers, John and Cornelius De Witt, by an insurgent mob, depriving Holland of two of the

most noble and virtuous statesmen that ever ruled a commonwealth. The Prince of Orange was absent from the Hague at the time, and heard of the act with horror; but it may have facilitated his first exertions in his new and terribly difficult position. These were no longer against Louis in person, who had set out on his return to Paris on the 16th of July, leaving farther operations to Turenne as his generalissimo and his governor of Utrecht. There was plenty of work for Turenne; but not till winter, when the floods should be frozen into ice, could there be footing for his cavalry and infantry into the stubborn region that still remained Dutch. There, with the eyes of all Europe upon him, the young Stadtholder was standing his ground marvellously. He was pretty well known by this time in England, having spent four or five months of the winter of 1670–1 in London on a visit to his uncle. Charles had then studied and sounded him, with a view to ascertain whether he might not be admitted to some knowledge of the secret treaty between himself and Louis, and with some design also to serve him, if he found him tractable, by carving out for him, from among the wrecks of his fatherland, when it had been sufficiently conquered, a Batavian princedom in vassalage to Louis. But he had found the young man "so passionate a Dutchman and Protestant" that he had been obliged to desist from the attempt. Now, therefore, uncle and nephew were at open war with each other, and the sole apparent chance for the nephew personally was that the uncle would, in some kindly way, look after his interests when the Dutch were beaten and there should be negotiations for the terms of their surrender. Such negotiations there had been already, Buckingham, Arlington, and Viscount Halifax having been sent to Holland as English plenipotentiaries for the purpose, to join the French agents in treating with the Stadtholder and the States-General; but the terms offered had been so insulting and ignominious that they had been, by the Stadtholder's advice, not only rejected, but posted up in all public places, that all relics of a peace-party among the Dutch might be abashed by reading them, and the entire people might be inspired by his own resolution,

communicated by his own lips to Buckingham, to "die in the last ditch" that remained of a once free Republic. And so, through the autumn of 1672, the dykes having been broken down everywhere, to flood what of the level country had not been already submerged, the unconquerable little population lived on somehow in their archipelago of habitable islands, abiding the worst. Emissaries were out among all powers likely to be friendly, and Spain, the Emperor, and some of the German states, dreading the vast aggressiveness of Louis, were astir for the rescue. Might not English feeling itself yet turn in favour of the Dutch and express itself in the next session of the English Parliament[1]?

Not the war with the Dutch so much as a certain *Declaration of Home Policy*, which Charles had put forth simultaneously with the declaration of the war, had been agitating the public mind of England during the unusually long abeyance of Parliament. It was a declaration, dated March 15, 1671–2, suspending by royal prerogative all coercive laws in matters of religion and granting indulgence of separate worship to Nonconformists.

It was high time surely that there should be such a suspension and indulgence. Maddening as had been the treatment of the Nonconformists before, it had become more and more maddening since the passing of the New Conventicles Act of April 1670. There had been a general conspiracy of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, encouraged by Archbishop Sheldon and other eminent persons, to enforce that Act and all the kindred statutes to the uttermost, so as to stamp out Nonconformity of every variety, if possible, by a tremendous pressure continued through two or three years. The business of detecting and suppressing conventicles had been organized into a system; hundreds of blackguards were making a lucrative living by it, at the rate of £7 or £8 for a single successful information, or sometimes even £15; county justices, as well as magistrates in towns, were perpetually

[1] Mignet, IV. 1—75; Dalrymple, II. 79. Nothing can exceed the lucidity of Mignet's narrative of the invasion of the Dutch Republic in 1672 and its immediate consequences.

occupied in receiving informations and trying offenders; the jails were full of convicted Nonconformists and Sectaries who could not or would not pay their fines. Most of the Presbyterian ministers and many of the Independent and Baptist preachers tried to avoid conflict with the law by arrangements for preaching among their adherents from house to house with never more than four persons present in addition to the family; but even these might blunder or be trepanned. Others broke bounds defiantly and took the consequences. Such offenders were numerous among the Baptists; but no denomination so amazed and perplexed the authorities by their obstinacy as the Quakers. It was their boast that their worship, from its very nature, could not be stopped "by men or devils." From a meeting of Roman Catholics, they said, you have but to take away the mass-book, or the chalice, or the priest's garments, or even but to spill the water and blow out the candles, and the meeting is over. So, in a meeting of Lutherans or Episcopalians, or in a meeting of Presbyterians, or Independents, or Baptists, or Socinians, there is always some implement or set of implements upon which all depends, be it the liturgy, the gown or surplice, the Bible, or the hour-glass: remove these and make noise enough and there can be no service. Not so with a Quaker meeting. There men and women worship with their hearts and without implements, in silence as well as by speech. You may break in upon them, hoot at them, roar at them, drag them about: the meeting, if it is of any size, essentially still goes on till all the component individuals are murdered. Throw them out at the door in twos and threes, and they but re-enter at the window and quietly resume their places. Pull their meeting-house down, and they reassemble next day most punctually amid the broken walls and rafters. Shovel sand or earth down upon them, and there they still sit, a sight to see, musing immovably among the rubbish. This is no description from fancy; it was the actual practice of the Quakers all over the country. They held their meetings regularly, perseveringly, and without the least concealment, keeping the doors of their meeting-houses purposely open that all might enter,

informers, constables, or soldiers, and do whatever they chose. In fact, the Quakers behaved magnificently. By their peculiar method of open violation of the law and passive resistance only, they rendered a service to the common cause of all the Nonconformist sects which has never been sufficiently acknowledged. The authorities had begun to fear them as a kind of supernatural folk, and knew not what to do with them but cram them into jails and let them lie there. Indeed the jails in those days were less places of punishment for criminals than receptacles for a great proportion of what was bravest and most excellent in the manhood and womanhood of England[1].

How welcome then the Royal Declaration of March 1672! Proclaiming the King's attachment to the Established Church of England, and his resolution to preserve all her rights, it confessed the utter failure of the persecuting policy against Nonconformists; it ordered that "the execution of all and all "manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against what-"soever sort of Nonconformists or Recusants, be immediately "suspended;" and, while it distinctly intimated that public places of worship could not be granted to "Recusants of the Roman Catholic religion," and that they must be content with "exemption from the penal laws" and with "worship in their private houses only," it promised the licensing by his Majesty himself of a sufficient number of meeting-houses for the use of Protestant Nonconformists. Could anything be more ample or opportune? Yet, strange to say, no sooner had the Declaration appeared than there had been a division of opinion respecting it even among those who had been expected to welcome it with enthusiasm. To the Cavaliers and High Churchmen generally it was, of course, odious beyond expression. It was treason to the Church; it was the recognition of sects and heresies by the Sovereign himself; where would the Church of England be in three years if the Declaration should take full effect? The wonder is that the Declaration

[1] Baxter, Part III. 74, et seq.; Neal, IV. 444—454; Barclay's Apology for the Quakers (edit. 1765), 321—324 and 445—446; Sewel's History of the Quakers (edit. 1834), II. 191, et seq.

seemed to be hardly more pleasing to those politicians of comparatively liberal views who had begun to be called "The Country Party," or even to the Presbyterians and the mass of other Nonconformists themselves. What were the reasons? One was that the Declaration assumed and asserted a right of the crown by prerogative to suspend, and therefore to defeat and annul, Acts of Parliament. However desirable might be a relaxation of the penal statutes against Nonconformists, was the boon to be accepted by an admission of a principle of regal absolutism which might extend to all laws whatsoever? But, further, though the boon professed to be only or chiefly for Protestant Nonconformists, who could mistake the real and ultimate intention? How could a genuine Protestant Nonconformist rejoice in an edict which, while giving liberty to himself indeed, would let loose at the same time the Papal Antichrist? These reasonings of the popular instinct, aided perhaps by some information that had meanwhile leaked out as to the Secret Treaty of Dover, did cause alarms among the Nonconformists almost as vivid as if they had divined the real fact. This undoubtedly was that, while the declaration for the suspension of the penal laws against Nonconformists recommended itself to the King and the whole Cabal on general grounds, the King and the crypto-Catholic section of the Cabal designed it as a harbinger of the forthcoming *Declaration of Catholicity*. Almost as if this had been divined, the attitude of the Nonconformists to the declaration of suspension was hesitating and suspicious. Only the Quakers were thoroughly thankful, regarding the refusal of the boon because it came from prerogative as an excess of constitutional scruple, and seeing no reason, in their simple theory, why toleration should not include the Roman Catholics. This exceptional willingness of the Quakers to see the Roman Catholics admitted to equal toleration with themselves and all other classes of Nonconformists did not pass unobserved; and the very fact that the Quakers and the Roman Catholics were drawn together by a common interest in the declaration of indulgence increased the general distrust in the declaration, while it brought the Quakers into new odium. Nevertheless,

the good practical effects of the Declaration had been already undeniable. It had occasioned, directly or indirectly, the release of many Nonconformists from prisons. John Bunyan, for example, who had been in Bedford jail since 1660, was again at large as a Baptist preacher outside the jail in September 1672. Even before that date Congregational and Presbyterian ministers in considerable numbers had applied for the King's licences for their tabernacles and had received them. There is even evidence that some of the more eminent Nonconformist ministers were offered and accepted temporary government allowances of from £50 to £100 a year for the exercise of their pastoral services among their flocks. This curious fact can bear no other construction than that it had occurred to Charles and some of his advisers that they might go beyond the mere offer of future toleration or indulgence for dissent, and might venture cautiously on some attempt to reopen the greater question of the constitution of the Established Church itself by an experiment in the direction of concurrent endowment of sects.

Willingly would Charles and the Cabal have persevered in the Dutch war and the domestic administration together without the troublesome interference of Parliament. By the device of prolonging the Stop of the Exchequer they had been able to manage current expenses somehow, and so defer the re-assembling of Parliament. But, as farther supplies had become absolutely necessary, renewed prorogation was impossible, and Parliament must be again faced on the 4th of February, 1672–3. In preparation for that date there were various ministerial changes both within and out of the Cabal. Sir John Trevor having died in July 1672, Sir Henry Coventry, a younger brother of the retired Sir William, had been then brought into the Privy Council, and appointed to the subordinate *Secretaryship of State* that had been held by Trevor. But the changes in November 1672 were more remarkable. Sir Orlando Bridgman, uncomfortable or too punctilious in his Keepership of the Great Seal, resigned or was discharged; and the Great Seal, with the supreme title of *Lord Chancellor*, which had been in abeyance

since Clarendon held it, was conferred on the Earl of Shaftesbury, to the great surprise of those who regarded the office of Lord Chancellor as tenable only by a professional lawyer. At the same time the high office of *Lord Treasurer*, which had been distributed among Commissioners since the death of the Earl of Southampton in 1667, was revived and bestowed on Lord Clifford, while Sir John Duncombe succeeded Clifford in the *Treasurership of the Household*, and became also his *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. Notwithstanding these and some minor re-arrangements, the Cabal proper remained visibly the same, with Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Clifford, Arlington, and Lauderdale as the five chiefs still. Evidently, however, it was on Shaftesbury and Clifford that the King now depended most, on Shaftesbury for his general inventiveness and powers of parliamentary management, on Clifford for his daring resoluteness of character. Arlington, if not the others, felt this ascendancy of the favoured two. As he had expected the High Treasurership, he was chagrined by the appointment of Clifford to that post; and, though they had been fast friends hitherto, they were henceforth divided [1].

The *Tenth Session* of the Cavalier Parliament extended over less than two months, or from Feb. 4, 1672–3 to March 29, 1673. But, though short, it was to be a most memorable session. The topics of the King's opening speech to the two Houses, and of Shaftesbury's oratorical amplification of the same, were the Dutch war, the French alliance, and the Royal Declaration of Religious Indulgence; and both the King and the Chancellor protested in the strongest manner the utter groundlessness of the suspicions, in any of these connexions, of his Majesty's ardent Protestantism and affection for the Church of England, or of his fidelity to English and constitutional principles. *Delenda est Carthago* was Shaftesbury's summary of what he considered the duty of Parliament against the detestable Dutch. About that matter, and about various other matters of importance, the two Houses exhibited a singular indifference. They let alone the

[1] Beatson's Political Index; Christie's *Shaftesbury*, II. 93—99.

subject of the Stop of the Exchequer; they signified no general opposition to the Dutch war; they even astonished the King and Court by at once declaring their willingness that one of the results of their session should be a grant of £1,238,750 for the King's use in the conduct of that war. But this grant they held in suspense till there should be fully accomplished what they had resolved should be the main business of the session. Whether by deliberate agreement, or by general instinctive sagacity, they concentrated their entire energies on an attack on the Royal Declaration of Indulgence to Nonconformists. By some means or other they had converted vague suspicions of the secret drift of affairs into tolerable certainty, and had come to regard the Declaration of Indulgence as not only unconstitutional in itself, but also a furtive symbol of a conspiracy, in which Charles, the Duke of York, Louis XIV., and others were engaged, for the subversion of Parliamentary government and Protestantism in England. Nothing else can account for the vehemence of their debates on the Declaration, or for the engineer-like craft of their approaches for sapping and blowing up the whole crypto-Catholic design. "I shall take it very ill to receive "contradiction in what I have done, and, I will deal plainly "with you, I am resolved to stick to my Declaration," Charles had said in his opening speech. In answer it was resolved by the Commons, Feb. 10, by a majority of 168 to 116, "*That "penal Statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but "by Act of Parliament,*" and, four days later, that there should be an address to his Majesty conveying that information. Then, as if to show that it was to the unconstitutional form of the King's Indulgence that there was now objection, and that something equivalent might be yielded by Parliament itself in proper constitutional shape, it was resolved unanimously "*That a Bill be brought in for the ease of his "Majesty's Protestant subjects that are Dissenters in matters of "Religion from the Church of England.*" For a whole fortnight there was a struggle between the King and the House on the constitutional question, the King maintaining that the right of suspending ecclesiastical laws was a prerogative of

the Crown, and the House maintaining the opposite. No farther would the King yield than that he would take the matter "into consideration." To hasten his decision, it was unanimously resolved, Feb. 28, (1) "*That an Address be prepared to be presented to his Majesty, for suppressing the growth of Popery,*" and (2) "*That a Bill be brought in for the incapacitating of all persons who shall refuse to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, for holding any public employments, military or civil.*" Here at length was flung before the King the real gage of battle. Whatever should be done eventually for the Protestant Nonconformists of England, the Roman Catholics of England were to be found out and incapacitated. Charles was furious. What should he do? He could dissolve this Parliament, now nearly twelve years old, and call another; he could dissolve the present Parliament without calling another; he could prorogue the Parliament; or he could leave the Parliament sitting and try to defy it. All these methods had their peculiarities of peril, while all alike would leave Charles moneyless for an indefinite time. Dissolution was recommended by Shaftesbury, Clifford, Lauderdale, Buckingham, and the Duke of York, though not by Arlington. An attempt was made to bring over the Lords to the King's views, with no other effect than an intimation that their Lordships would be glad to see him agree with the Commons. To the night of the 6th of March there seemed no chance of such an agreement, or of anything else than an angry dissolution, to be followed by a national commotion. Next day, however, all was changed. The miracle was wrought by a message from Louis through his ambassador Colbert. It was to the effect that Louis sympathized with his Britannic Majesty in his dilemma, but that, as money was indispensable for the Dutch war, and as Charles could have £1,238,750 at once by pleasing Parliament and giving up his Declaration, he had better do so, reserving revenge for some future opportunity. That day, accordingly, Friday March 7, when the two Houses waited upon the King at Whitehall to present the *No Popery* address which

they had agreed on, and which prayed his Majesty to banish all Jesuits and Roman Catholic priests not in attendance on the Queen, and also to take means for ejecting all Roman Catholics from the public service or the household, his Majesty signified his heartiest concurrence. Next day, Saturday, March 8, he twice met the two Houses more formally to complete his concessions, and caused it to be intimated that he had on the previous evening, in the presence of some of his Council, cancelled the original of the Declaration which had given so much trouble. "My Lords and Gentlemen," he said at the second meeting, in reply to the profuse thanks of both Houses, "I hope there will be never any more dif-"ference amongst us, and I assure you there shall never be "any occasion on my part." There had not been such bonfires of joy for a long while as blazed in London that Saturday night[1].

In accordance with the resolution of the Commons, a Bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters did pass through that House. It was a very moderate substitute for the cancelled Declaration, but might have been of some use. The Lords, however, were so dilatory over it, or so uncertain about it, that the session came to an end by adjournment before the bill could be matured. Both Houses had been much more in earnest with the incapacitating bill which they had threatened; and, on the 29th of March 1673, when the King had the pleasure of assenting to the bill securing him at last the promised £1,280,750 for his "extraordinary occasions," one of the bills he had to pass along with it was the "*Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants*," known more familiarly as *The Test Act*. In substance, it was as follows:—

The Test Act (March 29, 1673):—"All and every person or persons, as well peers as commoners," bearing "any office or offices, civil or military," or receiving "any pay, salary, fee, or wages" from the Crown, or in the household of the King, or that of the Duke of York, were to be disabled from continuing in their places or draw-

[1] Lords and Commons Journals of dates; Parl. Hist. IV. 518—561; Christie's *Shaftesbury*, II. 128—135; Dalrymple, II. 93—96; Mignet, IV. 155—156.

ing their emoluments, unless they should, on or before the 1st of August 1673, (1) publicly, in the Court of Chancery or in the Court of King's Bench, or at quarter sessions, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, (2) produce evidence of their having received "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England" in some parish church on some Lord's day, and (3) subscribe this declaration: "I, A. B., do declare that I do "believe that there is no transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the "Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine at or after "the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever." In addition to loss of office, there was to be a fine of £500 on every person not complying, with disqualification for suing in any court of law, or being guardian of any child, or executor or legatee under any will. There were one or two exceptions or saving clauses, e. g. for the Earl of Bristol and his countess, and for Roman Catholics who had assisted in preserving his Majesty after the battle of Worcester; and it was also provided that there might be re-qualification for office by subsequent compliance [1].

Thus, on the 29th of March 1673, ended the famous *Tenth Session* of the Cavalier Parliament. Burnet, who characterizes it as "much the best session of that long Parliament," sums up its merits by saying that "the Church party showed a "noble zeal for their religion, and the Dissenters got great "reputation by their silent deportment." It was, in fact, the first of a series of what may be called the *No Popery* sessions of this Parliament, giving voice to that national determination to save England at all hazards from any relapse towards Rome in which the Protestant Nonconformists were at one with the English Churchmen and Cavaliers, and in the interest of which they were content to postpone their own claims to toleration; and its distinction in English history is that it had effectually and for ever quashed, as far as Charles himself was concerned, his cherished scheme of a *Declaration of Catholicity*, to be followed by an attempt to re-establish Roman Catholicism in the British islands. It was the more honest Duke of York that was henceforth to trudge on as the Roman Catholic brother, sustaining all the inconveniences of that unpopular profession, while the elder brother on the throne was to relapse into his comfortable crypto-Catholicism, professing

[1] Lords and Commons Journals from March 8, 1672–3 to March 29, 1673; Statutes, 25 Car. II. c. 2.

Church of England Protestantism as hitherto, and persecuting Roman Catholics professedly to any required amount[1].

Charles still clung tenaciously to his partnership with Louis in the Dutch war. He was to assist now not only with a refitted and increased fleet, but also with the land force which he had promised in the secret treaty. The Duke of York having resigned his office of high admiral and all his other commissions rather than comply with the Test Act, the command of the fleet was given to Prince Rupert. After two indecisive actions at sea with the combined English and French fleets against the Dutch fleet under the skilful Ruyter, one on the 28th of May and the other on the 4th of June, the Prince returned to England to take on board the auxiliary land force of 8000 men, which had meanwhile been collected at Yarmouth for a descent on the Dutch coasts. The command of this army, though Buckingham had desired it, had been entrusted to Count Schomberg, a foreign Protestant who had been in the service of Louis. On the 11th of August Rupert, with the English and French fleets, fought Ruyter in a third battle close to the Dutch coasts, for the purpose of landing Schomberg's army. After fighting from daybreak to evening, he was baffled by Ruyter, and had to retreat, carrying the army back to England. This in itself was a great relief for the Dutch; and on the 20th of the same month their prospects were still further brightened by the conclusion of an alliance at the Hague, by which the Emperor Leopold, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Lorraine became bound to support their cause offensively and defensively against Louis. For two months before this coalition a congress of French, English, and Dutch plenipotentiaries had been sitting at Cologne, discussing the terms of a possible peace, but with no success[2].

The Cabal of the five was by this time broken up. The Test Act of March 1673 had accomplished that effect among others. The example of the Duke of York in demitting all his offices rather than take the test, and so exchanging crypto-

[1] Burnet, II. 14; Mignet, IV. 136—157.
[2] Mignet, IV. 138 et seq.

Catholicism for open and avowed Catholicism, had been followed by many persons of various ranks in the public service. Of these the most conspicuous by far was the Lord Treasurer Clifford. A man of high courage and temper, he had resisted the Test Act in the Lords with a resolute eloquence which surprised his colleagues; and, though every argument was used by Charles, after the session was over, to induce him to submit to the test, he disdained farther concealment of his religion by so flagrant a hypocrisy. He resigned his High Treasurership on the 19th of June, quitting also his place in the Council and his connexion with Court, and retired in disgust to his estate in Devonshire; whence, four months afterwards, came the news of his death: "hanged himself in a silk sash," as the report ran. His former friend and recent rival, Arlington, was of more yielding metal. Taking the test, and remaining in the Cabal, he had made sure now of the treasurership in succession to Clifford, but only to be again disappointed. That great office was conferred on a politician who had not hitherto been of the Cabal, though he had been of the Council for some time, and had there, as well as in the House of Commons, and in the treasurership of the navy, proved himself an able man of business and won the reputation of being an especially sound Protestant of the Clarendonian or strict Church of England type. This was Sir Thomas Osborne, M.P. for York, now raised to the peerage as Viscount Latimer of Danby and Baron Osborne of Kiverton, both in Yorkshire. It was symptomatic that about the same time the Duke of Ormond, who had been in eclipse since the fall of Clarendon, and had been long out of that Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland which was naturally and properly his post, was re-admitted to the Cabal. His re-admission was intended as an additional guarantee that the King had learnt the "No Popery" lesson read to him with such emphasis in the late session. In the summer of 1673, accordingly, the reformed Cabal consisted of these seven:—the Earl of Shaftesbury, still *Lord Chancellor;* the Duke of Buckingham, still *Master of the Horse;* the Duke of Ormond, in his old office of *Lord Steward;* the Duke of Lauderdale, without definite English office; Viscount Latimer

of Danby, as *Lord High Treasurer;* the Earl of Arlington, as *Principal Secretary of State;* and Sir Henry Coventry, as *Second Secretary of State*. It was a very unstable body, comprising irreconcileable elements; and farther changes might be expected. Nor were men wanting in the general council and ministry round the Cabal that might be available for such reconstruction. The Earl of Anglesey, a councillor since the Restoration, but never yet in such high office as seemed his due, had recently been made *Lord Privy Seal;* eminent and experienced councillors, more or less of the "country party," were the Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Falconbridge, Viscount Halifax, and Lord Holles; and a new councillor, of uncertain principles, was Mr. Edward Seymour, Speaker of the House of Commons [1].

FROM JUNE 1673 TO NOVEMBER 1674.

The *Tenth Session* of Parliament, at its rising on the 29th of March, had adjourned itself to the 20th of October. When Parliament did reassemble on that day, however, it was immediately prorogued to the 27th of the same month. The session which met on the 27th of October 1673, though only to be prorogued again on the 4th of November, is to be remembered, therefore, as the *Eleventh Session* of the Cavalier Parliament.

It owed its brevity to its own behaviour. Still in the vehement "No Popery" temper of the former session, it had been provided with a special aggravation of its rage against the Roman Catholics by the fact that the Duke of York had chosen for his second wife the young Roman Catholic princess Maria d'Este, sister of the Duke of Modena. He had already been married to her in Italy by proxy, and was now expecting her in England. Paying no attention, therefore, to the requests of the King and of Chancellor Shaftesbury, in their opening speeches, for continued support in the war against the obstinate Dutch, the Commons fell on the subject of the Duke of York's re-marriage. They had already, at

[1] Beatson's Political Index; Wood's Fasti, II. 161; Burnet, II. 10—12; Christie's *Shaftesbury*, II. 144, et seq.; Lingard, XII. 277.

their meeting of the 20th as an adjourned House, agreed on an address to Charles praying him to disallow the marriage with the Duchess of Modena and to refuse his assent to the Duke's marriage with any other person not a Protestant; and this address they renewed with the utmost determination, the King's arguments to the contrary only rousing them the more. They also threatened a Disabling Bill against the Roman Catholics more sweeping and severe than the Test Act itself, and they voted a standing army to be a grievance. Thus utterly unmanageable, the two Houses were suddenly prorogued on the 4th of November to the 7th of January 1673–4, but not till the Commons, keeping their doors shut, and detaining the Speaker in the chair by force while the Black Rod was knocking outside, had hurriedly passed three significant parting resolutions. The first declared that the alliance with France was a grievance; the second declared that the evil councillors about the King were a grievance; and the third declared that the red-headed Duke of Lauderdale was a grievance by himself[1].

On the 9th of November 1673, five days after the prorogation, Shaftesbury was dismissed from the Chancellorship, and ceased to be any longer a member of the Cabal. Hardly had he been dismissed, indeed, when efforts were made to bring him back again. But he had resolved on a different employment of his abilities for the rest of his life. He had become aware by this time of the real purport of that Secret Treaty of Dover of which he and others had been so long the unconscious dupes; he had been studying the present feelings of his countrymen, and their future needs; and his conclusion had been that he would extricate himself from his connexions with Charles, and be the independent chief of a popular English policy. Henceforward, accordingly, Shaftesbury assumes that final character by which he is best remembered, the "wise Achitophel" of the infant English Whigs, their "daring pilot in extremity," the "fiery soul" in a "pigmy body" that could scheme for them and lead them. The

[1] Parl. Hist. and Rapin; Christie's *Shaftesbury*, II. 151—155.

Cabal, as he had left it, consisted of the Duke of York, Ormond, Buckingham, Lauderdale, Latimer of Danby, Arlington, and Sir Henry Coventry, together with Sir Heneage Finch, who had been Attorney-General since 1670, and had now been selected as Shaftesbury's successor in the Great Seal, though only with the title of *Lord Keeper*. They were still an ill-assorted body, and it could not be foreseen which of them, or whether any of them, would predominate. Meanwhile they had to do their best for the King in the coming session of Parliament. One difficulty had been removed out of their way by the actual arrival of the young Duchess of Modena and the completion of her marriage with the Duke of York on the 21st of November [1].

The *Twelfth Session* of the Parliament (Jan. 7—Feb. 1673-4) was another short "No Popery" session. At once, both in the Lords, where Shaftesbury led the Opposition, and also in the Commons, the accumulated passion of the last few months broke forth irrepressibly and at all points. The alliance with France was denounced; the war with the Dutch was denounced; the Duke of York's marriage was again attacked; a standing army in England was again declared to be a grievance; even the institution and retention of the regiments of the Guards were declared unconstitutional and dangerous. Addresses were carried for removing Lauderdale and Buckingham from the King's presence and counsels for ever; and there was modified procedure to the same effect against Arlington, as the only remaining member of the old Cabal. Nothing of a questionable kind that had been done of late years, or even through the whole reign of Charles, escaped mention and criticism. Through all, and giving unity to all, there ran, however, the "No Popery" enthusiasm. There was a prayer to the King for a proclamation ordering all Papists, not householders or otherwise privileged, to withdraw from London; there was a prayer for a fast-day for imploring the protection of the nation against Popery; there was an address for holding the militia of the counties in readiness

[1] Christie, II. 155 and 179—187.

against designs or risings of the Papists; there were debates as to securities to be taken for the Protestant education of the children of Roman Catholics in the royal family, or of Roman Catholic noblemen; even the subject of the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the succession to the throne was daringly broached. A new and more universal and searching Test Act was also in preparation in the Commons.—One result of this many-sided pressure upon Charles was a sudden conviction on his part that he must abandon his alliance with Louis against the Dutch. Accordingly, the Dutch having again made overtures for a separate peace with England, and Charles having consulted the two Houses on the 24th of January, and Sir William Temple having speedily adjusted the terms with the Spanish ambassador in London, the Houses were informed on the 11th of February that a peace had been signed. It was with infinite regret and some shame that Charles communicated to Louis the humiliating conclusion to which he had been thus driven; but Louis received the news more good humouredly than could have been expected. He acknowledged that Charles could hardly have done otherwise in his hard circumstances; and, though his advances to Charles on the ground of their partnership against the Dutch amounted now to a vast sum, lost irrecoverably, he did not see that their relations should not continue on some such footing that Charles might still be of use to him and entitled to draw £100,000 yearly in present pension, with more on specific occasion.—Having made peace with the Dutch, and having also yielded to the Parliament in such matters as the proclamation against the Roman Catholics, the appointment of a fast-day for "No Popery" prayers and sermons, consent to disband his forces, &c., Charles hoped that the two Houses would be satisfied and that a handsome subsidy would be at last forthcoming. But the Houses had not yet worked out their "No Popery" resolutions to the full. They occupied themselves still with the new Test Act for disabling Roman Catholics universally, and with discussions as to the treatment and cure of Roman Catholicism in the royal family; and, in their search after miscellaneous matters of suspicion and

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grievance, they ranged even to Ireland and Scotland, proposing a rigid inquiry in particular into certain recent measures of Lauderdale and the Scottish government for levying forces for unknown purposes. At length, finding the Parliament in a mood from which nothing could be hoped, Charles again prorogued it on the 24th of February 1673–4, before it had sent up to him a single completed bill. The prorogation was to the 10th of the following November; but, by subsequent postponement, there was not to be another meeting of Parliament till April 1675 [1].

The state of affairs in England in the abeyance of Parliament through the rest of the year 1674 may be described generally by saying that the country was then in the beginnings of The Danby Administration. For, though Arlington, Lauderdale, and Buckingham had survived the attacks made upon them in the late session of Parliament, and were still of the Cabal, and though Ormond, Lord Keeper Finch, Sir Henry Coventry, and even the Duke of York, remained also members of the body, the Englishman who was proving himself all in all the most efficient for the King's purposes in the new condition of affairs was the Lord Treasurer Osborne, Viscount Latimer of Danby. He was "a positive and undertaking man," says Burnet; "a plausible, well-spoken man, of good address, and cut out naturally for a courtier." Shaftesbury himself admits; but, as these and other authorities agree, monstrously unscrupulous. He had gained so much on Charles that on the 27th of June 1674, he was raised from his Viscountcy to an Earldom by the title of Earl of Danby; and from that date, Ormond's reappointment to the Irish Viceroyalty taking him again to Ireland, the formal *premiership* in England was more distinctly and continuously in the hands of Lord Danby than it had been in those of any other minister since the fall of Clarendon. It seemed also as if Clarendon's general policy had come back in the person of this astute successor. *Mutatis mutandis* after the lapse of seven years, Danby was to be a kind of second Clarendon in his ecclesias-

[1] Parl. Hist. and Rapin; Christie, II. 185—200.

tical notions and in his notions of government generally, though with a faith all his own in the power of bribery and corruption for managing persons and Parliaments. It was to be chiefly in consequence of Danby's manipulation of the future sessions of the long Cavalier Parliament that the name of "The Pensionary Parliament" was to be affixed to that body. His opportunities of this kind were yet to come, and through 1674 the limit of his powers was in conducting the King's private English counsels and managing his colleagues. In September in that year there was a modification of the Cabinet to suit his views and those of Charles. Buckingham, out of favour for some time, was sent adrift almost with insult, to join his forces to those of Shaftesbury in the opposition, or do otherwise as he might think fit; Arlington, retained in the Cabinet, was promoted to the office of *Lord Chamberlain* in succession to the Earl of St. Alban's, but with an understanding that his star was to set finally in that dignity; and in succession to Arlington in the vacant *Secretaryship of State*, and with a payment to him of £6000, there was brought in Sir Joseph Williamson, M.P. for Thetford, formerly Arlington's under-secretary and clerk of the Council, and more recently one of the English plenipotentiaries at Cologne. The King still placed immense trust in the Duke of Lauderdale, whom he had created an English peer, with the title of Earl of Guildford and Baron Petersham, two days before he raised Danby to his earldom. But, though it might thus seem that Danby and Lauderdale were co-equals, and though Lauderdale had the higher rank, there had come to be something like an understood partition of powers between the two favourites, Lauderdale content thenceforward in the main with the Scottish supremacy, and leaving to Danby the credit of the English [1].

All that seems farther necessary, before we take leave of the politics of England in 1674, is a view of the state of the royal family in that year. It was as follows:—

[1] Rapin for 1674; Christie, II. 197—199 and 312—313; with gleanings from Peerage Books, Beatson, British Chronologist, Anthony Wood, and Carte's *Ormond*.

His Majesty, Charles the Second: *ætat.* 45.

His Queen, Catharine of Braganza: childless.

The King's acknowledged Concubines still living:—(1) Barbara Villiers, known as Lady Castlemaine for some time, but since 1670 as Duchess of Cleveland, Countess of Southampton, and Baroness Nonsuch; (2) Mary Davis, the actress; (3) Nell Gwynn, the actress; (4) The Frenchwoman Louise de Querouaille, called by the Londoners for some time Madam Kerwell or Carwell, or anything else that would pass, but ennobled since 1673, as Duchess of Portsmouth, Countess of Fareham, and Baroness Petersfield. She had an estate and title in France by gift from Louis XIV., and was the chief political medium between Louis and Charles. Though the principal mistress, she had not dispossessed others in the King's regards; and the fascinating Nelly, who had no title, was still liked by him and was indubitably the popular favourite.

The King's acknowledged natural children:—These are enumerated as twelve in all: to wit:—(1) James Crofts, or Fitzroy, or Fitzroy-Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch since 1663, and now *ætat.* 25. He had been of the Privy Council since coming of age; held other honours, and was still very popular; had recently seen military service in the French army against the Dutch and received from Louis the compliment of being made a lieutenant-general, and had just been elected to the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, in succession to Buckingham, displaced from that office by the King's desire. There had been born to the Duke and his young Scottish Duchess a son, called the Earl of Dalkeith, from whom the present Buccleuch family are descended. (2) A daughter Mary, by the same mother, Lucy Waters. Though the sister of Monmouth, she attained no other distinction than becoming the wife of an Irish gentleman, and afterwards of an English. (3) A daughter called Charlotte-Jemima-Henrietta-Maria Boyle or Fitzroy, born of Elizabeth, Viscountess Shandon, whose husband was a brother of the Earl of Orrery, Robert Boyle, and Lady Ranelagh. This natural daughter married first a Howard of the Suffolk family, and afterwards Sir William Paston, bart., created Viscount Yarmouth in 1673, and Earl of Yarmouth in 1679. (4) Charles Fitzcharles, born of a Mrs. Catherine Peg. He died in Tangier. (5) A daughter by the same Mrs. Peg, who died in infancy. (6) Charles Fitzroy, the King's eldest child by the Duchess of Cleveland, and her heir-designate in that Duchy, but created also Duke of Southampton, Earl of Chichester, and Baron Newbery in 1675. (7) Henry Fitzroy, another son by the Duchess of Cleveland, created Earl of Euston in 1672, and Duke of Grafton in 1675, still in his boyhood. (8) George Fitzroy, also by the Duchess of Cleveland, created Earl of Northumberland in his infancy in 1674, and Duke of Northumberland in 1683. (9) Charlotte Fitzroy, a daughter by the same Duchess of Cleveland. She was to marry Sir Edward Henry Lee of Ditchley, co. Oxon, who became

Earl of Lichfield. (10) A daughter by Mary Davis, called Mary Tudor, who was to marry Francis, Lord Ratcliffe, afterwards Earl of Derwentwater. (11) Charles Beauclerk, son of Nell Gwynn, and ancestor of the St. Alban's family. He was born 1670, created Earl of Burford in 1676, and Duke of St. Alban's in 1684. (12) Charles Lennox, son of the Duchess of Portsmouth, and ancestor of the house of Richmond. He was born July 29, 1672, and created Duke of Richmond in 1675.—Older than all these, some recent authorities say, was a certain mysterious James La Cloche, born to Charles by a Jersey girl so long ago as 1646 or 1647, when Charles was but sixteen or seventeen years of age. The story is that this boy had been brought up as a Protestant in Holland, had come to England by his father's desire in 1665, had lived there for about two years in some secret way about the Court, but returned to the continent, became a Roman Catholic at Hamburg, "entered the novitiate of the Jesuit society in Rome" in the end of 1667, and afterwards came and went between Rome and London, under the name of Henri de Rohan, as a confidential agent in his father's Catholicity scheme. If this vague personage was the son of Charles, and carried with him, as it is said he did, Charles's own written acknowledgment of the fact, he had rights of priority over even the Duke of Monmouth.

THE NEXT IN SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE:—These were the Roman Catholic Duke of York, now *ætat.* 41, and, after him, his two only surviving children by his first wife: viz. the Princess Mary, *ætat.* 13, and the Princess Anne, *ætat.* 9. Measures had been taken for bringing up these two girls as Protestants; and, since the peace with the Dutch, there had been speculation by Danby, Arlington, and others, whether it might not be arranged that Mary should become the wife of the Prince of Orange, the heroic young Stadtholder of the Dutch Provinces. There was just a chance, however, that the Duke of York's second wife, Mary of Modena, might bring him a son and heir; in which case Clarendon's grand-daughters would be set aside by an interloping half-Italian [1].

What of novelty in English Literature during those seven years, from 1667 to 1674, the political history of which has been thus sketched? The question brings us back to Dryden.

In November 1667, just after Dryden had so successfully divided himself between the two London theatres, giving his *Maiden Queen* to the King's or Killigrew's and his *Sir Martin*

[1] Peerage Books, &c.; and, for the story of James La Cloche, Father Boero's *Istoria della Conversione*, &c. (see ante, pp. 240—241). I am not satisfied as to the authenticity of all the documents there mentioned in connexion with the La Cloche story; but there are traces of La Cloche or Henri de Rohan elsewhere.

Mar-all to the Duke's or Davenant's, there was produced at this latter theatre an extraordinary adaptation from Shakespeare by Dryden and Davenant jointly, under the title of *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island*. The thing has been universally condemned since as a desecration of Shakespeare's great play; but, with the aid of music and scenery, it made a fine show at the time[1].

The play was still new to the boards, and had not been published, when, on the 7th of April 1668, Davenant died. Who was to succeed him in the Laureateship? Had the vacancy occurred three or four years sooner, when *Hudibras* was new to the public, the claims of Butler might perhaps have been discussed. Not only had the morose Butler, however, made himself ineligible by retiring into his cave, but it had become almost a necessity that the Laureateship should be retained among the dramatists. Among these certainly Dryden was the chief. Author of five plays and in part of two more, author also of the *Annus Mirabilis*, and of some masterly pieces of criticism in the form of prose essays and prefaces reviewing the past history of English literature and all but assuming the superintendence and direction of the English literature of the Restoration, who so fit as Dryden to be Davenant's successor[1]? The surprise, indeed, is that Dryden was not appointed to the office at once. That there was some such intention may be inferred from the fact that on the 17th of June 1668 the degree of Master of Arts, which Dryden had neglected to take in the regular way at Cambridge, was conferred on him *ex gratia* by Archbishop Sheldon at the King's special request. For some reason or other, however, the Laureateship was left vacant for more than two years. Possibly the Buckingham Cabal, or Buckingham and Arlington Cabal, in power from 1667 to 1670, did not care to promote Dryden[2].

His dependence for more than two years was still, therefore, mainly on his dramatic industry. In this respect he was not

[1] Scott's Life of Dryden and Dryden's Plays and Prefaces in Scott's Edition of Dryden's Works (1808).

[2] Scott's Life of Dryden and Christie's Memoir.

badly off. While Davenant was yet alive, an arrangement had been made by the King's or Killigrew's company for stopping that loan of Dryden's talents to the rival house which had led to the production there of *Sir Martin Mar-all* and the adaptation of *The Tempest*. On the understanding that he was to write no more for the Duke's company, but exclusively for the King's, and at the rate of three new plays for the King's every year, he had been admitted a partner in the concern to the extent of a share and a quarter out of a total of twelve shares and three quarters, i e. with a right to about a tenth of the entire annual profits of the theatre. The income thus secured is estimated at between £300 and £400 a year in the money of that day. With such an inducement Dryden seems to have exerted himself at first to perform his part of the contract to the full. The following were his labours for the King's theatre during the two years of the abeyance of the Laureateship:—*An Evening's Love, or the Mock Astrologer*, a comedy, chiefly in prose, produced in June 1668, and published immediately afterwards, with a critical preface, and an epistle dedicatory to the Duke of Newcastle; *Ladies à la mode*, a comedy from the French, produced in September 1668, but so unsuccessfully that it was withdrawn after one performance and never published; *Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr*, a tragedy in rhyme, produced in February 1668–9, and published the following year, with a dedication to the Duke of Monmouth; and *Almanzor and Almahide, or the Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, a rhyming tragedy in two parts, produced in 1670, and afterwards published, with a dedication to the Duke of York, an essay on heroic plays, and other critical accompaniments. In the two comedies Dryden had done himself no additional credit; but in the *Tyrannic Love* and the two parts of the *Conquest of Granada* he was thought to have reached his very highest in heroic rhyming tragedy, and to have established that form of play in the possession of the English stage. The chief parts in them were acted magnificently by Mohun, Hart, Kynaston, Ann Marshall, Mrs. Boutel, and Nell Gwynn; there were crowded houses

and continued applauses; and Nelly's appearance in the epilogue to *Tyrannic Love* is matter of history. Having killed herself in the last scene of the tragedy in the paroxysm of supernatural virtue required by the part, she was being borne slowly off the stage as a corpse, when, resuming her natural character, she addressed her bearer,—

> "Hold! are you mad? you damned confounded dog!
> I am to rise and speak the epilogue;"

and then, running to the footlights, began—

> "I come, kind gentlemen, strange news to tell ye:
> I am the ghost of poor departed Nelly.
> Sweet ladies, be not frighted; I'll be civil:
> I'm what I was, a little harmless devil;"

and ended:—

> "As for my epitaph when I am gone,
> I'll trust no poet, but will write my own:—
> 'Here Nelly lies, who, though she lived a slattern,
> Yet died a princess, acting in St. Catharine.'"

It was too ravishing, and the authorities date Nelly's complete conquest of Charles from her flushed run to the footlights that evening, Feb. 9, 1688–9[1].

What with the triumphant success of Dryden's last rhyming heroic plays, what with the effects of his encomiastic dedications to the Duke of Monmouth and the Duke of Newcastle and his acquisition of new patrons in the Duke of York and Sir Thomas Clifford, his promotion to the Laureateship could no longer be deferred. On the 18th of August 1670, about four months after the formation of the "Cabal Ministry" usually so called, and three months after the Secret Treaty of Dover, Dryden obtained his official patent. It was in very handsome terms, appointing "John Dryden, Master of Arts," to be not only Poet Laureate in succession to Davenant, but also Historiographer Royal in succession to James Howell, who had died in November 1666. The salary for the conjoint offices was to be £200 a year, with the customary annual butt of Canary wine from the King's cellars. To compensate

[1] Scott's Dryden, the Life and the Plays; Christie; Genest's *English Stage*.

for the delay, the payment was to be retrospective from Midsummer 1668, or the first quarter day after Davenant's death. From 1668, therefore, if we add to Dryden's £200 a year from the Laureateship, and his £300 or £400 from his partnership in the King's theatre, his other incidental earnings by publication and dedications, and his patrimonial income of £40 a year from his Northamptonshire property (increased to £60 a year by the death of his mother in 1670), his total yearly income can hardly have been less than between £700 and £800; which was then worth for all purposes about £2500 a year now. In 1670 he was in his fortieth year, and thenceforward, to all appearance, his prosperity was assured. If he was not yet quite the "glorious John" of whom Claud Halcro was to carry away such delightful reminiscences to the far Shetlands, he was growing into that character, and was indubitably the most observed man in the daily gatherings of the wits of London in Will's coffee-house in Bow Street, or among the more select visitors to Herringman's shop on the other side of the Strand [1].

Dryden's Laureateship was to extend to 1688, and we are concerned here only with the state of English literature from August 1667 to November 1674. That period includes the last eight months of Davenant's Laureateship, and only the beginnings of Dryden's, whether we measure those beginnings by the four years and three months from Dryden's formal laureation or by the six years and eight months from Davenant's decease. Altogether there is not much of novelty to report concerning the second seven years of the literature of the Restoration.

The Drama was still paramount. Thomas Killigrew and others of the Killigrew family, with Mohun, Hart, and several more of the actors, still managed the King's theatre; and, at or shortly after Davenant's death, the management of the Duke's came into the hands of Betterton, Harris, and Mr. Charles Davenant, the last representing the very considerable proprietary interests of his mother, Lady Davenant, the poet's

[1] Scott's Life of Dryden, pp. 113—117; Christie's Memoir; Cunningham's *London*, Art. "Will's Coffee-house."

widow. On the 9th of November 1671 the latter company removed from their theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields to a much larger one, called the Dorset Gardens Theatre, which they had built by subscription in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street; and in February 1671–2, the King's Theatre in Drury Lane having been burnt down, the King's company were glad to avail themselves of the premises in Lincoln's Inn Fields which had thus been conveniently left vacant by their rivals. They continued their performances there till March 26, 1674, when they were able to return to a new theatre in Drury Lane, designed by Sir Christopher Wren. On the whole, by these changes, though the King's company had a serious loss in the burning of their theatre, and Dryden's share of the loss was about £400, there was no interruption of the business of the London stage. A list of about a hundred plays could be made out that are known to have been produced successively at one or other of the theatres, and to have had their runs of so many nights each, from the middle of 1667 to the end of 1674. Plays by Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and others of the older writers were still in occasional demand; successful Restoration plays of the previous seven years, including some of Davenant's, Dryden's, Sir Robert Howard's, and Lord Orrery's, were duly revived from time to time; but there was a larger draft than before on fresh industry. To the new plays by Dryden himself already mentioned as having been performed between 1667 and his accession to the Laureateship in 1670 there were added *Mariage à la Mode*, a comedy in mixed prose, blank verse, and rhyme, acted in 1672 and published with a flattering dedication to the blackguard young Earl of Rochester, *The Assignation, or Love in a Nunnery*, a comedy of similar construction, acted in the same year, and published with a dedication to Sir Charles Sedley, and *Amboyna, or the Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants*, a tragedy in prose and blank verse, hastily concocted in 1673 to stimulate the flagging animosity against the Dutch. This last was published in June of that year, with a dedication to Lord Clifford, just after the retirement of that Roman Catholic statesman from the Cabal in consequence of the Test Act.

Evidently Dryden had become lazier since his appointment to the Laureateship; for, though he was drawing his profits of over £300 a year from the King's Theatre as before, he had not from that date given the theatre one third of his promised number of plays annually. No complaint on that score had yet been made by his co-partners; nor was either theatre in want of playwrights who could compete for the supply of its full requirements. Sir Robert Howard and his brothers Edward and James were not exhausted; the Earl of Orrery deigned to attempt at least one comedy, by way of variety after his heroic plays; Etherege and Sedley were not quite idle; Buckingham flashed out brilliantly in one farce; the actor Lacy wrote another comedy; Betterton tried his greater hand in two; and one heard much now of such later candidates for dramatic fame as Thomas Shadwell, William Wycherley, John Crowne, Edward Ravenscroft, Elkanah Settle, and the warm-blooded Dutch-English lady, Mrs. Aphra Behn. Before the end of 1674 Shadwell had produced five of his comedies and a tragedy, Wycherley all his four classic comedies, Crowne two of his plays, Ravenscroft two of his, Settle two of his heroic tragedies, and Mrs. Behn at least three of her naughty comedies, in addition to some of her poems and naughty novelettes. Nat Lee and Thomas Otway were but just on the horizon, stripling actors who had failed on the boards and were meditating poetry and playwriting as easier work[1].

It was not mere laziness that made Dryden less prolific of dramas between 1670 and 1674 than he had previously been. The competition of some of the younger craftsmen had disturbed his temper and drawn him into personal controversies. The extraordinary success, more especially, of Settle's two heroic tragedies, *Cambyses, King of Persia* and *The Empress of Morocco*, the first acted in 1671 and the second in 1673, had challenged Dryden's rights in the very walk he thought his own. It is now a marvel how this wretched Elkanah Settle, remembered only as a ludicrous object in English literary

[1] Genest's *English Stage*; Dryden's Works; Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*; Notes from the Stationers' Registers.

history, should have for a year or two of his youth disputed the poetic supremacy with Dryden. But so it was. Rochester had deserted Dryden and taken Settle under his patronage; half the court and more than half the town were won over to Settle; passages of Settle's *Cambyses* and *Empress of Morocco* were quoted against the best in Dryden's *Tyrannic Love* and his *Conquest of Granada;* at the Universities, where it was keenly discussed whether Dryden or Settle was the greater genius, "the younger fry," we are told, "inclined to Elkanah." Although Dryden, Crowne, and Shadwell clubbed together to crush the young upstart by an abusive pamphlet, entitled *Remarks upon the Empress of Morocco*, he was not to be so crushed, but retorted vigorously in *Notes and Observations* of self-defence and counter-attack.

There would have been annoyance enough for Dryden in this controversy with Settle and in a similar exchange of personalities at the same time with young Ravenscroft. But there was much more to trouble him. His cherished doctrines of dramatic construction, and especially his doctrine of the superiority of rhyme to blank verse for all serious dramatic purposes, had never been cordially accepted either by the public or by the critics; and even as early as 1668 there had been a passage at arms on the subject between him and his brother-in-law Sir Robert Howard. This little quarrel between the brothers-in-law, however, had been soon made up; and it was not till Dryden had been settled in the Laureateship that the full storm of criticism burst upon him. Then it was, just when he could congratulate himself on having exhibited the capabilities of the heroic play to the utmost in his *Tyrannic Love* and *Conquest of Granada*, and his only danger seemed to be from the competition of Elkanah Settle and others in that form of the drama, that there broke forth at last the public expression of disgust with heroic plays themselves.

It broke forth at many points, and was continued till 1674 in pamphlets and squibs against Dryden by Matthew Clifford, Richard Leigh, and others. Already, however, the fatal blow had been inflicted in the famous farce of *The Rehearsal*, first

produced on the 7th of December 1671 at the King's Theatre by Dryden's own company, acted with increasing effect through that winter, and published in 1672. This farce, the work chiefly of the Duke of Buckingham, but with help from his chaplain Sprat, and also from Samuel Butler and the above-named Matthew Clifford, had been in preparation while Davenant was alive, and the intention is said to have originally been to make Davenant the chief character and satirize heroic plays in his person. Now, however, all had been reshaped to fit Dryden. Under the name of the poet Bayes, which was but an obvious metaphor for "The Laureate," he was made to figure through the farce as present at the rehearsal of an imaginary rhyming tragedy of his own, called "The Two Kings of Brentford," directing and scolding the actors, running upon the stage now and then to show them what to do, and keeping up all the while a chatty conversation with two friends, Smith and Johnson, whom he has posted at the side of the stage to observe the success of the performance, and to whom he expounds the merits of the play, the thread of the story where they fail to catch it, and his intention in this part or that where the meaning is obscure. At the close of the second act Bayes is made to tumble on the stage and break his nose in trying to instruct one of the actors how to fall dead properly, and through the last three acts he goes about with a patch of wet brown paper over the bruised organ. In the fifth act, having gone out for a minute, he finds, on his return, that Smith and Johnson, who have been secretly laughing at him all along, have gone off to dinner without bidding him good-bye, and that the actors, equally sick of the whole business, have gone off to dinner too. Imagine such a piece acted night after night before crowded houses in Dryden's own theatre, the part of Bayes by the popular Lacy, dressed to look as like Dryden as possible, and mimicking his voice, gait, and manner, the better to set off the hesitations and confusions of speech, and the interjections "faith," "i' gad," "i' fackins," which Buckingham had taken care to transfer from the real Dryden's conversation to the caricature of it in Bayes's mouth. Imagine also the studied absurdity of the burlesque in the

imaginary heroic play, the ludicrously impossible situations, the utterly inexplicable plot, the snatches of extravagant simile and bombastic rhyme, the actual parodies of passages from the latest and best known of Dryden's rhymed dramas, the conversion of his ranting hero Almanzor into a grotesque Drawcansir, and the echoes of his manner of rhyming, even to his trick or device of the occasional sonorous triplet. The two Kings of Brentford, having descended in a cloud, and seated themselves on the throne together, are being entertained by a grand dance in front of them before they proceed to serious counsel on state-affairs, when an alarm sounds, and enter two heralds :—

"1*st King.* What saucy groom molests our privacies?
1*st Herald.* The Army's at the door, and, in disguise,
Desires a word with both your Majesties:
2*nd Herald.* Having from Knightsbridge hither marched by stealth.
2*nd King.* Bid 'em attend a while and drink our health.
1*st King.* Here, take five guineas for those warlike men.
2*nd King.* And here's five more: that makes the sum just ten.
1*st Herald.* We have not seen so much the Lord knows when."

Buckingham's farce was a very clever and opportune piece of satire. It was caricature throughout, but an excellent specimen of that style of art; and, though we naturally condemn it now as irreverent to Dryden, yet, let any one put himself back to the proper moment by reading one of those heroic plays of Dryden which it satirized, and it will be a very pompous reverence indeed for the name of Dryden that will prevent the acknowledgment that Buckingham's farce deserved the applauses which it received, and was, for its date, a sound and successful operation in literary surgery. He and many more were surfeited with the rhyming heroics of the Restoration Drama, and, if nothing better was to offer itself in the guise of serious or ideal poetry, were entitled at least to the moderate wish expressed in the epilogue to *The Rehearsal*:—

"Wherefore, for ours and for the kingdom's peace,
May this prodigious way of writing cease.
Let's have, at least once in our lives, a time
When we may hear some reason, not all rhyme.
We have this ten years felt its influence:
Pray let this prove a year of prose and sense[1]."

Dryden could not yield at once. In his essay *Of Heroic Plays*, published in 1672, he defended that species of drama and his own exertions in it as well as he could, though without a single word of reference to Buckingham's attack. "Whether heroic verse ought to be admitted into serious "plays is not now to be disputed," he said; "it is already "in possession of the stage, and I dare confidently affirm that "very few tragedies in this age shall be received without it." This opinion was never formally retracted. One can see, however, that *The Rehearsal* and the other attacks of the first four years of his laureateship had shaken his confidence in his favourite practice; and there is evidence, moreover, that about the year 1674 he was becoming tired of the Drama altogether, and thinking of some new employment for his talents. Such new employment, plenty of money being one of the conditions, was not easily to be found, and Dryden was to go on writing plays almost to his life's end, though only one more was to be in rhyme. Not till seven years beyond our present date did he strike out those new paths in rhyming verse his successes in which were to count for so much more with posterity than all his successes as a dramatist. We are dealing with Dryden, it is to be remembered, at a time when the extent and variety of his faculties were not half revealed and when it was still unknown to Buckingham and his other critics how terribly he could revenge himself.

Apart from the Drama, what was the condition of English literature in the seven years from 1667 to 1674? Here again, as for the preceding seven years of the literature of the Restoration, the Stationers' Registers tell but a sorry tale. In

[1] Scott's Life of Dryden; Preface to the *Duke of Lerma* in the Dramatic Works of Sir Robert Howard (edit. 1722); Dryden's Defence of his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*; Arber's excellent Reprint of the first edition of *The Rehearsal*.

no year, from 1668 to 1674 inclusively, does the number of registered book-transactions rise higher than to between eighty and ninety; and, when it is remembered that a proportion of those registrations were of plays, the official newspapers in batches every three months or so, or mere transfers of old copyrights from one bookseller to another, it will be inferred how meagre is the show of original book-production out of the department of the acted drama. The Censorship and the Press Acts of Charles being still strictly in force, we cannot suppose any very great amount of authorship to have escaped unlicensed and unregistered. Roger L'Estrange was still the chief licencer, and almost all the plays and other books of light literature through the seven years are registered under his permission. Lord Arlington or Sir Joseph Williamson officiated sometimes, but the duty of licensing heavier books was distributed among several clergymen, among whom the Mr. Thomas Tomkyns who had licensed *Paradise Lost* was still one, and Mr. Samuel Parker was another. They had very little to do. So far as the registers show, we should know little more than that Baxter, Owen, Cudworth, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Henry Stubbe, Robert Boyle, Izaak Walton, and one or two more of the prose-authors of our previous Restoration list, were still in the land of the living; and in the whole series of individual registrations of new books of a poetical kind through the seven years, if we deduct those of the successive plays of Dryden, Orrery, the Howards, Shadwell, and the rest, there is positively only one of real interest now in English literary history. It is the registration of Milton's *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* together by John Starkey on the 10th of September 1670[1].

The registers, of course, even if they included all that was actually published in London through the seven years (which they certainly do not), cannot be taken as fully representing the literary activity of England through those years. Much was in preparation that was to be published afterwards. Bunyan, for example, had brought his *Pilgrim's Progress* out of

[1] My notes from the Registers from Aug. 1667 to the end of 1674.

prison with him, finished, or all but finished, and to be added in due time to his *Holy City* and other writings already in print. Hobbes, advancing from his eightieth year to his ninetieth, and with his *Opera Philosophica Omnia* lying behind him safe in an Amsterdam edition, was writing or recasting his *Behemoth, or History of the Civil Wars*, and hammering out his marvellous translation of the whole of Homer. Clarendon's great history was completing itself on paper abroad; at home Barrow, Cudworth, Howe, Henry More, South, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and others of the speculative or practical theologians known before the Restoration or immediately afterwards, had by no means ceased their labours; and, among their versifying contemporaries who were versifying still, though not for the stage or for open publication at the moment, one is bound to remember Waller, Marvell, and Butler. Of Waller we have seen enough; we shall hear of Marvell again; but poor Butler cannot be dismissed here without a parting glance.

They had never thought of making Butler poet-laureate in succession to Davenant. They had accepted his two parts of *Hudibras* in 1662–4, and had laughed over them and continued to carry them about and quote them; but they had done nothing for the author whatever, unless it could be counted something that Clarendon, when forming his great collection of national portraits for the decoration of his Piccadilly mansion, had taken care to include Butler's, and had given it a specially conspicuous place among those in his dining-room. Through the interval, though there are traces now and then of Butler at dinner tables where he could be seen by Pepys, or in momentary connexion with Buckingham and other aristocratic patrons, one has to fancy him walking more and more by himself in the old streets about Covent Garden, near the churchyard where one can now see his grave, and growing more and more crabbed and cynical from increasing age and poverty and the sense of undeserved neglect. He had still his unfinished *Hudibras* in hand to occupy him when he cared to take up the pen, and a third part of the burlesque was to appear before he died; but

his chief pleasure now seems to have been in scribbling those miscellaneous scraps in prose and verse, entitled *Thoughts*, *Satires*, *Characters*, and the like, in which he vented his ill humour on persons and things indiscriminately, and which he was to leave among his papers to be printed posthumously if any one should choose. Here is one of them :—

> "Dame Fortune, some men's tutelar,
> Takes charge of them without their care;
> Does all their drudgery and work,
> Like fairies, for them in the dark;
> Conducts them blindfold, and advances
> The naturals by blinder chances:
> While others by desert or wit
> Could never make the matter hit,
> But still, the better they deserve,
> Are but the abler thought to starve."

Among the special objects of his satire in those witty scraps are the Royal Society, Boyle and Dr. Charlton as two of its Fellows, the Duke of Buckingham, Dryden's Rhyming Heroics, and one of the poems of the Honourable Edward Howard ; but other celebrities are snarled at, and there is hardly a good word for anybody. What one principally observes, however, is the movement of Butler's mind in his later days out of his former Hudibrastic mood of mere anti-Puritanism into a mood of general pessimism, brought on by the contemplation of all he saw around him in the reign of Charles the Second. He still growls at the Fanatics, the Anabaptists, the Quakers, Nonconformists of all sorts ; but he despairs of human nature under all forms of Church alike, and he would lay the lash impartially on surviving Puritan hypocrites and on Charles and his courtiers :—

> "Our universal inclination
> Tends to the worst of our creation,
> As if the stars conspired to imprint
> In our whole species, by instinct,
> A fatal brand and signature
> Of nothing else but the impure."

So in a piece entitled "Satyr upon the weakness and misery of Man"; and another, entitled "Satyr upon the licentious age of Charles the Second," begins :—

"'Tis a strange age we've lived in and a lewd
As e'er the sun in all his travels viewed[1]."

Our date of 1674 is but half way through that lewd age. Could any other spirits be then descried, "standing apart upon the forehead of the age to come," as Keats expresses it, and could "any hum of mighty workings" be heard among them from which a nobler future could be anticipated? Isaac Newton, now in his thirty-second year, and for some time Lucasian professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, had recently been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; but, unless what *he* had already thought out or was carrying as great conjecture in his mind is to be taken into the account, it would be difficult to detect anything in the English intellect about the year 1674, or indeed for another generation or two, that could be described as "mighty workings" of any kind or in any direction. Locke, indeed, now forty-two years of age, and the client, friend, and admirer of Shaftesbury, was helping that displaced statesman in the formation of the Whig theory of politics, while beginning his own more general investigations towards a new English Philosophy that should be different from that of Hobbes; and among other persons, older and younger, who were, consciously or unconsciously, grouping themselves into what was to be known as the Whig party, one cannot but mark the liberal Gilbert Burnet. He had just resigned his Glasgow professorship of Divinity to settle in London at the age of thirty, and he had been appointed preacher at the Rolls Chapel. Though the names Whig and Tory did not come into use till 1679, Whiggism, or the Whig philosophy of politics, was a pretty definite phenomenon in the English mind before the death of Milton. But, though a very interesting and important phenomenon, it was hardly "a hum of mighty workings" in comparison with those profounder agitations of the English body-politic and soul-politic that were within recent recollection. English Whiggism was little else than

[1] Letter of Evelyn to Pepys printed in Appendix to Evelyn's Diary, p. 695 of edit. of 1870; Johnson's Life of Butler, with Cunningham's notes; Butler's *Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose*, edited by Thyer in 1759.

English Puritanism and Republicanism strained and percolated painfully and secretly through the intervening medium of so many years of the restored Stuart misgovernment. Whatever were to be its virtues, as far as to 1688 or beyond, it was but the reappearance of the strong original article in a state of extremely mild dilution and refinement. One might call it Puritanism and water.

CHAPTER II.

THE LAST SEVEN YEARS OF MILTON'S LIFE.

No English book has had a more curious trade-history than the first edition of *Paradise Lost*. It appeared, as we saw, in or shortly after August 1667, and original copies with the date 1667 exist in our libraries, and fetch high prices at book-sales[1]. But there are copies also bearing the date 1668 on the title-page, and other copies bearing the date 1669; and these, no less than the copies of 1667, belong indubitably to the first edition, and are valued accordingly. Nor is this all. If all the extant copies of the first edition were collected and compared with each other, they would be found to differ not only in the dating of their title-pages as above, but also in the form and typography of their title-pages and in other particulars. Perhaps no two copies are precisely alike in all respects. There are minute differences in the text, such as a *with* in some copies where others give an *in*, a misnumbering of the lines on the margin in some copies where others give the correct numbering, a comma in some copies where others have no comma. In this respect, however, there is nothing peculiar. Many of our early printed books present such slight variations of text in copies of one and the same edition, arising from the fact that, in the days of leisurely hand-printing, corrections might be made in a sheet while it was at press, of which corrections only the remaining part of the

[1] A very exact facsimile reproduction of the First Edition of *Paradise Lost*, with the date 1667, has been published by Mr. Elliot Stock of Paternoster Row.

impression of that sheet would have the benefit. The variations of this kind in the first edition of *Paradise Lost* are far less numerous than in some other old books, and indeed very few and altogether insignificant. Of much more consequence are the variations in the form of the title-page and in the leafing of the book before the text of the poem. At least nine different forms of title-page have been discovered in original copies of the first edition; and these variations of title-paging are complicated by the fact that some copies have fourteen pages of preliminary prose-matter between the title-page and the text of the poem, while other copies have nothing of the sort. The explanation of all this belongs to Milton's biography.

The explanation, in brief, is that, though the 1300 or 1500 copies constituting the first edition of *Paradise Lost* were all printed off in or about August 1667, they were not all then bound and issued to the public, but were issued in successive instalments or *bindings*, to meet the gradual demand at the bookshops. There were at least nine successive bindings and issues of copies before the edition was exhausted, two of them in 1667, four of them in 1668, and three of them in 1669. The printer and publisher Samuel Simmons had the management of this process of dealing out copies of the book gradually, but Milton's hand was also in it.

We may repeat here the title-page of the first binding sent out:—"*Paradise lost. A Poem written in Ten Books By John* "*Milton. Licensed and Entred according to Order. London* "*Printed, and are to be sold by Peter Parker under Creed Church* "*neer Aldgate; And by Robert Boulter at the Turks Head in* "*Bishopsgate-street; And Matthias Walker under St. Dunstons* "*Church in Fleet-street*, 1667." The moderate number of copies sent out with this title-page seem to have been sold before the end of 1667; for there was a second binding that year. For this second binding Simmons printed a new title-page, the wording exactly the same as before, but the author's name in a smaller size of type. Thus before the end of 1667 there were copies out with two slightly differing forms of title-page. The sale so far seems to have been too slow to

satisfy Simmons, and he had begun to fancy that it was checked to some extent by the appearance of the author's name in all the copies yet sent out. In some of these copies it was in smaller type than in others; but, whether in smaller type or in larger, what was to be expected but that many people, seeing the name JOHN MILTON on the title-page, would throw down the book with an exclamation of disgust? To suit such weak-minded brethren, it seems to have occurred to Simmons to issue copies without the author's name in full, but with his initials only. The book had been entered in the Stationers' Registers as merely "by J. M."; and "J. M." might be any respectable person. Accordingly, early in 1668, a third binding of copies was issued, most probably with Milton's sanction, bearing the title, "*Paradise lost. "A Poem in Ten Books. The Author J. M. Licensed and "Entred according to Order. London Printed, and are to "be sold by Peter Parker under Creed Church neer Aldgate; "And by Robert Boulter at the Turks Head in Bishopsgate-"street; And Matthias Walker under St. Dunstons Church in "Fleet-street*, 1668." This was followed in the same year by a fourth binding, with a title-page identical in the wording, but with variations in the size of the type. To print a new title-page for every new binding was a convenient plan, for it enabled the book to be dated afresh so as to keep it always one of the current year. And so, by about the middle of 1668, there had been sent out four bindings of *Paradise Lost*, giving customers the option of copies with the author's name in full, if they would have it, or only his initials, if these were thought more innocent.

Still the sale seemed to lag, and to need what is now known in the trade as a "push." The push could not be given, of course, in the modern fashion of a repeated burst of advertising. The machinery of advertisement was then scanty, and was less used for books than for missing dogs, while the machinery of book-paragraphing and reviewing had not been invented. The push was given in the simpler form of an adaptation of the look of the book to the habits of purchasers and readers.—Simmons had ascertained by this time that it

was not the author's name that impeded the sale so much as the want of such introductory matter as might indicate the nature of the contents. The mere title *Paradise Lost* conveyed but vague ideas. It suggested perhaps the story of Adam and Eve, and so corresponded with some of the sweeter and more idyllic parts of the poem; but it gave no intimation that the poem contained also the pre-mundane history of Satan, the angelic wars in heaven, the expulsion thence of the rebel angels, their incarceration in the abyss of hell, the six days' creation of the universe of man between the fallen angels and their lost heaven, their debates in hell for revenge and recovery, and Satan's voyage of invasion for them upwards into the new universe, all inwrought coherently into one epic and leading to its particular catastrophe on earth. Of these grandeurs there was no promise in the title. Besides, even those who became aware of the grandeurs by actually reading the poem, or parts of it, could hardly at once grasp its plan, and had no clue afterwards but that of memory to the succession of the incidents. So much having been gathered by Simmons, and having been reported by him to Milton, the remedy was easy. Milton prepared what he called "*The Argument*," consisting of ten sections of prose-headings, giving a summary of the contents of the poem, book by book, for all the ten books. That would show any one who took up the poem casually what it was about, and it would serve as an index to readers who wanted means of reference[1]. He was the more willing to take this trouble because he had the

[1] It seems to me possible that Milton took advantage of the Prose Argument to furnish explanations of the plan of the poem at one or two points where he had already heard that readers had been in difficulty. Thus, in the Argument to Book I, "the Poem," he says, having assumed the rebellion of the Angels in heaven and their expulsion as events already passed, "hastens into the midst "of things, presenting Satan, with his "Angels, now fallen into Hell,—de-"scribed here not in the centre (for "heaven and earth may be supposed as "not yet made, certainly not yet ac-"cursed), but in a place of utter dark-"ness, fitliest called Chaos." This looks like a defence of his departure from the ordinary or orthodox conception of his time as to the place of hell. His readers may have expected to find it in "the centre," i.e. within the earth's bowels, as in Dante's poem, whereas he has made it wholly extra-mundane. If reasons are wanted, he offers two. In the first place, did not the expulsion of the rebel angels into hell *precede* the existence of the earth and the material universe to which it belongs? In the second place, even if the earth had been in existence, it was not *accursed* till after the fall of man, and how could the hell, while innocent, have contained a hell?

opportunity at the same time of noticing another objection to the poem, which had interested himself more than Simmons. A long epic in blank verse, put forth at the very time when the great controversy among the critics was whether blank verse was not too low for even the serious drama, and when even those who contended for the sufficiency of blank verse for the serious drama agreed that it was too mean for any form of non-dramatic poetry, had been a very daring experiment indeed. Accordingly, so far as there had been talk about the poem hitherto in the critical world, the chief stumbling-block to its reception had been the question whether it could be called strictly a poem at all, inasmuch as it did not rhyme. Though the objection can have been no surprise to Milton, it may have reached him so annoyingly from some quarters after the first appearance of the poem as to prompt him now to a few words of remark. While handing to Simmons, therefore, the prose "*Argument*" to be inserted in future issues of copies, he handed him also that little prefatory paragraph, entitled "*The Verse*," which now appears in every good edition of the poem. When set up in type, the Argument and this little paragraph on the Verse, together with a list of a few errata that had been discovered, made fourteen pages of absolutely new matter, to be inserted in future issues between the title-page and the text. Simmons did not grudge the expense of printing as many copies of the new fourteen pages as were needed for the copies of the poem still on hand; and, when he sent out his fifth binding of the poem in 1668, it was thicker by these additional fourteen pages than any of the previous bindings, and swelled the small quarto volume from a total of 342 pages to a total of 356. The title-page of this fifth binding marks it as an epoch in the history of the book in yet other respects. It runs thus:—"*Paradise lost. A Poem in Ten Books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and to be sold by S. Thomson at the Bishops-Head in Duck-Lane, H. Mortlock at the White Hart in Westminster Hall, M. Walker under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, and R. Boulter at the Turks-Head in Bishopsgate-street,* 1668." Here we have

several novelties. Not only is Milton's name restored in full to the title-page, as if there were no longer any idea that it did harm; but Simmons for the first time ventures to put his own name in the title-page, acknowledging himself to the general public as the printer and publisher of the book. He had already done so, necessarily, in his registration of the book at Stationers' Hall, but had kept back his name hitherto in all the published copies. Moreover, it seems to have been part of his "push" to change some of his bookselling agents and to increase their number. One of the three former agents, "Peter Parker under Creed Church near Aldgate," is employed no longer, and with the remaining two, Walker and Boulter, there are conjoined two new agents in Thomson and Mortlock. It is worth observing also that the four were well distributed through the town, Boulter's shop being as far east as Bishopsgate Street, Thomson's near Smithfield, Walker's as far west as Fleet Street, and Mortlock's actually in Westminster Hall itself, one of the book-stalls allowed there for the convenience of the lawyers, and members of Parliament, and all the quality of the West End. But there is yet another curious circumstance about this fifth binding of *Paradise Lost*. To introduce the fourteen pages of new matter, Simmons, alone in his printing office, had taken up his pen and written this four-line advertisement: "*The Printer to the Reader: Courteous* "*Reader*, There was no Argument at first intended to the "Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, "is procured. *S. Simmons.*" This precious effusion he had caused to be set up on his own responsibility, stuffing it in, rather clumsily, in the smallest type, at the very top of the first of the fourteen pages of new matter, just above the beginning of "The Argument" as it had been supplied by Milton. Providentially, before the requisite number of copies of the fourteen pages were wholly printed off, Milton was able to stop the press, and tell Simmons to correct his grammar. "*The Printer* "*to the Reader. Courteous Reader*, There was no Argument at "first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many "that have desired it, I have procur'd it, and withall a reason "of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem Rimes

"not. *S. Simmons:*" such is the amended advertisement sent or taken by Milton to Simmons to be substituted for the ungrammatical one. Simmons met Milton half way. He would not, or at all events he did not, cancel the ungrammatical form of advertisement in the copies of the fourteen new pages already printed off; but he substituted the correct form in the copies remaining to be printed. The consequence is that it is a matter of chance whether in any copy now extant of the fifth binding of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, or in any copy of any subsequent binding, there shall be found Simmons's incorrect form of the advertisement or Milton's amended form. With only this difference, all copies of the fifth binding and of later bindings contain the fourteen pages of preliminary prose-matter that had been wanting in the copies previously issued.

Simmons was very fickle in his taste in title-pages. When he sent out a sixth binding, still in 1668, he equipped it also with a title-page set up expressly for itself. This differed from the last, however, in nothing essential, but only in a little detail of ornamentation. But more was needed for the last three bindings, issued in the year 1669. Not only was it desirable to put that year in the title-page, that the book might appear still in season; but Simmons had become dissatisfied with his four bookselling agents, and had resolved to entrust the sale of the remaining copies to one bookseller, conveniently near his own printing-premises in Aldersgate Street. Accordingly, this is the title-page in all copies of the seventh binding:—"*Paradise lost. A Poem in Ten Books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and are to be sold by T. Helder, at the Angel, in Little Brittain*, 1669." Helder, who had received this binding early in 1669, must have disposed of it rapidly; for the last two bindings of the book, the eighth and the ninth, seem to have been in his hands before the end of April in that year. The title-pages of these were exactly the same in wording as the last, but differed from it and from each other in small details of lettering and pointing[1].

[1] I have previously discussed this curious and intricate subject of the trade-history of the First Edition of *Paradise Lost* in the Introduction to

Before the end of April 1669 the first edition of *Paradise Lost* had been exhausted. The proof exists in the following receipt, the signature to which was of course by proxy :—

"April 26, 1669.

"Received then of Samuel Simmons five pounds, being the Second five pounds to be paid mentioned in the Covenant. I say recd. by me, JOHN MILTON[1].

"Witness, Edmund Upton."

Thus, to April 1669, Milton had received £10 in all for his poem. The sum was equal to about £35 now. Simmons, if one may venture on a calculation on the subject, had made about five or six times as much.

The sale of an edition of 1300 copies in little more than eighteen months was no bad commercial success for such a book as *Paradise Lost*, and would be proof in itself that the poem had at once made a very strong impression. Have we any more definite information as to its first reception among the critics and judges of literature? The statement on this subject professing to be most authoritative is Richardson's. It was published in 1734; but Richardson's own memory of things and persons went as far back as 1680 or 1685 :—"Sir "George Hungerford, an ancient member of Parliament," says Richardson, "told me, many years ago, that Sir John Denham "came into the House one morning with a sheet, wet from the "press, in his hand. 'What have you there, Sir John?' "'Part of the noblest poem that ever was wrote in any "'language or in any age.' This was *Paradise Lost*. How- "ever, 'tis certain the book was unknown till about two years "after, when the Earl of Dorset [not then Earl of Dorset, but "only Lord Buckhurst] produced it. Dr. Tancred Robinson "has given permission to use his name; and what I am going

the Poem in the Cambridge Edition of Milton's Poetical Works, and also in an Introduction to Mr. Elliot Stock's Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition; and I have here, while studying the subject afresh, taken a phrase or two from those Introductions. The study has been from my own inspection of all copies of the First Edition within my reach, with help from Bohn's Lowndes (Art. *Milton*) and Mr. Leigh Sotheby's Milton "Ramblings" (pp. 80—81).

[1] This receipt was given, in facsimile, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1822, and there is a copy of the facsimile in Mr. Leigh Sotheby's "Ramblings." I have sketched the history of the document in a note to the Introduction to *Paradise Lost* in the Cambridge Milton (I. pp. 12—13).

"to relate he had from Fleet Shephard, at the Grecian "coffee-house, and who often told the story. My Lord was in "Little Britain, beating about for books to his taste. There "was *Paradise Lost*. He was surprised with some passages he "struck upon dipping here and there, and bought it. The "bookseller begged him to speak in its favour if he liked it, "for that it lay on his hands as waste paper (Jesus!). Shep- "hard was present. My Lord took it home, read it, and sent "it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it. 'This man,' "says Dryden, 'cuts us all out, and the ancients too[1].'"

This passage, very creditable to Richardson's desire to be authentic, breaks down at several points on investigation, though perhaps hardly to the extent of Malone's commentary upon it. Sir John Denham, Malone points out, never was a member of Parliament; and, moreover, "during a great part of the year 1667," when *Paradise Lost* was passing through the press, the unfortunate knight was in a fit of insanity, and removed from public view. In this last observation Malone is hypercritical; for Denham had recovered so far as to be back in society before August 1667, and to publish in that month his lines on the death of Cowley. He was therefore quite able to form a judgment on *Paradise Lost* in the very month of its appearance, had it come then in his way. But, for the rest, one must agree with Malone, and suppose that there was some confusion of memory on the part of the old Parliament man, Sir George Hungerford, when he told the story of Denham to Richardson, or on Richardson's part in recollecting what Sir George had said. Even if we waive the question of the place where Denham came in with the sheet of proof in his hands and made his enthusiastic remark, how can we account for his being before all the rest of the world in having access privately to the proof-sheets of a forthcoming book by such a political recluse as Milton? And how was his remark so ineffective, the celebrated Sir John Denham though he was, that the book received no benefit from his vast admiration and its merits had to be re-discovered and re-proclaimed two years afterwards?

[1] Richardson's Life of Milton, prefixed to Notes on Paradise Lost (1734), pp. cxix—cxx.

In short, the first part of the tradition given by Richardson will not cohere with the second part[1].

This second part of the tradition deserves more attention. Richardson's authority for it, he says, was Dr. Tancred Robinson. In or about 1734, this gentleman, an old London physician of eminence, authorized Richardson to use his name in authentication of a story he had heard "Fleet Shephard" relate more than once at the Grecian coffee-house, i. e. at a coffee-house in Devereux Court, Strand, much frequented by wits and men of fashion in the latter part of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth, and deriving its name from its first proprietor, who had been a Greek. We are thus referred to "Fleet Shephard," and the reference is very interesting. Fleet Shephard, known in the last years of his life as Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, had died in September 1698, and had been about thirty-two years of age at the time of the publication of *Paradise Lost*, and then one of the chief wits and *roués* at the court of Charles the Second. Anthony Wood's account of him is to the point. Having come to London after the Restoration from his native Oxfordshire, he "hanged on the Court," says Wood, "became a "debauchee and Atheist, a grand companion with Charles, "Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, "Henry Savile, and others." Wood goes on to relate how he became steward to Nell Gwynn, and one of Charles's closest "companions in private to make him merry" through the rest of his reign; but our concern with him here does not go farther than the beginning of 1669. It was then, as we have seen, that Simmons the printer had committed the sale of the last remaining copies of *Paradise Lost* to a single bookseller, his neighbour, "T. Helder, at the Angel in Little Brittain." That shop, therefore, was the scene of Fleet Shephard's Little Britain anecdote. The anecdote itself has a look of credibility. We can see Lord Buckhurst and his friend Fleet Shephard together in Helder's shop, two as notorious profligates as could have strolled thither from Westminster, but Buckhurst, as we know, with a vein of genius through his

[1] Todd's Life of Milton (1852), pp. 128—129; where there is a quotation from Malone.

profligacy, and a keen delight in books. We can see Buckhurst, the author of *To all you Ladies now on land*, taking up *Paradise Lost* from Helder's counter "with a fa la la la la," and glancing at passages here and there till his mood changed and both Shephard and Helder were startled by his lordship's earnestness. We can see the three shillings paid, and the book pocketed, and Helder's profound bow of parting, as he requested his lordship to do him the honour of mentioning the book, if he continued to like it, among any lords and gentlemen of his lordship's most noble acquaintance. And to whom should Buckhurst, the "Eugenius" of Dryden's essay, send the extraordinary new poem, for a confirmation of his own opinion of it, but to the "Neander" of that essay, the master-critic of the day, Dryden himself? And what more like Dryden's ever ready and never stinted generosity than the reply attributed to him, "*This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too*"?

Difficulties and incongruities do appear in the story. How can Helder have said that the book was lying on his hands as waste paper, when in fact a large part of the total impression of 1300 had already been sold by other booksellers and he had only the remainder in his hands? This difficulty is not insuperable. Helder may have exaggerated a little, or he may have sold none of *his* copies till Lord Buckhurst took one. More serious is the difficulty of supposing that Dryden had not seen the poem till he received Lord Buckhurst's copy. This, though not positively asserted, is almost necessarily implied; for, if the book had been already known to Dryden, it would not have remained for Buckhurst to become acquainted with it accidentally.—On the whole, we have to allow something perhaps for Fleetwood Shepherd's habit afterwards of telling his story so as to make it out beyond a doubt that it was his friend Lord Dorset, and no other, that had first discovered the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, he himself having chanced to be with his lordship at the very moment and remembering all the particulars. With this allowance, the story, I believe, does admit us to a glimpse of the real facts. Whatever circulation of copies, by sale or by gift from Milton himself, there had been late in 1667 and through 1668, it

does seem to have been about the beginning of 1669 that the extraordinary merits of the poem began to be a matter of talk among the critics and court-wits, and then chiefly because of the boundless praises of it by Dryden and Lord Buckhurst. Nor need Sir John Denham lose altogether the credit claimed for him. Though we must give up the myth of his enthusiastic production of the wet proof-sheet in the House of Commons in 1667, we can suppose that he too had seen the poem before his death on the 19th of March 1668–9, and had joined in the praises. When a book appeared near the end of a year, it was quite usual to date it by the coming year in the title-page; and the seventh binding of copies of *Paradise Lost*, dated 1669, may have been in Helder's hands as early as December 1668. If Buckhurst's visit to Helder's shop was in that month or the next, Denham may have seen the poem before he died. Davenant had died on the 9th of April 1668, when the poem had been out about seven months at most; but it is difficult to imagine that even he had gone to his grave in total ignorance of the addition that had been made to the Literature of his Laureateship by his old friend Milton. We may assume, I think, that Davenant was one of those to whom Milton had sent presentation copies. There would be no wonder if Dryden was another. Dryden, having been a literary *attaché* to Thurloe's office in 1657, must have had some slight acquaintance with Milton personally from that date; and Milton must have had sufficient cognisance of Dryden's increasing fame since then, till they were hailing him in 1667 as the most successful of the Restoration dramatists and the author of *Annus Mirabilis*. Now, as Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poetry* and Milton's *Paradise Lost* were almost simultaneous publications in that year, it would be nothing remarkable, surely, had there been an exchange of presentation copies[1].

[1] Wood's Ath. IV. 627—628 (Fleetwood Shephard); and ante, pp. 389—391. Buckhurst was about thirty-one years of age at the date of his alleged discovery of *Paradise Lost*, but had not then given up those courses of shameless frolic and debauchery for which he had been notorious since the year of the Restoration. Under date Oct. 23, 1668, which might be but two months or so before his visit to Little Britain to "beat about for books to his taste," Pepys mentions a kind of repetition by him and Sedley of their outrageous indecency

If there had not been an exchange of presentation copies at the moment of publication, most certainly there had been an exchange of regards by the two authors over the two books since they had been published. What was the doctrine of Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy?* That blank verse was unsuitable for all high or serious poetry, even for the tragic or poetical drama for which, and for which only, it had been brought into use by the Elizabethans. What was the most obvious peculiarity of *Paradise Lost* on the first glance at its pages? That, though an epic, it was written wholly in blank verse, thus not only asserting by implication the very opposite of Dryden's doctrine for the drama, but vindicating the rights and powers of blank verse, nay, its sole legitimate sovereignty, in domains from which Dryden and all the rest of the world had agreed in assuming it to be necessarily excluded. *Paradise Lost*, therefore, when Dryden first read it or any part of it, must have come upon him like a revelation or a thunderbolt.—It rather favours Fleetwood Shepherd's story of Dryden's comparatively late introduction to the poem that he makes no mention of it in the course of his memorable controversy in 1668 with his brother-in-law Sir Robert Howard on the subject of blank verse *versus* rhyme. Sir Robert, though he had written rhymed tragedy himself, was not a bigot for the practice, and had resented some parts of Dryden's essay in which he had himself been made to figure under the name of "Crites." Accordingly, in an introduction to his blank verse tragedy of *The Duke of Lerma*, published about the middle of 1668, he had made some rather tart observations on Dryden's essay and its doctrine. Dryden had immediately retorted by publishing a second edition of his *Indian Emperor* and prefixing to it "A Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy." This was in fact a sequel to his essay, reasserting his doctrine of the supremacy of rhyme, though now only in the mild form of a personal preference and belief,

of June 1663. "They had been running up and down all the night, almost naked, through the streets, and at last fighting and being beat by the watch and clapped up." There were other stories about Buckhurst and Sedley at the same time. It was thought that, in one respect at least, they were corrupting even Charles, their senior though he was by seven years. Drinking was not his royal vice; but he had been drunk and incapable several times recently in their company.

and at the same time teaching his knightly brother-in-law, by a mixture of the severest irony with the most courteous compliment, that even he had better not persist in a quarrel with John Dryden. A reference to *Paradise Lost* would have been natural in this reply to Howard if Dryden had then known and admired the poem.—Milton, on his side, all the while, was no stranger to Dryden's essay and its doctrine, or to the controversy between Dryden and Howard. The little paragraph entitled "*The Verse*" which he gave to Simmons to be prefixed, together with "*The Argument*," to the fifth issue of copies in 1668, and to all subsequent issues, in order that the public might have not only the desired index of contents, but "withal a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem rimes not," was nothing else than Milton's contribution to the controversy in his own interest. It comes in here biographically :—

"The Verse.

The measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek and of Virgil in Latin, rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre ; graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse, than else they would have expressed them. Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rime both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight ; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings,—a fault avoided by the learned ancients both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming."

If Dryden did not see *Paradise Lost* till 1669, he saw it then with this emphatic condemnation of his own doctrine of Verse, this all but contemptuous reference to himself, printed in its very forefront. At all events, from the moment the poem was in his hands, whether before 1669 or not till that year, he must have always thought of it as having come into the world to turn the tables against his doctrine at the very time when he had been preaching it most confidently and successfully. It is to the credit of Dryden's candour and placability that he did not allow this feeling to interfere in the least with his admiration of Milton. Buckhurst, Roscommon, and others of the Restoration wits and critics, may have helped in the first appreciation of *Paradise Lost;* but Dryden was their leader.

It is not unpleasing to find, however, that the first person who expressed openly in print the opinion that was thus steadily forming itself in private among the critics was Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips.—In his tutorship in the Pembroke family, where he had been since he left Evelyn's house in 1665, Phillips had not ceased authorship. He had been employed to superintend a new edition, actually the seventeenth, of the once popular book of Joannes Buchlerus entitled *Sacrarum Profanarumque Phrasium Poeticarum Thesaurus*, i. e. "Dictionary of sacred and profane Poetical Phrases." To the new edition, which appeared in 1669, there were subjoined two little Latin essays of Phillips's own, entitled respectively "A Short Treatise on the Verse of the Dramatic Poets," and "Compendious Enumeration of the Poets, Italian, German, English, &c. (the most famous of them at least), who have flourished from the time of Dante Alighieri to the present age." In this second essay Milton is mentioned in these words:—"John Milton, in addition to other most "elegant writings of his, both in English and Latin, has "lately published *Paradise Lost*, a poem which, whether we "regard the sublimity of the subject, or the combined pleasant-"ness and majesty of the style, or the sublimity of the inven-"tion, or the beauty of its images and descriptions of nature, "will, if I mistake not, receive the name of truly Heroic,

"inasmuch as by the suffrages of many not unqualified to "judge it is reputed to have reached the perfection of this "kind of poetry." One observes here Phillips's fine loyalty to his uncle, but also his feeling that he was not speaking without warrant. His uncle had again, at the age of sixty, become a mentionable person. The blind Republican and Regicide had redeemed himself, so far as his redemption was possible, by the atonement of a great poem [1].

One consequence was that, from and after 1669, there was an increased conflux of visitors to the small house in Bunhill.

[1] Wood's Ath. IV. 762, and Godwin's Lives of the Phillipses, 141—145. Wood gives the titles of Phillips's two Essays appended to the 17th edition of Buchler. Godwin disinterred the book; and I take the account of it, and the quotation, from him.—Such public mentions as there had been of Milton in his retirement before the publication of *Paradise Lost* had all been in the vein of continued execration and regret that he had not been hanged. "One Milton, since stricken with blindness," he is called in Heath's Chronicle, published in 1663, the reference being to his "impudent and blasphemous libel called Iconoclastes" and his reply to Salmasius. "The Latin advocate, Mr. Milton, who, like a blind adder, has spit so much poison upon the King's person and cause," South had said in one of his sermons, quoting a Latin sentence of Milton for indignant refutation; and, from passages in other sermons of South, it appears that he rather liked an opportunity of glancing at Milton from the pulpit. In Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, which, though not published till 1692, was complete in manuscript while Hacket was bishop of Lichfield (1661—1670), Milton figures as "that serpent Milton," "that blackmouthed Zoilus," "a Shimei," "a dead dog," a "canker-worm," "the same, O horrid! that defended the lawfulness of the greatest crime that ever was committed, to put our thrice-excellent King to death: a petty school-boy scribbler that durst grapple in such a cause with the prince of the learned men of his age, Salmasius." Perhaps the most respectful references to Milton in the time of his obscurity before his reappearance in *Paradise Lost* were one by Hobbes, in his yet unpublished *Behemoth*, and one by Butler, in the private scraps of verse with which he was amusing himself in his morose idleness after the publication of the first two parts of his *Hudibras*; and in both these references it was still the Milton of the Salmasian controversy that was in view. One of the two colloquists in the *Behemoth* having said, "About this time came out two books, one written by Salmasius, a Presbyterian, against the murder of the King, another written by Milton, an English Independent, in answer to it," Hobbes, little to the credit of his discrimination, makes the other reply, "I have seen them both. They are very good Latin both, and hardly to be judged which is better; and both very ill reasoning, hardly to be judged which is worse; like two declamations, *pro* and *con*, made for exercise only in a rhetoric school by one and the same man. So like is a Presbyterian to an Independent." In Butler's lines the wit proceeds with equal disregard of the facts:—

"So some polemics use to draw their swords
Against the language only and the words:
As he who fought at barriers with Salmasius
Engaged with nothing but the style and phrases;
Waived to assert the murther of a Prince
The author of false Latin to convince,
But laid the merits of the cause aside,
By those that understood them to be tried,
And counted breaking Priscian's head a thing
More capital than to behead a king:
For which he has been admired by all the learn'd
Of knaves concern'd and pedants unconcern'd."

In addition to the Marvells, the Pagets, the Cyriack Skinners, the Ellwoods, and the others of different ranks and sorts, who had remained faithful to Milton through his time of obscurity, there were now to be seen at his door, more or less frequently, many "persons of quality," glad to form acquaintance or to renew acquaintance with the author of *Paradise Lost*. Whether Lord Buckhurst ventured to call and took Sir Charles Sedley with him must be left to conjecture. There is no impossibility in the matter; and, though it would have been a strange meeting, Milton would have been civil. Dryden, we know for certain, did henceforward cultivate Milton's acquaintance. It is not so generally known that Dryden's brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard, did the same; but Toland had the fact from Howard himself. "He was a great "admirer of Milton to his dying day," says Toland, "and, "being his particular acquaintance, would tell many pleasant "stories of him." Another of Milton's most frequent visitors was the Earl of Anglesey, the same who, under his former name of Mr. Arthur Annesley, had been the chief manager of the Restoration along with Monk, and who had since been a member of Charles's Privy Council and one of the most active politicians through Clarendon's Administration and that of the Cabal. He was a man of superior tastes and abilities, "very subtil, cunning, and reserved," says Wood, "much conversant in books and a great Calvinist," though the freedom of his sympathies with "very different persuasions" had "left it somewhat difficult peremptorily to determine among what sort of men, as to point of religion, he himself ought in truth to have been ranked." Some interest attaches to his special intimacy with Milton from 1669 onwards. That it was a special intimacy appears from the fact that Phillips, in his memoir of Milton, mentions him in chief among the visitors to Bunhill, leaving the rest of the crowd unnamed. "The said Earl of Anglesey," says Phillips, "came often "here to visit him, as very much coveting his society and "converse; as likewise others of the nobility, and many per-"sons of eminent quality; nor were "the visits of foreigners "ever more frequent than in this place, almost to his dying

"day." One wishes that Phillips had given us more names at this date; but, in addition to Anglesey, Sir Robert Howard, and Dryden, we may certainly assume Lady Ranelagh. By the death of her husband, precisely in this year 1669, she had become the Dowager Lady Ranelagh, her son, Mr. Richard Jones, Milton's former pupil and correspondent, succeeding his father as Viscount Ranelagh. The young Viscount himself, when not in Ireland, and his former tutor, Henry Oldenburg, now of the Royal Society, may have been among the occasional visitors at Bunhill. John Aubrey, also a fellow of the Royal Society, was certainly another. As he assures us, with some emphasis, that Milton was visited "much by the learned, *more than he did desire*," would it be ill-natured to guess that he had found out the fact by experience? But why did not Toland put on paper some of those "many pleasant stories" of Milton which he says Sir Robert Howard used to tell? He has given us but one. Howard, it seems, could take the liberty of talking with Milton on political subjects; and, "having demanded of him once what "made him side with the Republicans, Milton answered, "Among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal "government, for that the trappings of a monarchy might "set up an ordinary Commonwealth [1]."

It is in this connexion, if anywhere, that one may refer to the story of the offer to reinstate Milton in his old place of Latin Secretary. The story comes to us through Richardson, who had heard, on what he thought good authority, that, "soon after the Restoration," such an offer was made to Milton on the King's part. "Milton withstood the offer," Richardson had been informed; and, when his wife "pressed his compliance," he had said to her, "Thou art in the "right: you, as other women, would ride in your coach; "for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." Were the story true, the most probable date for it would be early in 1664, a year after Milton's marriage with Elizabeth Minshull, when Sir Richard Fanshawe, the King's Latin

[1] Phillips's Memoir; Aubrey's Lives; Toland's Life of Milton (edit. 1761), p. 129; Wood's Ath. IV. 182—183.

Secretary to that time and also one of the Privy Council, was sent abroad on that embassy to Spain and Portugal in which he died in June 1666. But the thing seems incredible. Apart from the insult to Milton, it is difficult to imagine such combined absurdity and indecorum in Charles as would have been implied in an invitation to the blind author of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and *Eikonoklastes* to a place at Court or at the Council Board. From and after 1669, however, when the Earl of Anglesey and other Courtiers and Privy Councillors had begun to go about Milton, it is not unlikely that the name of the blind ex-Secretary may have reached Charles now and then in connexion with other matters than those defunct Regicide and Republican pamphlets. "After his Majesty's Restora-"tion," says Anthony Wood, "when the subject of Divorce "was under consideration with the Lords, upon the account "of John Lord Ros or Roos his separation from his wife "Anne Pierpont, eldest daughter to Henry, Marquis of "Dorchester, he [Milton] was consulted by an eminent "member of that House, as he was about that time by a "chief officer of state, as being the prime person that was "knowing in that affair." The Lord Roos Divorce Bill, which was brought into the Lords by Buckingham on the 5th of March 1669–70, and received the royal assent on the 11th of April 1670, after a hurried and stormy passage through the two Houses, was, as we know (ante, pp. 572–573), a bill of no less than national significance, inasmuch as its real object was to prepare the way for the King's divorce from his barren Queen and his marriage with some one else. While the Duke of York, in the interest of his own succession to the crown, and all the Roman Catholics, and almost all the English bishops, opposed it energetically, the King's lay ministers and councillors generally, as we saw, were as zealous on its behalf as he was himself. Either before the Bill was brought into the Lords, or while it was in debate there, two of its supporters, it now appears, had consulted Milton, as the most learned living authority on the Divorce subject. The eminent peer mentioned by Wood

may have been the Earl of Anglesey, and the chief officer of state may have been Lord Keeper Bridgman; and arguments and references supplied to them by Milton may have been used in the House of Lords. The affair, however, as we saw, came to nothing, the project of a Royal Divorce Bill having been abandoned by the King himself on subsequent reflection[1].

The first edition of *Paradise Lost* having re-introduced Milton to the bookselling world, it was natural that more books bearing his name should follow. One would hardly have expected, however, that his next publication after his great epic should be a shabby little Latin Grammar. Yet such we may call "*Accedence Commenc't Grammar, Supply'd with sufficient Rules, For the use of such* (*Younger or Elder*) *as are desirous, without more trouble than needs to attain the Latin Tongue, The Elder sort especially, with little Teaching and their own Industry, By John Milton. London, Printed for S. S. and are to be sold by John Starkey at the Miter in Fleet-street, near Temple-bar*, 1669." It is a small duodecimo, consisting of two pages of preliminary address "To the Reader" and 65 pages of text, with a list of some errata at the end. There can be little doubt that the substance of the thing had been lying among Milton's manuscripts since the days of his pedagogy in Aldersgate Street and Barbican, when the possibility of a far swifter attainment of the Latin tongue than by the ordinary school methods was one of his favourite ideas. That idea is propounded in the preliminary address in terms reminding us of the Letter on Education to Hartlib twenty-five years before. "It hath been long," says Milton, "a general complaint, not "without cause, in the bringing up of youth, and still is, "that the tenth part of a man's life, ordinarily extended, is "taken up in learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin "Tongue. Which tardy proficience may be attributed to "several causes: in particular, the making two labours of "one, by learning first the Accidence, then the Grammar, "in Latin, ere the language of those rules be understood.

[1] Richardson, p. c; Wood's Fasti, I. 433.

"The only remedy of this was to join both books into one, "and in the English tongue." Accordingly, the little book differs from most Latin Grammars of the time in being in English. It is divided into two parts, the first on Etymology, with examples and rules for the inflections of the Latin noun, pronoun, verb, and participle, and the second on Syntax, also with rules and examples. On the whole, though there was a cast of novelty and simplicity in the plan, it can have been in no great demand among teachers, and there have been better Latin primers in English since. The publisher "S. S." was probably Samuel Simmons; but, as the book purports to be "printed *for* S. S.," Milton himself, and not Simmons, may have paid the printing expenses. Dr. Johnson could find nothing remarkable in the book but the proof it afforded that Milton could descend to drudgery.

While treating of Latin grammar, however, it presents us with one interesting peculiarity of Milton's grammar in his own English. This is his abstinence from the pronominal neuter possessive form *its*. The mongrel word had been creeping into use since 1598, in lieu of the genuine old neuter possessive *his*, or the substitute *her*, and it had become so common among Milton's contemporaries, especially after the Restoration, that Dryden, writing in 1672, could assume ignorantly that *its* had been the true possessive of *it* since the beginning of the English language, and accuse Ben Jonson of incorrectness for using *his* instead. What would Dryden have said if he had looked into Milton's *Accedence?* In all Milton's poetry the word *its* occurs but three times, *his* or *her* occurring everywhere else in places in which *its* would now be used; he is likewise very sparing of the form *its* in his prose; but his avoidance of the word in his *Accedence Commenc't Grammar* has all the force of a grammatical protest against the existence of the upstart. Discoursing of the comparison of the Latin Adjective, he says:—"The super-"lative exceedeth *his* positive in the highest degree, as *duris-*"*simus*, hardest; and it is formed of the first case of *his* "positive that ends in *is*, by putting thereto *simus*." Again, in the part on Syntax, we are informed, "There be three

"concords or agreements: The first is of the Adjective with "*his* Substantive; The second is of the Verb with *his* Nomi- "native Case; The third is of the Relative with *his* Antece- "dent"; and, further, "An Adjective with *his* Substantive, "and a Relative with *his* Antecedent, agree in Gender and "Case." So emphatic a preservation of the old neuter English form *his* in a printed book to as late as 1669 is worthy of remark[1].

A far more important publication was Milton's next. It was a rather good-looking small quarto of 308 pages, with an annexed Index of 52 unnumbered pages more, and bore the title "*The History of Britain, That part especially now call'd* "*England. From the first Traditional Beginning, continu'd to* "*the Norman Conquest. Collected out of the antientest and* "*best Authours thereof by John Milton. London, Printed* "*by J. M. for James Allestry, at the Rose and Crown in St.* "*Paul's Church-Yard, MDCLXX.*" This too must have been the mere publication of a manuscript which Milton had long had by him. A History of Britain had been one of the three great prose-tasks he had prescribed for himself in the Aldersgate Street days, the other two being a Latin Dictionary and a Compendium of Biblical Theology; and we have his own distinct statement that in 1648, when he was living in High Holborn, just before he was called to the Latin Secretaryship for the Commonwealth, he had been busy on this History, having already written four books of it, but meaning to persevere till he had brought it down to his own time[2]. The idea of such a complete History of England had since then been necessarily abandoned; but

[1] Original copy of *Accedence Commenc't Grammar* in the British Museum; Reprint in Pickering's 1851 Edition of Milton's Works; Dryden's Defence of his Epilogue to *The Conquest of Granada*, as published in 1672 (Scott's Edition of Dryden, IV. 218—219).——In Anthony Wood's Article on Milton (Fasti, I. 485) the year 1661 is given as the date of the publication of the *Accedence Commenc't Grammar*; and the dating has been generally followed. But the accurate Wood must have made a slip here. The copy in the British Museum is of date 1669; the Bodleian copy, I learn from the Catalogue, is of the same date; I have heard of no copy anywhere bearing any other date; Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual* distinctly gives 1669 as the date, while noticing Todd's adoption of 1661 as inexplicable. Besides, it is difficult to imagine that Milton, just after his escape with his life in 1660, should have hastened to remind the public of his continued existence in such a cool trifle as a Latin Grammar.

[2] Ante, Vol. IV. pp. 77—78.

he had added, probably in the first years of his Secretaryship, two more books to the four already written. It is this narrative in six books, bringing the History of Britain on to the Conquest, that he now sends forth.

The book, as the title indicates, is a compilation from Cæsar, Tacitus, Beda, Gildas, Nennius, the Saxon Annals, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and the other old chroniclers, with help from such more recent authorities as Buchanan, Holinshed, Camden, and Spelman. It has no claim now to the character of a reasoned or ascertained History of Britain before the Conquest; nor indeed did it profess to be such at the time. "I "intend not with controversies and quotations to delay or "interrupt the smooth course of history," the author says near the beginning; "much less to argue and debate long "who were the first inhabitants, with what probabilities, what "authorities, each opinion hath been upheld; but shall en- "deavour that which hitherto hath been needed most, with "plain and lightsome brevity to relate well and orderly "things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and "benefit them that read." Again, in another place, "What "would it be to have inserted the long bead-roll of arch- "bishops, bishops, abbots, abbesses, and their doings, neither "to religion profitable nor to morality, swelling my authors "each to a voluminous body?—by me studiously omitted, and "left as *their* propriety who have a mind to write the ecclesi- "astical matters of those ages; neither do I care to wrinkle "the smoothness of history with rugged names of places "unknown, better harped at in Camden and other choro- "graphers." On the same principle, he will not even investigate legends and fables too sceptically, but will leave them in their places in the stream of tradition. "Ofttimes "relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after "found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of "something true"; and, besides, there is a fine relish in some of the legends themselves. "I have therefore deter- "mined to bestow the telling over even of these reputed tales, "be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets

"and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use "them judiciously." Milton's *History of Britain before the Conquest* is, therefore, not a work of real research and criticism, nor even of patient study and luminous coherent effect. It is a mere popular compilation of such matter as was easily at hand about those old times, by a man who saw in them, for the most part, only a dismal fog of darkness and barbarism, and who wrote all the while with a kind of contempt of the work on which he was engaged, but believed at the same time that a tolerable digest of the strange old stuff might have its uses. Such as it was, it was British and English stuff, a native tradition from the past of these Islands, which ought to be interesting on that account to modern Englishmen, and about which no educated Englishman could afford to be quite ignorant; and, though it was accessible already in various books, a readable reduction of it within moderate compass seemed still a desideratum. It was such a performance that Milton had in view, and he has accomplished it very successfully. His *History of Britain,* while it is a fair and careful abstract of the matter of the chronicles for Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon Britain, has the peculiar merit of containing the most pleasant short compilation we have of those British legends of the mythical or pre-Roman period, and those later legends and semi-legends on to Arthur, which have furnished English poets with their most charming themes, and some acquaintance with which is therefore absolutely necessary for the student of English literature. Without ever deceiving in the matter of credibility, and indeed while sometimes sarcastic in the expression of his scepticism, he can always give the due poetic touch to a striking story. The same faculty accompanies him into the later portions of his narrative, though one feels throughout that his impatience hurries him, and that, even where there is the fullest light from record, neither personages nor transactions are featured with adequate distinctness. Among the earlier personages Boadicea is sketched with the most pains, and he does not like her at all,—"a distracted "woman, with as mad a crew at her heels," a woman "of

"stature big and tall, of visage grim and stern, harsh of voice, "her hair of bright colour flowing down to her hips." Of King Alfred he gives the usual high character, adding that "much more might be said of his noble mind, which rendered "him the mirror of princes." He has a qualified word or two of liking for King Canute. The Norman Conquest is described as the easy and necessary result of the worthlessness, ignorance, and viciousness of the English under their last native kings: "not but that some few of all sorts were much better "among them; but such was the generality; and, as the "long-suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous "days with the good, so His severity ofttimes exempts not "good men from their share in evil times with the bad."

The last quotation illustrates a marked peculiarity of the book. In his letter to Henry de Brass of July 15, 1657, giving his opinion of Sallust as a historian and his notions of the mode in which history should be written, Milton distinctly objects to the habit of interspersing history with "fre- "quent maxims or criticisms on the transactions" (ante, Vol. V. p. 364). His own practice in the *History of Britain* is all the other way. He is perpetually interjecting ethical and political remarks, sometimes in a sarcastic word or two, but occasionally in the form of deliberate and prolonged parenthesis. A collection of these pungent particles and longer passages of Miltonism from the total text of the book, as published in 1670, would fill a good many pages. Sometimes it is the previous writers from whom he is compiling that provoke his jibes: e.g. "William of Malmesbury must be ac- "knowledged, both for style and judgment, to be by far the "best writer of them all; but what labour is to be endured "in turning over volumes of rubbish in the rest, Florence of "Worcester, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, "Matthew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer "note, with all their monachisms, is a penance to think." But for monks and monkery as such, everything specially Romish or Popish, in old English life as well as in literature, he is constantly on the watch; the corruptions of the old clergy and their disastrous influence are a recurring theme;

and he is as fond of a sneer at the vows of chastity and religious seclusion by women in the chronicles as at feminine government and the appearance of women in public affairs. Here and there his sarcasms glance off into studied parallelisms between past and present. Thus, the "gallantry" of the ancient Britons, "painting their own skins with several "portraitures of beast, bird, or flower," is "a vanity which "hath not yet left us, removed only from the skin to the "skirt, behung now with as many coloured ribbands and "gewgaws." Again, in connexion with the story of the offer to the British bishops of payment of their expenses by the Emperor if they would attend a general council of bishops he had summoned at a distant place, and of the compliance of only three, whom poverty constrained, and who thought shame to let their richer brethren pay for them, "esteeming "it more honourable to live on the public than to be obnoxious "to any private purse," Milton cannot refrain from this application of the moral to the Westminster Assembly:— "Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the Presbyters "of our age, who like well to sit in Assembly on the public "stipend, but liked not the poverty that caused these to do "so." Never was a history written, professing only to be a compilation, in which there was more obtrusion of the personal sentiments of the author.

In this respect, however, a certain amount of mystery surrounds the book. Did Milton in 1670 send to press without change the matter which had been lying by him since about 1648, or did he modify it? Farther, in whatever shape the book stood adjusted for publication in 1670, did it then leave the press exactly and in every place as Milton intended? The words on the title-page, *Printed by J. M. for James Allestry*, need not imply, though they may imply, that Milton printed the book himself and employed Allestree to publish it, the rather because there was a London printer of that day whose initials were "J. M." But that Allestree should have been the publisher is remarkable in itself. He had been notoriously a Royalist publisher before the Restoration, and was the same who, in conjunction with Martin and

Dicas, had published Salmasius's posthumous answer to Milton in 1660, and who, in conjunction with Martin alone, had published the second part of Butler's *Hudibras* in 1663. I have not found his registration of Milton's *History of Britain* in the Stationers' Books at the moment of publication; but there can be little doubt that he would not have published such a book unless it had been duly licensed by L'Estrange or some one else. As the author was Milton, and the book a historical one, dealing with kings, queens, and old revolutions in Church and State, the licencer, whoever he was, must have been especially strict in his revision. Accordingly, the distinct tradition is that he was so, and that the book underwent careful official manipulation, and was mutilated by the excision of passages of the manuscript. It may be a question whether there were not also additions here and there, touches by the licencer, which Milton was compelled to accept. There will be occasion to return to this subject. Meanwhile it will be well to remember that Allestree was the publisher and that the work was tampered with to some unascertained extent[1].

An interesting feature of this volume of Milton's has yet to be mentioned. With the exception of Moseley's edition of the Collected Poems in 1645, which contained Marshall's wretched botch professing to be a portrait of Milton, no preceding book of his had been put forth with such an ornament. Prefixed to the *History of Britain*, however, is a portrait which seems to have been expressly made for the purpose. It is a faithfully executed engraving, with this

[1] The non-registration of the book at the time of its original publication may have been caused by Allestree's death about that time and the transference of his business into other hands. I have a copy of the book now before me with a new title-page substituted for that of 1670 and differing in the imprint thus:—"*London, Printed by J. M. for Spencer Hickman, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1671." I infer that Hickman was Allestree's successor, and that his "Rose" in St. Paul's Church-Yard was Allestree's "Rose and Crown" in the same place. Further, in the Stationers' Registers, under date Dec. 29, 1672, I find an entry certifying that Thomas Davies had acquired, "by virtue of an assignment under the hand and seal of John Dunmore, citizen and stationer of London, bearing date the 24th of August 1671," the copyright of twenty-three separate books in one lot, "*Milton's History of England*" one of them, while among the others were Sprat's History of the Royal Society, Hooke's Micrography, Barrow's Optics, and the Second Part of Hudibras. Thus, between 1670 and 1672, we have apparently four proprietors of Milton's book in succession—Allestree, Hickman, Dunmore, and Davies.

inscription underneath, "*Joannis Miltoni Effigies Ætat:* 62. 1670", and with the artist's name also inscribed thus: "*Gul. Faithorne ad Vivum Delin. et sculpsit*" ("Drawn from the life and engraved by William Faithorne").—Faithorne, who had been in arms on the King's side in the Civil Wars, and had been some time in exile, had been a well-known engraver and print-seller in London since 1650, with his shop in the Strand. He had taken high rank in his profession, and had executed many engravings, still valued by collectors. He excelled in portraits; and among the most notable of his engravings of this kind Walpole mentions a portrait of Henrietta Maria, done in Paris, various portraits of English Royalists of rank after Vandyke, a large emblematical print of Cromwell in armour, a portrait of Fairfax after Walker, a portrait of the physician Harvey, one of Sanderson, done in 1658, one of Hobbes, done in 1664, and portraits of Queen Catharine, Lady Castlemaine, and Prince Rupert. Pepys was a not unfrequent visitor at Faithorne's shop and mentions him and works of his admiringly; and the poet Flatman had written of him:—

> A "Faithorne sculpsit" is a charm to save
> From dull oblivion and a gaping grave[1].

Generally, Faithorne worked from pictures or busts by other artists; but sometimes he worked from drawings or paintings done by himself. He had issued in 1662 a treatise on engraving, entitled *The Art of Graveing and Etching, &c.*; and, as this treatise had been published by Allestree, in partnership with Martin and Dicas, the proposal to prefix to Milton's *History of Britain* a portrait of the author by Faithorne may have been Allestree's own[2]. In any case, it was a fortunate proposal, for otherwise posterity would have had no adequate idea of the visage and look of the real Milton. Faithorne did the portrait in crayons, in Milton's

[1] Mr. J. F. Marsh *On the Engraved and Pretended Portraits of Milton* (1860), whence I take Flatman's lines; English Encyclopædia, Art. *Faithorne*, where the facts are from Walpole; Cunningham's London, Art. *Strand*; Pepys, Nov. 7, 1666 and April 9, 1669.

[2] Registration of Faithorne's Treatise under date March 1, 1661–2.

house or in his own studio in the Strand, and he seems also to have made an oil-painting of it, with some differences from the drawing. His engraving for the *History of Britain* was from the crayon-drawing, in which style of art he was more at home than in painting. No one can desire a more impressive and authentic portrait of Milton in his later life. The face is such as has been given to no other human being; it was and is uniquely Milton's. Underneath the broad forehead and arched temples there are the great rings of eye-socket, with the blind unblemished eyes in them, drawn straight upon you by your voice, and speculating who and what you are; there is a severe composure in the beautiful oval of the whole countenance, disturbed only by the singular pouting round the rich mouth; and the entire expression is that of English intrepidity mixed with unutterable sorrow.

As nearly as can be ascertained, it was in or about 1670 that Milton parted with his three daughters. The eldest, Anne, was then twenty-four years of age; the second, Mary, was twenty-two; and the youngest, Deborah, was eighteen. The experiment of their remaining with their father after his third marriage had been persevered in for about seven years, and it seems to have been given up at last, not so much on account of any direct quarrel of the girls with their step-mother as in consequence of their persistent rebellion against the drudgery required from them, or from the two younger, in constantly reading to Milton from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian, and Spanish books. "All which sorts of "books to be confined to read without understanding one "word," says Phillips, "must needs be a trial of patience "almost beyond endurance; yet it was endured by both for "a long time: yet the irksomeness of this employment could "not be always concealed, but broke out more and more into "expressions of uneasiness." The vigilance of the third wife had probably stopped the petty purloinings of which we heard at one time, but the alienation of the three girls from their father, their dissatisfaction with their dull lives in the same house with him, had increased with their years.

Nothing but books and papers, nothing but papers and books! "At length," says Phillips, "they were all, even the "eldest also, sent out to learn some curious and ingenious "sorts of manufacture that are proper for women to learn, "particularly embroideries in gold or silver." This may have been the stepmother's suggestion. The step, at all events, was a wise one, and ought to have been taken before. Had they been the most dutiful daughters in the world, nothing better could have been done for them, by a father who knew that he could not leave them means for their sufficient support after his death, than to put them in the way of earning their own livelihood by some suitable industry. That chosen seems to have been the most open and promising in those days for girls calling themselves gentlewomen. The expense to Milton for their boarding-out and apprenticeship was, we are informed, very heavy [1].

Whether connected with this change of arrangements in the house in Bunhill or not, we hear about the same time of a temporary absence of Milton himself from that house. "About 1670," says Richardson, "I have been told by one "who then knew him that he lodged some time at the house "of Millington, the famous auctioneer some years ago, who "then sold old books in Little Britain, and who used to lead "him by the hand when he went abroad." Millington, who may have been a relative of the regicide Gilbert Millington, is described as having been "a man of remarkable elocution, wit, sense, and modesty," and Milton's temporary residence in his house in Little Britain over the stores of old books may have been agreeable to both. The picture of their companionship in the streets, the cordial and scholarly bookseller leading the blind, and now gouty and stiff-limbed, poet gently by the hand, while they talked together, is one of the pleasantest in Richardson's pages. Painter-like, he completes it for us by telling us how Milton was dressed. "He then wore no sword "that my informant remembers, though probably he did; at "least 'twas his custom not long before to wear one with a

[1] Phillips's Memoir, and evidence given in the case of Milton's Nuncupative Will.

"small silver hilt, and in cold weather a grey camblet coat." The residence with Millington in Little Britain can have been but for some purpose of a temporary nature; and, only adding Millington at this point to the number of Milton's friends, we must return to Bunhill [1].

On the 20th of September 1670 there was this entry in the registers of the Stationers' Company: "Mr. John Starkey "entred for his Copie, under the hands of Mr. Tho. Tomkyns "and Mr. Warden Roper, a Copie or Booke intituled Paradise "regayn'd, A Poem in 4 Bookes. The Author John Milton. "To which is added Samson Agonistes, A drammadic [sic] "Poem, by the same Author." The volume so registered did not appear till some little time afterwards, and then with this title, "*Paradise Regain'd. A Poem. In IV Books. To which is added Samson Agonistes. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleetstreet, near Temple Bar. M D C LXXI.*" On the fly-leaf at the beginning are the words, "Licensed, July 2, 1670." That was the date on which the licencer Tomkyns, the same who had licensed *Paradise Lost*, had passed the two new poems for the press; and the volume, therefore, though dated 1671, may have appeared late in 1670. The publisher Starkey was the same who had published the *Accedence Commenc't Grammar* in 1669; and, though the words "Printed by J. M. for John Starkey," may imply that Milton had printed the book at his own cost, such a conjecture is no more necessary than in the case of the *History of Britain*, "printed by J. M. for James Allestry." The same printer, whose initials chanced to be Milton's, may have been employed by the two publishers. His work in the two Poems is hardly so satisfactory as it had been in the History. The new volume, indeed, was handsome enough in general appearance, a small octavo of 220 pages, the first 112 of which, after the general title-page, contained *Paradise Regained*, while the remainder, with a special title-page and the pages separately numbered thenceforth, contained *Samson Agonistes*. The

[1] Richardson, pp. iii—iv and p. xciii.

paper is thick and the type rather large, with such wide spacing between the lines as to make the reading easy. But the printing is slovenly, and the pointing careless throughout, and sometimes very bad. Milton can have had no such excellent deputy for revising the proof-sheets as when *Paradise Lost* was passing through Simmons's press. These, however, were but mechanical details. The author of *Paradise Lost* had added two new poems to the English language worthy even of that companionship.

Among the many subjects which Milton had noted in 1640–1, as fit for poetic treatment, had been eight from New Testament history. One of these was the death of John the Baptist; the other seven were from the Life of Christ at various points, from his Birth to the Agony in the Garden, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection[1]. Not one of these subjects, however, corresponds exactly with the subject of *Paradise Regained*. That subject had been suggested to Milton, as we know, late in 1665, by what the Quaker Ellwood had said to him, in the cottage in Chalfont St. Giles, while returning the manuscript of *Paradise Lost*. "Thou hast said "much here of Paradise lost, but what hast thou to say of "Paradise found?" had been Ellwood's remark; to which remark, as Ellwood told us, Milton made no answer, but "sat some time in a muse," and then changed the discourse.

We can see now what occurred to Milton in that brief "muse" at Chalfont. It occurred to him that there might very well be a sequel to *Paradise Lost*, such as Ellwood had suggested. There could be no narration, indeed, of the regaining of Paradise as a fact fully accomplished, to the extent of the restoration of all that had been visibly and physically wrecked in the first poem, and the bringing back of Eden upon earth. There was no restored Eden upon earth even while Milton lived and wrote, but sin, war, murder, tyranny, famine, pestilence, as plentiful as in the generations by-gone, and with no visible prospect of their cessation or diminution

[1] Ante, Vol. II. pp. 111—112.

through the ages yet to come. But there had been wrought out in the Life of Christ, as Milton believed, the promise and certainty, at least, of that perfect redemption which had been predicted to Adam by the Archangel Michael at the close of the former poem. By that single life, passed in Judæa seventeen hundred years ago, Paradise had been regained for all mankind in the sense that all human beings, from Adam himself to his latest posterity, had been potentially enabled by it to possess a paradise within themselves meanwhile, and to look forward to the final restitution at that second coming in which Christ should appear—

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> "In glory of the Father, to dissolve
> Satan with his perverted World; then raise
> From the conflagrant mass, purged and refined,
> New Heavens, new Earth, Ages of endless date,
> Founded in righteousness and peace and love."

There might therefore, fitly enough, be an epic from the life of Christ with the title of *Paradise Regained* and artistically a sequel to *Paradise Lost*. But, that it might be artistically such a sequel, care must be taken to select that portion of the life of Christ which could be made the most exact counterpoise to the story of the former poem. Now, the part of the narrative in the Gospels to which Milton was irresistibly drawn by his especial purpose was the Temptation in the Wilderness. It was there that Satan, the conqueror of the world in the former poem by his temptation of Adam and Eve, reappeared as one fully habituated to the rule of that world by his possession of it for some thousands of years, but with the uneasy sense that the prophesied "greater man" was now alive somewhere that was to wrest it from him. It was for Milton to resume the story of his former Satan at this point of his existence, when he was no longer the great rebel archangel, winging at will through all infinitude, mundane and extra-mundane, in quest of an empire, but only the prince of the powers of the air, content with the one bridge that had been built for him through chaos to connect his hell with the mundane world, and so accustomed to his self-selected function at the centre of that mundane world as to

have lost every lineament of the archangel, and degenerated into the mere devil of terrestrial meteorology, the magician of mists and marshes. It was for Milton to bring this changed Satan by the side of that Second Adam whose advent he feared, to narrate the temptation by which he sought to find whether there was also weakness in this Second Adam, and to exhibit him foiled, exasperated, and put to flight. After the discomfiture of Satan by Christ in the temptation of the three days all the rest was certain, though it was yet to come; and an epic on that single portion of Christ's life might therefore justly entitle itself *Paradise Regained*. The authorities would be Matthew iv. 1–11, Mark i. 12–13, and Luke iv. 1–13; but, while adhering strictly to these authorities, Milton could use his own imagination, and could study connexion with *Paradise Lost*.

It is possible that the poem was begun in 1665 at Chalfont. It is possible also that it was finished before the publication of *Paradise Lost* in 1667, and that the wording of some parts of that poem may have been altered at the last moment to hint the coming sequel. Our only information on the point is from Ellwood. Having mentioned Milton's return to London on the cessation of the Plague early in 1666, he adds, "And, when afterwards I went to wait on him there (which "I seldom failed of doing, whenever my occasions drew me to "London), he showed me his second poem, called *Paradise* "*Regained*, and in a pleasant tone said to me, 'This is owing "to you; for you put it into my head by the question you "put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought "of[1].'" This only certifies that Ellwood saw *Paradise Regained* in one of his visits to Milton in London after the Great Plague, but does not certify that it was on the first of these visits, or even on the second or third. Though the possibility, therefore, is that the poem was ready in 1667 and might have then been published with *Paradise Lost*, the time of its dictation may have been any time between 1665 and July 2, 1670, when Tomkyns licensed the manuscript. Phillips

[1] Ellwood's Life, edit. 1714, p. 247.

ventures on the opinion that the poem was "begun and finished and printed" by his uncle after the publication of its predecessor, i.e. between August 1667 and July 1670,—"a wonderful short space considering the sublimeness of it," he adds rather oddly; but this opinion was only from guess.

A more definite piece of information from Phillips is that, though *Paradise Regained* was "generally censured to be much inferior to the other," Milton himself "could not hear "with patience any such thing when related to him." As usual, the statement has been exaggerated in the repetition, so that we commonly hear and read that Milton preferred his *Paradise Regained* to his *Paradise Lost*. There is no warrant whatever for that idea, but only for the fact that he did not like his shorter epic to be decried in comparison with his longer. "Possibly the subject," says Phillips, "may not "afford such variety of invention, but it is thought by the "most judicious to be little or nothing inferior to the other "for style and decorum." That is the criticism which Milton would probably have accepted, and with which we may now agree. In 1641, when taking the public for the first time into his confidence about his literary plans and dreamings, Milton had recognised, as among the forms of poetry open to him, "that epick form whereof the two poems of "Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a "*diffuse*, and the Book of Job a *brief*, model." As his *Paradise Lost* had been a Miltonic specimen of the epic after the more diffuse or complex model, so his *Paradise Regained* was a Miltonic experiment in the epic after the briefer model. So understood, the smaller poem, in four succinct books, was no less a success than the larger one in ten books of double length each. The theme chosen was managed beautifully to its utmost capabilities; and, if Milton's *Paradise Regained* has not engraved itself into the imagination of the world so deeply as his *Paradise Lost*, it is only because the story of the three days of Christ's Temptation attracts less than the story of Satan's Rebellion, the Creation of the Universe, and the Fall of Man.

The smaller epic is even more purely objective in its

character throughout than the larger. Milton's chief aim was simply to think out all the details of the story as it is suggested by the evangelists, and especially by Luke, and to present them in that form of vivid optical phantasy which constitutes a poem proper as distinct from a song or lyric. There are very few poems indeed that possess in so marked a degree this quality of visuality, or pictorial clearness and coherence, from first to last:—We see the baptism of Christ at thirty years of age by John at Bethabara on the Jordan. We see Christ for the few next days in his mother's house in Bethabara, meditating his proclaimed Messiahship, with his first disciples already around him. Then we see him led by his thoughts into the wilderness, and his forty days of solitary wandering and fasting amid the dreary and dusky horrors. On the fortieth day we see Satan's stealthy approach to him in the guise of an aged man in rural weeds that had come to gather sticks or was in quest of a stray ewe. We see the temptation begun in its first form of an appeal to Christ's hunger, and we listen to the dialogue till the day ends, Satan withdraws, "bowing low his gray dissimulation," and the shades of night come over the desert.—In the second book, after an episodic account of the perplexity of Mary and the disciples at Bethabara since Christ's mysterious disappearance, and an account also of Satan's consultation with his council of evil spirits, we see the temptation renewed. Through all the rest of that Book, the whole of Book III, and two-thirds of Book IV, we are reading of the second day's temptation. It consists first of a repetition of the hunger-temptation of the preceding day, and then of a protracted appeal to Christ's ambition. This includes the instantaneous conveyance of Christ out of the wilderness, by Satan's magical art, to the top of the specular mount, whence there is the vision of all the kingdoms of the earth. One can hardly admire too much the learning and the artistic management shown in this kernel of the poem. In the vision of the kingdoms we have a splendid and yet most exact account of the political state of the world in the time of Tiberius Cæsar. The world was then bisected into the two great empires of the

Romans and the Parthians, the one mainly western or European, and the other eastern or Asiatic, with Syria as the debateable land between them. There is an air of Machiavellian ability in the minute explanation of this by Satan and in his suggestion to Christ of the various ways in which, as claimant of David's throne or the old Hebrew monarchy from Egypt to the Euphrates, he might at that moment strike in between the Roman and the Parthian and avail himself of their rivalry. The interjected sketch of Hebrew history from the time of the Maccabees is also masterly. But our wonder at so much geographical and historical knowledge, all so poetically compact and relevant, passes into new wonder as the temptation changes its form. The trial of Christ's supposed ambition of kingship or political power having failed, the appeal is next to his supposed passion for prophetship, teachership, intellectual activity and distinction. Here, still from the specular mount, our eyes are turned from the splendours of Asia and from the Rome of Tiberius, and are fastened on Greece and Athens. Nothing could be more brilliant in its rapidity than the summary of the historical glories of Greek thought and literature. But even that fails to tempt; and, Satan's whole labour of the second day having been in vain, we are swiftly back by his magic from the specular mount into the wilderness once more. No passage of the poem is finer than the description of the ensuing night of stormy rain and lightning, with fiendish gibberings and other sounds of ghastliness, around the sleeping Christ.—Morning rises fair in amice grey after the dreadful night, and there comes the temptation of the third day, or rather of only part of that day; for the result of this third temptation, the subtlest of all, is evident in short space. Satan, professing that he has found Christ unassailable hitherto, and that he waits only for some indubitable proof that he is the Son of God to desist from all farther trial of his firmness and confess himself conquered, conveys him, by another magical journey through the air, to the topmost pinnacle of the Temple in Jerusalem. Placing him there, the Tempter solicits his presumable vanity in its highest form, requesting the single

miracle of his descent without harm, and quoting the scriptural prophecy of him which will then be verified. Christ replies with another quotation from Scripture, and stands unmoved. Not so the Fiend. Smitten with amazement, he falls ingloriously, flying while he falls, and carrying the news of his defeat and of Christ's victory into the infernal council. Round Christ meanwhile there gathers a globe of angels, who bear him softly down on their wings, as on a floating couch, into a flowery valley. There rested and refreshed, he returns home unobserved to his mother's house, after all the angels have sung the hymn of his proved Messiahship:—

> "Now thou hast avenged
> Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing
> Temptation, hast regained lost Paradise,
> And frustrated the conquest fraudulent."

While the poem is thus, like *Paradise Lost*, mainly and distinctively one of the objective order, there are, of course, as in everything that Milton wrote, those peculiar subjective characteristics which we recognise as the Miltonic. In the sentiments of the dialogue between Satan and Christ, and more especially in those put in the mouth of Christ and therefore approved as the best, we can hear Milton himself speaking and moralizing. Quotation from *Paradise Regained* here ought to be for biographical reasons only; and it will be enough to ask the reader to re-peruse the following passages, regarding them as the expression of Milton's notions of literature in his sixty-second year, when the English Literature immediately around him was that of the Restoration. He distributes his opinions, it will be observed, between Satan and Christ, making Satan the spokesman for Greek literature, and then not cancelling what Satan has said, but only correcting and modifying it, by Christ's assertion of certain diviner grandeurs in the literature of the Hebrews:—

CLASSIC LITERATURE, ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE GREEKS.

(*Satan loquitur.*)

> "All knowledge is not couched in Moses' law,
> The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote;

The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
To admiration, led by Nature's light;
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st.
Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,
Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?
How wilt thou reason with them, how refute
Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?
Error by his own arms is best evinced.
Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward: much nearer by south-west, behold
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
Built nobly, pure the air and light the soil,—
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.
See there the olive-grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;
There, flowery hill, Hymettus, with the sound
Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls
His whispering stream. Within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages: his who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there; and painted Stoa next.
There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand, and various-measured verse,
Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,
Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called,
Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own.
Thence what the lofty grave Tragedians taught
In chorus or iambic, teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight received
In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
Of fate and chance, and change in human life,
High actions and high passions best describing.

Thence to the famous Orators repair,
Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democraty,
Shook the Arsenal, and fulmined over Greece
To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne.
To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,
From heaven descended to the low-roofed house
Of Socrates,—see there his tenement,—
Whom, well inspired, the oracle pronounced
Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth
Mellifluous streams, that watered all the schools
Of Academics old and new, with those
Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoic severe."

HEBREW LITERATURE COMPARED WITH CLASSIC.

(*Christus loquitur.*)

"Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,
Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the World began, and how Man fell,
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
Much of the soul they talk, but all awry;
And in themselves seek virtue; and to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give none;
Rather accuse him under usual names,
Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite
Of mortal things. Who, therefore, seeks in these
True wisdom finds her not, or, by delusion
Far worse, her false appearance only meets,
An empty cloud. However, many books,
Wise men have said, are wearisome; who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior
(And what he brings what needs he elsewhere seek?)
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep-versed in books and shallow in himself,
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge,
As children gathering pebbles on the shore.
Or, if I would delight my private hours

With music or with poem, where so soon
As in our native language can I find
That solace? All our Law and Story strewed
With hymns, our Psalms with artful terms inscribed,
Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
That pleased so well our victor's ear, declare
That rather Greece from us these arts derived,
Ill imitated while they loudest sing
The vices of their deities, and their own,
In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
Their gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
Remove their swelling epithets, thick-laid
As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
Thin-sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is praised aright and godlike men,
The Holiest of Holies and his Saints
(Such are from God inspired, not such from thee);
Unless where moral virtue is expressed
By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.
Their orators thou then extoll'st as those
The top of eloquence: statists indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may seem;
But herein to our Prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms and lays cities flat."

Samson Agonistes, though published in the same volume with *Paradise Regained*, had a separate title-page, thus:— "*Samson Agonistes, A Dramatic Poem. The Author John Milton.* — *Aristot. Poet. Cap.* 6. Τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, &c. *Tragœdia est imitatio actionis seriae, &c. Per misericordiam et metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.*— *London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey at the Mitre in*

Fleetstreet, near Temple-Bar. M DC LXXI." We have no information as to the date of the composition, except what is conveyed in the poem itself. That certifies it beyond all doubt as a post-Restoration poem; and the most probable date is between 1666 and 1670.

The first thing to be remarked about this latest production of Milton's muse is that it was in the dramatic form.—Milton had used that form in his youth, in his fragment of a masque called *Arcades*, and in his perfect and elaborate masque of *Comus*. Not only had those pieces been dramatic in character; they had been actually written for theatrical performance by the young members of one noble family, the latter on a stage in the great hall of Ludlow Castle on a semi-public occasion. That Milton had not then shared the antipathy of Prynne and the other straiter Puritans to the Acted Drama is proved also by the fact that he had attended theatres freely enough in his college days and afterwards, and by his admiring references in his earlier poems to the acted plays of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Even then, it is true, he had been disgusted with the moral degradation of the theatres, fed as they were for the most part by "the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters." As late as 1641, however, when he had published this disgust, his faith had been in a reformation of the stage by State authority rather than in its prohibition or suppression. "It were happy for the commonwealth," he had then written, "if our magistrates, "as in those famous governments of old, would take into "their care not only the deciding of our contentious law-"cases and brawls, but the managing of our public sports "and festival pastimes"; and he had explained his meaning farther by advising "the procurement of wise and artful "recitations" and other "eloquent and graceful enticements" for the instruction and improvement of the nation, "not "only in pulpits, but, after another persuasive method, at "set and solemn paneguries in theatres, porches, or what "other place[1]." And, if not then a foe to the Acted

[1] Reason of Church-Government, 1641.

Drama, much less had he objected to the Drama as a form of poetic literature. On the contrary, he had himself tended to that form by preference in his meditations, after his return from Italy, over "something" in English to be "so written to aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die," and in his collection in 1640 and 1641 of subjects from Scripture and from British history from among which he might select the "something" that promised best. All or most of those subjects, including *Paradise Lost* itself, had been projected in the form of tragedies; and, though in announcing his literary aspirations to the public he had dilated on the competing claims of the Epic and the Lyric, his deliberate affection seemed still to be for "those Dramatic constitutions wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign," and of which he found Biblical examples in the Song of Solomon and the Apocalypse[1].—So to Milton's twenty-fourth year and the beginning of the Civil Wars. In the suppression of the Stage then by the Long Parliament, and in its abeyance thenceforward till the eve of the Restoration, he had, doubtless, acquiesced without difficulty, if only on grounds of political or social necessity. With this acquiescence, however, there had come necessarily a weakening of his private affection for the dramatic form itself. The Acted Drama having vanished, there was less of the dramatic taste and instinct in poetry than there had been, less of inducement to abide by the dramatic form in writing. Hence, when *Paradise Lost* was resumed, it was not as a tragedy with choruses, but as an epic.—But the reinstitution of the Stage at the Restoration, and the prodigious dramatic bustle of Davenant's renewed Laureateship, had not been without effects upon Milton. No more could he witness acted plays, good or bad; but of all that Davenant had been doing for his theatre, and Killigrew for his, and of the plays produced at the two theatres, and especially the rhymed tragedies of Orrery, Sir Robert Howard, Dryden, and others, he had heard and tasted enough in his privacy. Why should he not revert to the dramatic form himself, in at least one

[1] See ante, Vol. II. 117—119.

poetic performance of his later years, if only to show these rhymers and playwrights what a drama should be? The story of the Hebrew Samson had been in his repertory of subjects for possible dramas since 1641, when he had jotted down "*Samson Pursophorus or Hybristes* or *Samson Marrying or Ramath-Lechi*" as a likely subject from Judges xvi[1]. He had jotted down these subjects then on mere poetic speculation, little knowing how much of his own future life was to correspond with the fate of that particular hero of the Hebrews. The experience had come, coincidence after coincidence, shock after shock, till there was not one of all the Hebrew heroes so constantly in his imagination as the blind Samson captive among the Philistines. If he were to write a scriptural tragedy now, not Abraham, nor Lot, nor Joshua, nor Gideon, nor Saul, nor David, nor Ahab, nor Hezekiah, nor any of those others whose lives he had once contemplated as fit for dramatic treatment, could compete in his regards with Samson the Wrestler. A tragedy on Samson would be in effect a metaphor of the tragedy of his own life. That, therefore, by destiny as much as by choice, was Milton's dramatic subject after the Restoration.

In his preface to the poem, entitled "Of that sort of Dramatic Poem called Tragedy," Milton asserts his continued or revived belief in the nobleness of Tragedy as a form of literature, but expounds also his ideal of Tragedy, and informs his readers what peculiarities they are to expect in the specimen of Tragedy now before them. "Tragedy," he says, "as it was anciently composed, hath been ever held "the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other "poems; therefore said by Aristotle to be of power, by rais-"ing pity and fear or terror, to purge the mind of those "and such-like passions: that is, to temper and reduce "them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirred "up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated." Philosophers and the gravest writers in all ages, he goes on to say, have given their testimony in favour of Tragedy by quoting from the tragic poets; a verse from Euripides,

[1] See ante, Vol. II. p. 110.

quoted by St. Paul, is actually bedded into the text of the New Testament[1]; according to one eminent commentator the whole book of the Apocalypse was a tragedy divided into acts and choruses; Emperors and Kings had been ambitious to write a tragedy; and one had been written by Gregory Nazianzen, a Father of the Church. "This is "mentioned," he continues, "to vindicate Tragedy from the "small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of "many it undergoes at this day, with other common inter- "ludes; happening through the poet's error of intermixing "comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity, or introducing "trivial and vulgar persons: which by all judicious hath "been counted absurd, and brought in without discretion, "corruptly to gratify the people." It is impossible not to see a reflection here upon the practice of Shakespeare and others of the Elizabethans. In the present tragedy, at all events, that fault is avoided. It is a tragedy after the severe Greek model, rather than after the recent English; and of its plot and other merits "they only will best judge "who are not unacquainted with Æschylus, Sophocles, and "Euripides, the three tragic poets unequalled yet by any." The dialogue is interspersed with chorus, after the Greek manner, still kept up by the Italians; and the verse in the chorus is irregular and of all sorts. One of the so-called unities at least has been studied: for "the circumscription "of time wherein the whole drama begins and ends is, "according to ancient rule and best example, within the "space of twenty-four hours." Formal or numerical division into act and scene is omitted, that being only a custom of convenience for the stage, "to which this work never was intended."—The last words are significant. They do not imply that Milton would not willingly have consented to the production of his *Samson* on the stage had it been possible. My belief is that he would have regarded such a production as an example towards the restoration of

[1] 1 Corinth. xv. 33: "Evil communications corrupt good manners." The Greek so translated is an Iambic verse, found both in a fragment of Euripides and in one of the comic poet Menander.

the stage to its right uses, just as my belief is that now or at any time *Samson Agonistes*, in proper hands, might make a grand stage performance. But, practically, there was no question on the subject. Neither Killigrew of the King's theatre, nor Davenant's successors in the management of the Duke's, wanted any such thing; nor perhaps would the authorities have allowed the representation. In short, Milton had published the tragedy merely as a poem to be read.

Published at a time when the tragedies most in repute were such as Orrery's *Mustapha*, Howard's *Indian Queen*, and Dryden's *Indian Emperor*, *Tyrannic Love*, and *Conquest of Granada*, the new poem was a lecture in literary art. Critics would note at once that the dialogue was in blank verse, and yet that Milton had not deigned even to mention that fact in his preface, but had treated the demand for rhyme in tragedy as a temporary hallucination, unworthy of notice. The poem was therefore Milton's third appearance in behalf of blank verse in the controversy then raging. In his *Paradise Lost* and his *Paradise Regained*, indeed, his championship of blank verse had been bolder than it was in the *Samson*, inasmuch as in the former two he had vindicated its supremacy even in the epic, where no one had dreamt of seeing it, while in the last he only added his authority to that of many others in behalf of the retention of the old English practice of blank verse for the drama. Still the fact that he had thus kept to blank verse in his tragic dialogue could not escape remark. On the other hand, he had introduced some puzzling novelties of versification in his choruses and the lyrical soliloquies of Samson. His consciousness that they were novelties appears from the elaborate sentence on the subject in his preface. In the verse of his lyrical passages, he there explained, he held himself free from any law of metrical uniformity; and, on examination, critics would see this to be the fact. The choruses and lyrical pieces are, in the main, in iambic measure, like the dialogue; but the lines are of varying lengths, from short lines of two iambi each to the Alexandrine of six iambi. Being also for the most part unrhymed,

they differ in that respect from the so-called Pindarics of Cowley and others. On the whole the verse in the lyric parts of *Samson* may be described as that of the free musical paragraph, the length of line determined by the amount and kind of meaning and feeling from moment to moment. There are, however, two complicating specialities. In the first place, though the verse in the lyric parts is prevailingly iambic, yet often there are such liberties as give a trochaic effect, and now and then there are the most extraordinary dactylic or anapæstic touches in single lines or in passages. In the second place, the free musical paragraph, especially when the chorus speaks, tends to break itself, by pauses, into irregular stanzas, and to aid in this there is sometimes the subtle introduction of a rhyme, and even of a rhyme quaint in itself, into the flow of the blank. One marks with interest this curious occasional use of rhyme by Milton in the lyric parts of his *Samson*, three years after he had taken farewell of rhyme, as if for ever, in his prefatory note to *Paradise Lost*. In that note, indeed, there had been just a shade of reserve for rhyme in smaller pieces; but, even had there been no reserve, Milton was too exquisite a metrical artist to feel himself bound by an absolute law. While all his poems may be studied for their metrical art, the *Lycidas* of his early manhood and the *Samson Agonistes* of his later age are perhaps the most instructive and illustrative in the matter of his theory of metrical liberty and artifice. The later poem is the sterner and more daring in its prosody, as in its subject and nature; but both are consummate specimens of English verse, and they have points in common in that character[1].

If the critic passed from such minutiæ of form and mechanism to the substance of the poem, the superiority to all that was contemporary ought to have been equally apparent. Here was a classic work, simple and strong in structure, noble and beautiful in thought and language, with not a languid or flaccid passage in it, but every paragraph

[1] The chorus from line 293 to line 329 of the *Samson* may be referred to for some of the peculiarities of verse described in the text.

like wrought metal for weight and finish. It was as if there were an English Sophocles or Euripides writing on a Hebrew subject. Here again, as in *Paradise Regained*, the optical coherence of the story was perfect. Milton had studied the entire history of Samson as it is told in Judges xiii–xvi, and knew it in its every detail; but what he images forth in the drama is the last day of the hero's life in his captivity among the Philistines:—It was a holiday among the Philistines in honour of their god Dagon, and we hear and see the blind Samson soliloquizing in the open air near his prison in Gaza, relieved for that day from his task-work, but with his ankles fettered. The chorus of his countrymen of Dan comes in, condoling with him and comforting him; and his aged father, Manoa, comes in, condoling and comforting too, and intimating his hope of success in his suit to the Philistine lords for his son's ransom. Dalila, the treacherous wife, sails in, decked like a ship of Tarsus bound for the Isles, and there is the scene of accusation and recrimination between her and Samson. The Philistine giant, Harapha of Gath, next strides in, taunts Samson, is answered with defiance and counter-taunts, and retires crestfallen, but threatening revenge. Soon, accordingly, there arrives the public officer, sent to bring Samson to the temple of Dagon, where the Philistine lords, and a vast multitude with them, are assembled in festival to the god. They want to see their great enemy in his slavery and blindness, and be amused by his feats of strength. He refuses to do wrong to his religion by attending their heathenish rites. No sooner is the officer gone with this refusal than a thought occurs to Samson, which he does not reveal; and, when the officer returns, with powers to drag him to the temple by engines if he resists, he goes willingly. "Go, and the Holy One of Israel be thy guide," say the chorus watching him depart, they themselves remaining behind. Manoa, who had gone out on the business of his son's ransom, now returns, and informs the chorus how he has negotiated with the chief Philistine lords one by one and considers the business nearly concluded. While Manoa and the chorus are conversing, there is heard the

great shout which announces that Samson has arrived at the temple and is under the gaze of his assembled enemies. The chorus and Manoa then resume their talk, Manoa picturing the peaceful years which may yet be in reserve for his son when he is restored to his country, there to be tended in his blindness, and honoured for his past achievements. The chorus are sympathizing with the old man and encouraging his hope, when

> "O, what noise!
> Mercy of Heaven! what hideous noise was that?
> Horribly loud, unlike the former shout."

In consternation, Manoa and the chorus are conjecturing what the dreadful accident may have been when there runs in a breathless messenger. He is a Hebrew who had chanced to be at the temple on the skirts of the Philistine crowd, and had seen Samson brought in; and now he relates what had happened. The building was a great theatre, one half of it arched over and supported by two main pillars in the midst, the rest open to the sky. Within the covered space, on seats rising tier after tier, were the lords and all others of any considerable rank; in the open space was the unprivileged throng, clustered on scaffolds and benches. Samson had been brought in, clad in state livery as a public servant, preceded by pipes and timbrels, and attended by an armed guard. After the first shout of his reception, he had patiently let himself be led to the stage where his feats of strength were expected, and had performed incredibly whatever of that sort had been demanded. For an interval of rest his guide had then led him to the central spot between the two pillars; against which, as if over-tired, he leant a little while, with his arms outstretched to feel them. He had stooped for a moment as if praying, and then for the first time had spoken out. Hitherto, he said to the Philistines, his feats had been according to command, but he would now perform for them one more of his own accord.

> "This uttered, straining all his nerves, he bowed;
> As with the force of winds and waters pent

When mountains tremble, those two massy pillars
With horrible convulsion to and fro
He tugged, he shook, till down they came, and drew
The whole roof after them with burst of thunder
Upon the heads of all who sat beneath,
Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests,
Their choice nobility and flower, not only
Of this, but each Philistian city round,
Met from all parts to solemnize this feast.
Samson, with these immixed, inevitably
Pulled down the same destruction on himself:
The vulgar only scaped, who stood without."

Such is the scheme of Milton's drama, and it is impossible to point out a single particular in which, having chosen for his subject the Biblical story of Samson's dying revenge, he has overstrained it for a personal purpose. Neither in the plot nor in the language of the dialogue or the choruses is anything forced, anything inserted that is out of keeping with the incidents of the Hebrew legend, as they might be reconceived for narration by the coolest poetic artist. The poem indeed was offered by Milton to the public simply as a specimen of pure and careful dramatic production after the Greek model. This is seen in his preface, where the points discussed are exactly such as might have been discussed in a critical essay by Dryden or Boileau. The marvel, then, is that this purely artistic drama, this strictly objective poetic creation, should have been all the while so profoundly and intensely subjective. Nothing put forth by Milton in verse in his whole life is so vehement an exhibition of his personality, such a proclamation of his own thoughts about himself and about the world around him, as his *Samson Agonistes*. But, indeed, there is no marvel in the matter. The Hebrew Samson among the Philistines and the English Milton among the Londoners of the reign of Charles the Second were, to all poetic intents, one and the same person. They were one and the same not only by the similarity of their final circumstances, but also by the reminiscences of their previous lives. That was, no doubt, the great recom-

mendation to Milton in his last years of the subject he had thought of only casually, amid so many others, a quarter of a century before. By choosing that subject he had taken means to be thoroughly himself once more in addressing his countrymen, to be able to say what he would as tremendously as he could, and yet defy the censorship.

Let us look at some of the passages which Mr. Tomkyns the licencer was obliged to pass for the press because, though the writer was Mr. Milton, they could not possibly be ejected from a tragedy on Samson if it were to be allowed to go forth at all.

Take Samson's soliloquy on his blindness, and think of Milton as you read :—

"But, chief of all,
O loss of sight, of thee I most complain.
Blind among enemies! O worse than chains,
Dungeon, or beggary, or decrepit age!
Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct,
And all her various objects of delight
Annulled, which might in part my grief have eased.
Inferior to the vilest now become
Of man or worm, the vilest here excel me :
They creep, yet see ; I, dark in light, exposed
To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong,
Within doors or without, still as a fool
In power of others, never in my own,—
Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.
O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
Without all hope of day!
O first-created beam, and thou great Word,
'Let there be light, and light was over all,'
Why am I thus bereaved thy prime decree?
The Sun to me is dark
And silent as the Moon
When she deserts the night,
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.
Since light so necessary is to life,
And almost life itself, if it be true

That light is in the soul,
She all in every part, why was the sight
To such a tender ball as the eye confined,
So obvious and so easy to be quenched,
And not, as feeling, through all parts diffused,
That she might look at will through every pore?
Then had I not been thus exiled from light,
As in the land of darkness, yet in light,
To live a life half dead, a living death,
And buried; but, O yet more miserable!
Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave;
Buried, yet not exempt,
By privilege of death and burial,
From worst of other evils, pains, and wrongs;
But made hereby obnoxious more
To all the miseries of life,
Life in captivity
Among inhuman foes.
But who are these? for with joint pace I hear
The tread of many feet steering this way;
Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare
At my affliction, and perhaps to insult."

Though we have had Milton's own word to Philaras that he had submitted to his affliction without repining, and his word to Cyriack Skinner that he had not argued against heaven's will or bated a jot of heart or hope, and though we have seen the fact for ourselves manifestly enough, there must have been hours and hours, especially after the Restoration, when this meditation on his blindness recurred to him overpoweringly, and his dejection was extreme. Again, while Samson speaks, let Milton be imagined:—

"Now blind, disheartened, shamed, dishonoured, quelled,
To what can I be useful? wherein serve
My nation, and the work from Heaven imposed?
But to sit idle on the household hearth,
A burdenous drone; to visitants a gaze,
Or pitied object; these redundant locks,
Robustious to no purpose, clustering down,
Vain monument of strength; till length of years

And sedentary numbness craze my limbs
To a contemptible old age obscure."

The depression is at its deepest in the following lines, the last of which is among the most pathetic in the English language :—

"My thoughts portend
That these dark orbs no more shall treat with light,
Nor the other light of life continue long,
But yield to double darkness nigh at hand;
So much I feel my genial spirits droop,
My hopes all flat: Nature within me seems
In all her functions weary of herself;
My race of glory run, and race of shame,
And I shall shortly be with them that rest."

In one of the choruses there is this distinct glance at the Restoration itself, with all its circumstances of reaction and of revenge on the regicides, and its effects on Milton's fortunes in particular :—

"God of our fathers! what is Man,
That thou towards him with hand so various,—
Or might I say contrarious?—
Temper'st thy providence through his short course:
Not evenly, as thou rul'st
The angelic orders, and inferior creatures mute,
Irrational and brute?
Nor do I name of men the common rout,
That, wandering loose about,
Grow up and perish as the summer fly,
Heads without name, no more remembered;
But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
To some great work, thy glory,
And people's safety, which in part they effect.
Yet toward these, thus dignified, thou oft,
Amidst their highth of noon,
Changest thy countenance and thy hand, with no regard
Of highest favours past
From thee on them, or them to thee of service.

Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
To life obscured, which were a fair dismission,
But throw'st them lower than thou didst exalt them high,—
Unseemly falls in human eye,
Too grievous for the trespass or omission;
Oft leav'st them to the hostile sword
Of heathen and profane, their carcases
To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captived,
Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,
And condemnation of the ungrateful multitude.
If these they scape, perhaps in poverty
With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down,
Painful diseases and deformed,
In crude old age;
Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
The punishment of dissolute days."

On the general autobiographical significance of the episode of Dalila's entry and her dialogue with Samson there has been sufficient remark; but it may not have been noted how much of the following, from the chorus on her departure, is almost literal excerpt from Milton's Divorce Pamphlets, and how strongly the whole sums up his incurably perverted opinion of women:—

"Is it for that such outward ornament
Was lavished on their sex, that inward gifts
Were left for haste unfinished, judgment scant,
Capacity not raised to apprehend
Or value what is best
In choice, but oftest to affect the wrong?
Or was too much of self-love mixed,
Of constancy no root infixed,
That either they love nothing, or not long?
Whate'er it be, to wisest men and best
Seeming at first all heavenly under virgin veil,
Soft, modest, meek, demure,
Once joined, the contrary she proves,—a thorn
Intestine, far within defensive arms
A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue
Adverse and turbulent; or by her charms

Draws him awry, enslaved
With dotage, and his sense depraved
To folly and shameful deeds, which ruin ends.
What pilot so expert but needs must wreck,
Embarked with such a steers-mate at the helm?
Favoured of Heaven who finds
One virtuous, rarely found,
That in domestic good combines!
Happy that house! his way to peace is smooth:
But virtue which breaks through all opposition,
And all temptation can remove,
Most shines and most is acceptable above.
Therefore God's universal law
Gave to the man despotic power
Over his female in due awe,
Nor from that right to part an hour,
Smile she or lour:
So shall he least confusion draw
On his whole life, not swayed
By female usurpation nor dismayed."

In the chained Samson's challenge to the giant Harapha may we not read Milton's own unabated pugnacity, his longing for another Salmasius to grapple with, his chafing under the public silence to which he is enforced in the midst of repeated attacks and insults?

"Therefore, without feign'd shifts, let be assigned
Some narrow place enclosed, where sight may give thee,
Or rather flight, no great advantage on me;
Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet
And brigandine of brass, thy broad habergeon,
Vant-brace and greaves and gauntlet; add thy spear,
A weaver's beam, and seven-times-folded shield:
I only with an oaken staff will meet thee,
And raise such outcries on thy clattered iron,
Which long shall not withhold me from thy head,
That in a little time, while breath remains thee,
Thou oft shalt wish thyself at Gath, to boast
Again in safety what thou wouldst have done
To Samson, but shalt never see Gath more."

The management needed for Milton's escape from punishment at the Restoration, and the variety of opinions in Parliament and at Court in his case, seem to be hinted at in Manoa's account of his negotiations with the Philistine lords for the ransom of Samson :—

"I have attempted, one by one, the lords,
Either at home, or through the high street passing,
With supplication prone and father's tears,
To accept of ransom for my son, their prisoner.
Some much averse I found, and wondrous harsh,
Contemptuous, proud, set on revenge and spite;
That part most reverenced Dagon and his priests:
Others more moderate seeming, but their aim
Private reward, for which both God and State
They easily would set to sale: a third
More generous far and civil, who confessed
They had enough revenged, having reduced
Their foe to misery beneath their fears;
The rest was magnaminity to remit,
If some convenient ransom were proposed."

But in the entire idea of the drama what else have we than a representation of the Puritan and Republican Milton in his secret antagonism to all the powers and all the fashions of the Restoration? Who are the Philistines but the partisans of the Restoration, all and sundry, its authors and abettors before the fact, and its multitudinous applauders and sycophants through the nation afterwards? Who are the Philistine lords and ladies, and captains, and priests, assembled in their seats within the covered part of the temple of Dagon on the day of festival? Who but Charles himself, and the Duke of York, and the whole pell-mell of the Clarendons, Buckinghams, Buckhursts, Killigrews, Castlemaines, Moll Davises, Nell Gwynns, Sheldons, Morleys, and some hundreds of others, men and women, priests and laymen, with even Anglesey, Howard, and Dryden included, that formed the court-society of England in that most swinish period of her annals? They were of all varieties individually, the more respectable and the less respectable, and some of

them now in friendly relations with Milton; but, collectively, in his regard, they were all Philistines. There were moments, I believe, in Milton's musings by himself, when it was a fell pleasure to him to imagine some exertion of his strength, like that legendary one of Samson's, by which, clutching the two central pillars of the Philistine temple, he might tug and strain till he brought down the whole fabric in crash upon the heads of the heathenish congregation, perishing himself in the act, but leaving England bettered by the carnage. That was metaphorical musing only, a dream of the embers, all fantastical. But was there not a very real sense in which he had been performing feats of strength under the gaze of the Philistine congregation, to their moral amazement, though not to their physical destruction? Degraded at the Restoration, dismissed into obscurity, and thought of for some years, when thought of at all, only as a shackled wretch or monster, incapacitated for farther mischief or farther activity of any kind, had he not re-emerged most gloriously? By his *Paradise Lost* already, and now by his *Paradise Regained* and this very *Samson Agonistes*, he had entitled himself to the place of preeminency in the literature of that Philistine age, the Philistines themselves being the judges. This man, the generous Dryden had said, surpassed them all. And so even the closing semi-chorus of the drama, though directly a chaunt of triumph over Samson's great revenge and end, will bear, and even requires, an interpretation appropriating it to Milton himself. No one can study the subtle wording and curious imagery without seeing that the secondary idea in Milton's mind was that of his own extraordinary self-transmutation, before the eyes of the astonished Restoration world, out of his former character of horrible prose iconoclast into that of supreme and towering poet:—

> "But he, though blind of sight,
> Despised, and thought extinguished quite,
> With inward eyes illuminated,
> His fiery virtue roused
> From under ashes into sudden flame,

And as an evening dragon came,
Assailant on the perched roosts
And nests in order ranged
Of tame villatic fowl, but as an eagle
His cloudless thunder bolted on their heads.
So Virtue, given for lost,
Depressed and overthrown, as seemed,
Like that self-begotten bird,
In the Arabian woods embost,
That no second knows nor third,
And lay erewhile a holocaust,
From out her ashy womb now teemed,
Revives, reflourishes, then vigorous most
When most unactive deemed;
And, though her body die, her fame survives,
A secular bird, ages of lives."

And what all the while, to ordinary appearance, was this man who could be so tremendous still in his self-consciousness in private reverie? Only that spare figure, of middle stature or a little less, whom people saw led about, generally in a grey overcoat, by the bookseller Millington, or by some other friend, in the streets between Bunhill and Little Britain. There was still a tinge of healthy red in his fair complexion, and any trace of grey in his hair did not affect the natural lightish auburn; but he was beginning to look old, and his gait was feeble from established gout. This disease, certainly not brought on in his case by a "disordinate" life, had made such advances as to show itself now in the extreme form of the swelling and stiffening of the finger-joints by the peculiar chalky deposits called gout-calculi. From accounts of the gout in medical books one learns that affections of the eye, ending in loss of sight, are not an unfrequent accompaniment. There may therefore have been some organic connexion between Milton's blindness, total since 1652, and the gout which had declared itself so strongly in his later years as then to have superseded apparently every other ailment to which he had been liable.

As we have to thank Richardson for our best glimpse of

Milton walking out of doors in his later years, so we have to thank him for our best glimpse of Milton as he was to be seen about the same time at home in Artillery Walk, Bunhill. "I have heard many years since," says Richardson, "that he "used to sit in a grey coarse cloth coat at the door of his "house, near Bunhill Fields, without Moorgate, in warm "sunny weather, to enjoy the fresh air, and so, as well as "in his room, received the visits of people of distinguished "parts, as well as quality; and very lately I had the good "fortune to have another picture of him from an aged "clergyman in Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright. He found him in "a small house, he thinks but one room on a floor. In that "up one pair of stairs, which was hung with a rusty green, "he found John Milton, sitting in an elbow chair, black "clothes, and neat enough, pale but not cadaverous, his "hands and fingers gouty and with chalk-stones. Among "other discourse he expressed himself to this purpose: that, "was he free from the pain this gave him, his blindness "would be tolerable." Neat black within-doors when visitors were expected, and rough grey for home *déshabille*, as for out-of-doors walking, were therefore Milton's latest colours. How he appeared to visitors Richardson would have us conceive more minutely by reminding us that he wore his light brown hair parted from the crown to the middle of the forehead, and "somewhat flat, long, and waving, a little curled." The Faithorne portrait tells us much the same. Of his manner with his visitors, or with those of them with whom he was least familiar, the accounts are uniform. "His deportment "was manly and resolute, but with a gentlemanly affability," Richardson had heard; and, on the whole, the impression given is that of a stately and deliberate courtesy, with just a shade of austerity. "His voice was musically agreeable," says Richardson; which is no news, and would not be worth repeating, but for a particular from Aubrey which may go along with it. "He pronounced the letter *r* very hard," says Aubrey, having noted the fact himself, and adding this comment by Dryden, when he and Dryden talked of the peculiarity: "*litera canina*, the dog-letter, a certain sign of

"a satirical wit." Whatever tendency to the satirical went along with the strong utterance of the dog-letter in Milton's case showed itself chiefly, of course, in those hours of the day when he was at liberty for conversation.

His economy of his day, if we may trust Aubrey and Toland, was very strict. He rose, they say, as early as four o'clock in summer, and five in winter, but would sometimes, Toland judiciously hints, lie in bed beyond those hours. In either case he began the day by having a chapter or two of the Hebrew Bible read to him by his "man," as Aubrey calls him, i. e., we are to suppose, by whatever scholar he had in attendance upon him, for love or money, as his servant in such matters. Breakfast downstairs, and then "contemplation" by himself in his upper room or study, carried him on to about seven o'clock, when his "man" came to him again for the solid work of the day in the upstairs room. That consisted of reading and dictation till the mid-day dinner, the man then changing from reader to amanuensis by direction, and the writing generally being "as much as the reading," says Aubrey. At the mid-day dinner down stairs, Milton "took what was set before him," says Richardson, "which was anything most in season or the easiest procured," explains Toland, both agreeing that he was "extraordinary temperate in his diet" and "no friend to sharp or strong liquors." He had his preferences, however, in matters of diet, like other people, and his wife knew them. Dinner over, some three or four hours of the afternoon were given to exercise and recreation. Walking, either out in the neighbourhood, or in his own garden, was always the favourite exercise; but some kind of swinging machine served him for more artificial exercise within doors in wet weather. Whatever other recreation there was, music was indispensable, and the organ, or some other instrument, with singing, or listening to song, whiled away part of every afternoon. At about four o'clock Milton seems generally to have returned to his own room again for an hour or so by himself; but from six to eight he was again accessible to his friends. At eight o'clock "he went down to supper, which was usually olives or some

"light thing; and after supper he smoked his pipe and drank "a glass of water, and went to bed." We do not hear of a pipe at any other time of the day, but may suspect as we like. Doubtless he was temperate in this as in every other indulgence. "Temperate, rarely drank between meals," says Aubrey, thinking that an exceptional trait.

Such being the usual round of Milton's day, visitors in general, we can see, could take their chance of finding him between one and four in the afternoon, but were surest to find him between six and eight. Company with him at table, either at the mid-day dinner or at the eight-o'clock supper, can have been but a rare occurrence, when his brother Christopher dropped in, or a favoured friend or two were specially invited or were asked to stay. His daughter Deborah, who could recollect occurrences of the kind before 1670, while she was still in the Bunhill house, and also the little afternoon gatherings round Milton there for talk and music, answered inquiries on the subject long afterwards by vouching that her father on such occasions "was delightful company, the life of the conversation, and "that on account of a flow of subject and an unaffected cheer-"fulness and civility." The words are Richardson's, from report to him of what she had said to others; but the substance must be hers. Richardson had himself picked up an anecdote of one of the little musical parties. "In relation "to his love of music and the effect it had upon his mind," says Richardson, "I remember a story I had from a friend "I was happy in for many years, and who loved to talk of "Milton, as he often did. Milton hearing a lady sing finely, "'Now will I swear,' says he, 'this lady is handsome.' "His ears now were eyes to him." This is Milton in a gallant moment; and, for the rest, we may believe Richardson when he says, "He was a cheerful companion, but no "joker: his conversation was lively, but with dignity," not forgetting Aubrey's equivalent summary, "Extreme pleasant "in his conversation, and at dinner, supper, &c., but satirical." Of his actual discourse when he was in fullest flow among his most capable visitors we should have liked to have more

specimens than have come down to us. With his varied tastes, vast learning, and strong memory, the topics ranged over must have been most miscellaneous; but the few preserved Miltoniana of our present date refer exclusively to his judgments in some literary matters. If talking of Greek literature, we are told, he would go back again and again on the greatness of Homer, whom he could repeat almost by heart, and, while always full of admiration for Æschylus and Sophocles, he would resent any depreciation of Euripides in comparison. Among the Latin poets, while enthroning Virgil, he had still always a word of liking for Ovid. Among English poets he owned allegiance chiefly to Spenser and Shakespeare. His allegiance to Shakespeare, we can see, was a something which he could not help. It was a reluctant survival of that sense of Shakespeare's intellectual prodigiousness which he had expressed so enthusiastically in the "What needs my Shakespeare?" of his youth, and which he had striven in vain to subdue since by reflections and after-carpings. It cost him less to confess openly his allegiance to Spenser. "Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original," is Dryden's reminiscence long afterwards of some saying of Milton's to him in Bunhill about 1672, to the effect that he had begun his poetical life as a Spenserian. Of recent English poets, his own contemporaries, he admired Cowley most. Aubrey ascertained that Hobbes was not one of his acquaintances, and that he did not like Hobbes's philosophy, but "would acknowledge him to be a man of great parts and a learned man." Finally, his opinion of Dryden, from all of Dryden's that was yet before the world, was that he was "a rhymist but no poet[1]."

Milton, in his last years, belonged to no religious communion, and attended no place of worship. Toland's words on this subject may be quoted. "In the latter part of his "life," says Toland, "he was not a professed member of any

[1] The collection of minutiæ in this paragraph is from Aubrey, Wood, Toland, Richardson, and Newton's Life of Milton prefixed to his edition of Milton's Poetical Works. Newton obtained one or two of his particulars by tradition through Milton's widow; and Aubrey had interrogated her, as well as Edward Phillips, for additions to his notes.

"particular sect among Christians; he frequented none of "their assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar rites in "his family. Whether this proceeded from a dislike of "their uncharitable and endless disputes, and that love "of dominion, or inclination to persecution, which he said "was a piece of Popery inseparable from all churches, or "whether he thought one might be a good man without "subscribing to any party, and that they had all in some "things corrupted the institutions of Jesus Christ, I will "by no means venture to determine; for conjectures on such "occasions are very uncertain, and I never met with any of "his acquaintance who could be positive in assigning the "true reasons of his conduct." Milton has left us his own doctrine in the matter. "Although it is the duty of all "believers," he says, "to join themselves, if possible, to a "church duly constituted (Heb. x. 25.),"—by "church" Milton meant any congregation of persons meeting voluntarily in any place for worship and mutual edification, all contributing and officiating on occasion though there may be elected ministers,—"yet such as cannot do this conveni-"ently, or with full satisfaction of conscience, are not to be "considered as excluded from the blessing bestowed by "God on the churches." He claimed the benefit of the exception himself, partly perhaps on account of his blindness, but mainly because he found no denomination to suit him. As in his middle life the Baptists and other very free varieties of Independents had been most to his taste, so in his later years he seems to have found much to like in the religious habits of the Quakers; but, on the whole, his hatred of anything like a professional clergy, any semblance of officialism or machinery in religion, had settled into a disgust at even the simplest formalities of the plainest conventicle. Richardson has a story showing positively that Milton's contempt of clergy did not stop at those who called themselves clergy, but extended even to those humble Nonconformist preachers whose persistence in gospel ministry under difficulties he was bound to admire. "Milton had a "servant," he says, "who was a very honest, silly fellow,

"and a zealous and constant follower of those teachers. "When he came from the meeting, his master would fre- "quently ask him what he had heard, and divert himself "with ridiculing their fooleries, or, it may be, the poor "fellow's understanding: both one and t'other probably. "However, this was so grievous to the good creature that "he left his service upon it." Richardson, while vouching that he had heard the story on excellent authority, wishes that it were not true. It is certainly a little savage, but it is perfectly credible[1].

The next publication of Milton after his volume of 1671 containing his *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* was of a very different nature. It was a duodecimo of 235 pages, with this ill-printed title: "*Joannis Miltoni Angli, Artis Logicæ Plenior Institutio, ad Petri Rami Methodum Concinnata, Adjecta est Praxis Annalytica* [sic] *et Petri Rami Vita. Libris duobus. Londini, Impensis Spencer Hickman, Societatis Regalis Typographi, ad insigne Rosæ in Cœmeterio D. Pauli.* 1672." ("The English John Milton's Fuller Treatment of the Art of Logic, adjusted to the method of Peter Ramus; to which are added an Analytic Praxis and a Life of Peter Ramus. In two books. London, at the charge of Spencer Hickman, Printer to the Royal Society, at the sign of the Rose in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1672"). The publisher, it will be seen, is the same who had held the copyright of the *History of Britain* for some time in the preceding year in succession to the original publisher Allestree[2]. There is, accordingly, a prefixed portrait of Milton, re-engraved on a reduced scale from the Faithorne portrait in that work, with the inscription "*W. Dolle sculpsit. Joannis Miltoni Effigies, ætat.* 63, 1671." This reduction of the Faithorne portrait by W. Dolle, though copying the original engraving in the main, is not nearly so carefully done or so life-like.

There must have been some demand for such a book at

[1] Richardson; xlvii, and Milton's Treatise of Christian Doctrine, Book I. chap. xxix.

[2] Ante, p. 645, footnote.

the time to induce the printer for the Royal Society to be at the expense of publishing this of Milton's. It can hardly have been written by Milton, however, for the occasion. It was probably like his *Accedence Commenc't Grammar* of 1669, an old manuscript which he found among his papers, and thought worth offering to Hickman or giving to him on Hickman's own request for something from his pen. It may even have been sketched out in Milton's university days at Cambridge, between his taking his B.A. degree and his passing as M.A. The Ramist Logic, adopted with such zeal by the Protestant Universities of Europe, in the last half of the sixteenth century, in opposition to the Aristotelian, with which the cause of Roman Catholicism was thought to be identified, had been taught, as we know, in Cambridge before Milton was a student there, especially by George Downam, prælector of Logic in the University from 1590 onwards[1]. The controversy between Ramism and Aristotelianism, therefore, may have been raging rather fiercely in the Cambridge colleges during Milton's residence in Christ's from 1625 to 1632; and the most natural supposition respecting the present book is that Milton, always disposed to revolt from authority, took the Ramist side, and had qualified for that side by compiling the material afterwards worked up into this Latin digest of the Ramist Logic. It is not of thrilling interest, and indeed conveys the idea that Ramus's Logic, memorable though Ramus himself was as a Protestant and a victim of the St. Bartholomew massacre, was a mere audacious bungle, concocted in a spite of phrenzy against the good old Roman Catholic Aristotle. First, in a few introductory pages, Milton speaks of the importance of Logic, and of the desirableness of a fuller account of the Ramist Logic and its developments than could be obtained in Ramus's own writings. Then he defines logic to be "the art of reasoning well," and treats it as consisting of two parts or processes, — the "Invention" of arguments and their "Disposition" or "Arrangement." He devotes a book to each of these subjects. The first book,

[1] See ante, Vol. I. p. 231.

which is mainly *De Argumentorum Inventione*, consists of thirty-three chapters, and the second book, which is headed *De Argumentorum Dispositione*, of seventeen chapters, with certain interpolations. The treatise, it will be seen, proceeds so far in the track of the Ancient Rhetoric rather than in that of the Ancient Logic proper. "*Oportet in Oratore esse Inventionem, Dispositionem, Elocutionem, Memoriam, et Pronuntiationem*" is Cicero's enumeration of the requisites of Rhetoric or Oratory; and the first three, Invention, Disposition, and Style, under the names of πίστις, τάξις, and λέξις, constitute in fact the whole art and science of Rhetoric in Aristotle's famous treatise on that subject. Milton, therefore, following Ramus, assumes into Logic two-thirds of what Aristotle and Cicero regarded as Rhetoric, thus treating Logic less as the formal science of the laws of thought than as the Art of Popular Reasoning, and leaving for Rhetoric nothing of the abstruser portions of that art, but only Style or Diction, or that together with Cicero's *Memoria* and *Pronuntiatio*,—to wit, Mnemonics and Delivery. Much of the treatise, at all events, is made up of excerpts or suggestions from Aristotle's Rhetoric and Cicero's miscellaneous Rhetorical writings, whatever of soldering matter there may be from Ramus. The Syllogism is discussed but imperfectly. The appended *Praxis Analytica* is from one of Downam's commentaries on Ramus; and the appended Life of Ramus, which may have been an addition to suit the book for publication in 1672, is a brief abridgment of the Life of Ramus by the German Joannes Thomas Freigius, who died in 1583. On the whole, though one looks with interest at the examples from the classic poets given in illustration of the abstract terms and rules, the entire performance, as a Digest of Logic, may be called disorderly and unedifying. That Milton thought it worth publishing in his last years ought, however, to recommend it to a more minute examination than it has yet received from those who are curious in the history of Logic in England[1].

[1] Bohn's Lowndes gives an edition of Milton's *Artis Logicæ Institutio* as early as 1670; but my own judgment and that of others is that the book appeared

The year 1673 was marked by two publications of Milton which are accepted now as more in his own line. One was a new edition of his Minor Poems with this title:—"*Poems, &c., upon Several Occasions. By Mr. John Milton: Both English and Latin, &c. Composed at several times. With a small Tractate of Education to Mr. Hartlib. London, Printed for Tho. Dring at the White Lion next Chancery Lane End, in Fleet-street*, 1673." In some copies the imprint gives "*for Tho. Dring at the Blew Anchor next Mitre Court over against Fetter Lane in Fleet-street*, 1673," as if Dring had changed his premises in the course of the year. The volume is a very pretty and neatly printed small octavo of 290 pages in all, the Latin poems following the English with a separate title-page and numbering of the pages, and the reprint of the tract to Hartlib coming at the end. In some copies there is a repetition of Dolle's reduction of the Faithorne portrait of Milton used for the Treatise on Logic. The other Milton publication of the same year was a much poorer specimen of typography. It was a small quarto tract of sixteen pages, with this title:—"*Of True Religion, Hæresie, Schism, Toleration, And what best means may be us'd against the growth of Popery. The Author J. M. London, Printed in the year*, 1673." The absence of any printer's or publisher's name, the use of Milton's initials only, and the general appearance of the tract, the last page of which is huddled into smaller type than the rest, suggest that the publication was by Milton himself at his own risk, and in evasion of the press law.

The second edition of the Minor Poems is, of course, in the main a reprint of the first edition in the Moseley volume of 1645[1]. But there are some changes. Moseley's fine little preface to the first edition, entitled "The Stationer to the

first in 1672. As there are subsequent copies with the date 1673, it has been usual to speak of a "second edition" in that year. I suspect there was only a newly dated title-page for the unsold copies of 1672.

[1] The printer, indeed, adhered too strictly in one instance to the Moseley volume of 1645. The separate title-page to the Latin Poems in the Second Edition runs thus:—"*Joannis Miltoni Londinensis Poemata. Quorum pleraque intra Annum ætatis Vigesimum Conscripsit. Nunc primum Edita. Londini, Excudebat W. R. Anno* 1673." Here, while the proper alteration is made in the corresponding title-page of the edition of 1645 (see it ante, Vol. III. p. 452) so far as the printer's name and the dating are concerned, the words "*Nunc primum edita*" are retained inadvertently.

Reader," is omitted, as are also Lawes's dedication of the *Comus* to Lord Brackley in 1637 and Sir Henry Wotton's letter to Milton in praise of *Comus* in 1638. It is the less easy to account for these omissions of praise of the English poems because the foreign *De Authore Testimonia*, from Manso, Salsilli, Selvaggi, Francini, and Dati, are all duly retained at the beginning of the Latin poems. Probably the author of *Paradise Lost* thought his English poems did not now need praise, even from Sir Henry Wotton. More extensive than the omissions, however, are the additions. To the ten Sonnets which had appeared in the edition of 1645 there are now added nine more: to wit, the two on the reception of his divorce pamphlets (XI. and XII.), that to Henry Lawes (XIII.), that on the death of Mrs. Catherine Thomson (XIV.), the famous Piedmontese sonnet (XVIII.), the sonnet on his blindness beginning "When I consider" (XIX.), that to young Lawrence (XX.), the first sonnet to Cyriack Skinner (XXI.), and the sonnet to the memory of his second wife (XXIII.). These were all that Milton had written in the sonnet form since 1645, with the exception of his sonnet to Fairfax (XV.), that to Cromwell (XVI.), that to Vane (XVII.), and the second sonnet to Cyriack Skinner, beginning "Cyriack, this three-years' day" (XXI.). These four sonnets were necessarily excluded from a volume of the year 1673 by the nature of their political references. The same objection did not apply to the lines, or sonnet prolonged, entitled "On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament," the anti-Presbyterian invective of which would be welcome enough after the Restoration. The lines were, accordingly, among the added pieces. So were the translations that had been done at various times since 1645: to wit, the fifth of the first book of Horace, Psalms i–viii. in service metre ode (done in April 1648), and Psalms lxxx–lxxxviii. in various metres (done in August 1653). Yet two other pieces not printed in the Moseley volume appeared among the English poems in the new or Dring edition. They were the elegy "On the death of a Fair Infant dying of a cough," and the fragment entitled "At a Vacation Exercise in the

College." As the first had been written in the winter of 1625–6 on the death of Milton's infant niece, and the second for a college festivity at Cambridge in 1628, they are among the most juvenile of Milton's pieces. One guesses that Milton, who had been recently directing a search among his old papers, and had in this way turned up his manuscript digest of Ramist logic, recovered these two poems unexpectedly; and the guess is confirmed by the fact that the second of the two is out of its chronological place in the Dring volume, as if it had been sent for insertion while the volume was at press. Altogether the English additions in the volume were not unimportant. The Latin additions consisted only of the short piece entitled *Apologus de Rustico et Hero,* written at some uncertain date after 1645, and the longer ode *Ad Joannem Rousium,* written in January 1646–7. The former was now appended to the book of Elegies, and the latter to the Sylvæ. Among the sylvæ was now also included the pungent Greek epigram which Milton had caused Marshall to engrave under the portrait in the Moseley volume of 1645 in abuse of his own handiwork. The portrait itself was dismissed into ignominious oblivion, but Milton would not lose the epigram. It re-appeared, therefore, in the text of the Dring volume, with the heading *In Effigiei ejus sculptorem.*

The publication of the new edition of the Minor Poems in 1673 was most natural and judicious. The Moseley volume of 1645 having become scarce, people had almost forgotten that Milton had been a poet long before he had been a pamphleteer. They had now the proof in their hands in the form of a handsome little volume, containing those earlier miscellanies which would have entitled Milton to a memorable place among English poets, even though he had not lived to be the author of *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained,* and *Samson Agonistes.* It was not of no consequence even to the author of these great poems that the contemporaries of his later age, thirteen years now after the Restoration, should have the opportunity of reading pleasantly not only nearly all his Sonnets, arranged in series, but also his *Ode on the Nativity,*

his *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, his *Comus*, his *Lycidas*, his *Mansus*, and his *Epitaphium Damonis*, written in the days of their forefathers, before most of them were born. There was some significance also in the reprinting of the Letter on Education to Hartlib, to be an appendage to the poetry of the new volume. "*Of Education. To Master Samuel Hartlib. Written above twenty years since*," is the heading of the reprint. Milton held the doctrine of the tract in some value still; on its first appearance in July 1644 it had been but an anonymous thing in small type, and had probably had no great circulation [1]; and people might now peruse it more at leisure, presented in larger type and with the name of the author distinctly in front of it.

But what shall we say to Milton's reappearance once more about the same time in his old and hazardous character of political pamphleteer? Nothing can show more strongly the inveteracy of his interest in public affairs, his passion for inserting his hand into any current controversy, than the publication in 1673 of his tract *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the growth of Popery*. Were not Poetry, Latin Grammar, British History, and Logic sufficient to occupy the blind old political offender, that he must venture once more on ground so perilous to him heretofore? That Milton was aware that this question might be asked appears from his having put forth the tract irregularly, without printer's name, and apparently without licence. As he gave his initials, which were as good in his case as his name in full, the publication cannot be called clandestine. But, in fact, his venture becomes explicable enough when we remember the state of public affairs at the time and read the tract itself.

Charles's Declaration of March 15, 1671–2, suspending by his own prerogative the penal statutes against Nonconformists, and granting them liberty of worship again, under certain restrictions, in meeting-houses licenced for the purpose, had brought on, it will be remembered, the

[1] See ante, Vol. III. p. 233.

most extraordinary wave and conflict of English opinion on the subjects of religion and church-policy that there had been since the Uniformity Act and its St. Bartholomew consequence in 1662. As the Declaration had come out and been put into effect in the long interval of nearly two years between the Ninth Session of the Cavalier Parliament and the Tenth, the conflict through the year 1672 had been popular only and not Parliamentary. The mass of the Church of England clergy and Cavaliers were alarmed and indignant, and began to question their own doctrine of Royal Prerogative when they found it turned in favour of the Nonconformists. The Nonconformists themselves were perplexed. On the one hand, they were thankful for the enormous relief brought them in the release of so many of them from jails, and the restored privilege of their tabernacles and congregations. On the other hand, they could not be indifferent to the fact that this relief had not been regular or constitutional, but by the King's grace merely, on the assumption of a doctrine of royal prerogative in ecclesiastical matters which it would be dangerous to admit, if only because he might annul or reverse by prerogative to-morrow what he had done by prerogative to-day. Thus strangely drawn, at the expense of their own immediate interests, into a kind of co-operation on the constitutional question with their opponents and persecutors, the mass of the Nonconformists were drawn into such co-operation yet more strongly by another sentiment, which they and the mass of Church of England men had in common. Charles's policy of toleration for the Nonconformists was motived mainly by his attachment to the Roman Catholic interest, and was, in fact, as we now know, part and parcel of his secret agreement with Louis XIV, with the cognisance of some of his ministers only, for his own profession of the Roman Catholic faith and its re-establishment at his leisure in his dominions. Though not known in detail at the time, all this had been substantially ascertained or guessed by Church of England men and Nonconformists alike; and hence a unanimous "No Popery" cry among them, blended with their criticisms of the Declaration of Indulgence. Of

the Nonconformist sects only the Quakers seem to have withstood this combination of the "No Popery" excitement with the question of the prerogative, and to have been willing not only that the toleration should come by mere grace from the King's own hands, as it was forthcoming from no other quarter, but also that the Roman Catholics should have their full share of the benefit. Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Nonconformists generally, agreed to subordinate or postpone their own immediate interests to the great cause of the preservation of the national Protestantism, and won good opinions by their moderation where good opinions of them had been hitherto scarce.—Such had been the condition of matters when the Parliament met for its Tenth Session, Feb. 4, 1672–3, the chief ministers of the Cabal being then Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury and Lord Treasurer Clifford. The results of that memorable short session, which ended on the 29th of March 1673, will be in the reader's recollection. Charles and his ministers baffled and subdued; the Royal Declaration of Indulgence to Dissenters cancelled and apologized for; the right of suspending statutes in matters ecclesiastical asserted for Parliament only; emphatic addresses and resolutions against the encroachment of Popery registered and published; and the Test Act passed, disabling all Roman Catholics for public employments: such is the summary. That short "No Popery" session broke Charles's scheme of the Catholicity to pieces, compelled him to be content with crypto-Catholicism for himself for the rest of his life, and handed over the open representation of Roman Catholicism in England thenceforth to the Duke of York, disabled by the Test Act. It dismissed Clifford to privacy and suicide, shook the Cabal, and taught Shaftesbury a new and more popular course of tactics.—In reward to the Nonconformists for their moderation and acquiescence, it had been part of the business of the session to promise them a Parliamentary substitute for the cancelled Royal Declaration. The brevity of the session, however, had prevented the passing of the Bill which had been brought in for the relief of Nonconformists. Through the rest of 1673, therefore, or at

least till Parliament should meet again, they had to live on hope. There was meanwhile the satisfaction of joining with the rest of the nation in the "No Popery" acclamations and rejoicings, and at the same time discussing the various questions respecting the future of Nonconformity which the Royal Declaration and the promise of a substitute had stirred. Ought the Nonconformists to be content with a mere toleration outside the Establishment, or ought they to press for more or desire more? Was re-comprehension of the whole body, or of a portion of it, within the Establishment, to be argued for or regarded as a possibility? Some of the proceedings under the King's Declaration of Indulgence had pointed to a scheme of concurrent endowment as perhaps more practicable to some extent than re-comprehension: was it expedient to steer in that direction? Such were the questions with which the Nonconformists had occupied themselves through 1672 and with which they continued to occupy themselves through 1673. The Presbyterians and some of the Independents favoured the notion of re-comprehension or concurrent endowment; but the mass of the Independents, Baptists, and sects generally, the Quakers of course included, wanted only a toleration.

Milton's tract was one of many, most discordant among themselves, which the juncture called forth. It was a very plain and simple, not to say feeble, performance. For the quintessence of Milton's views on the religious and ecclesiastical question, we must go to his pre-Restoration pamphlets; the Miltonism of this one is very diluted indeed. There is no thunder whatever and very little lightning, nothing of that disestablishment notion which we know to have been his cardinal one, nor anything insulting or even appreciably disrespectful to the Church or the Monarchy of the Restoration. From all expression of that kind he was precluded, and he adjusted himself to the necessity. His tract, in short, is his adhesion to the popular "No Popery" vote of the day, with an implied advice to the Nonconformists not to dream of re-comprehension within the Establishment, but to be content with a toleration beyond its pale, and also with an

exposition of the reasonableness of such a toleration of all professedly Christian sects, except only the Roman Catholics. The following quotations contain the whole theoretical substance of the tract:—

True Religion:—"True Religion is the true worship and service of God, learnt and believed from the Word of God only. No man or angel can know how God would be worshipped and served unless God reveal it. He hath revealed and taught it us in the Holy Scriptures by inspired ministers, and in the Gospel by his own Son and his Apostles, with strictest command to reject all other traditions or additions whatsoever . . . With good and religious reason therefore all Protestant Churches, with one consent, and particularly the Church of England in her thirty-nine Articles (Articles 6th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and elsewhere), maintain these two points as the main principles of true religion: that the rule of true religion is the Word of God only; and that their faith ought not to be an implicit faith,—that is to believe, though as the Church believes, against or without express authority of Scripture."

Heresy or False Religion:—"Heresy therefore is a religion taken up and believed from the traditions of men and additions to the Word of God. Whence also it follows clearly that of all known sects or pretended religions at this day in Christendom Popery is the only or the greatest heresy, and he who is so forward to brand all others for heretics, the obstinate Papist, the only heretic."

Reasonableness of mutual toleration among all Protestant Religionists:—"Sects may be in a true Church as well as in a false . . . Heresy is in the will and choice profestly against Scripture; Error is against the will, in misunderstanding the Scripture after all sincere endeavours to understand it rightly . . . The Lutheran holds consubstantiation: an error indeed, but not mortal. The Calvinist is taxed with predestination, and to make God the author of sin: not with any dishonourable thought of God, but, it may be, overzealously asserting His absolute power, not without plea of Scripture. The Anabaptist is accused of denying infants their right to baptism: again, they deny nothing but what the Scripture denies them. The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity: they affirm to believe

the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Scripture and the Apostolic Creed. As for terms of Trinity, Triunity, Co-essentiality, Tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in Scripture; which, by a general Protestant maxim, is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words belonging to so high a matter and so necessary to be known: a mystery indeed in their sophistic subtleties, but in Scripture a plain doctrine. Their other opinions are of less moment. They dispute the satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word *satisfaction*, as not Scriptural; but they acknowledge him both God and their Saviour. The Arminian, lastly, is condemned for setting up free will against free grace; but that imputation he disclaims in all his writings, and grounds himself largely upon Scripture only. It cannot be denied that the authors or late revivers of all these sects or opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious men, as appears by their lives written, and the same of their many eminent and learned followers, perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblameable in their lives; and it cannot be imagined that God would desert such painful and zealous labourers in his Church, and ofttimes great sufferers for their conscience, to damnable errors and a reprobate sense, who had so often implored the assistance of his Spirit . . . What Protestant, then, who himself maintains the same principles and disavows all implicit faith, would persecute, and not rather charitably tolerate, such men as these, unless he mean to abjure the principles of his own religion? If it be asked how far they should be tolerated, I answer,—Doubtless equally, as being all Protestants; that is, on all occasions, to give account of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their several assemblies, public writing, and the freedom of printing."

Popery not to be tolerated:—"Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other . . . The Pope, by this mixed faculty, pretends right to kingdoms and states, and especially to this of England; thrones and unthrones kings, and absolves the people from their obedience to them; sometimes interdicts to whole nations the public worship of God, shutting up their churches; and was wont to drain away greatest part of the wealth of this then miserable land, as part of his patrimony, to maintain the pride and luxury of his court and prelates; and now, since through the

infinite mercy and favour of God we have shaken off his Babylonish yoke, hath not ceased, by his spies and agents, bulls and emissaries, once to destroy both King and Parliament, perpetually to seduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the People. Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable to tolerate men thus principled in religion towards the State I submit it to the consideration of all magistrates . . . As for tolerating the exercise of their religion, supposing their state-activities not to be dangerous, I answer that toleration is either public or private, and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders; not privately, without great offence to God . . . Are we to punish them by corporal punishment, or fines in their estates, upon account of their religion? I suppose it stands not with the clemency of the Gospel, more than what appertains to the security of the State. But first we must remove their idolatry and all the furniture thereof, whether idols, or the mass wherein they adore their God under bread and wine . . . If they say that by removing their idols we violate their consciences, we have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on Scripture."

This, from Milton in 1673, may disappoint those who remember the vast throb of his utterances for religious and intellectual liberty through the series of his greater pamphlets from 1641 to 1660. If he had not been a tolerationist then absolutely and universally, at one with Roger Williams and John Goodwin in expressly advocating liberty in every State for Jews, Turks, anti-Scripturists, and Atheists, as well as for all varieties of Christians, the drift of his reasonings, and especially his repeated protests that the sphere of conscience and religion is distinct from that of the civil magistrate, had always indicated a sympathy with the doctrine and spirit of absolute toleration rather than with any scheme of toleration limited. Compare, for example, the extracts given at pp. 583–584 of Vol. V. from his *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, published in 1659, with the extracts just given from his *True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration* of 1673. In the former we found him laughing at the word "heresy"

as a mere hobgoblin word, "no word of evil note" really, but only a Greek word for "the choice or following of any opinion, good or bad, in religion or any other learning." Now he re-defines the word opprobriously as the wilful choice of religious opinions without or against Scripture authority, and he affixes it to Roman Catholicism in particular. Then, though he had not positively asserted that no action ought to be taken against Roman Catholics, non-Christian religionists, or anti-Christians, he had slurred over the subject as a disagreeable one, remarking that the reasons for not tolerating the Roman Catholics were political rather than religious, and hinting that the prohibition of the "public and scandalous" exercise of non-Christian religions might be enough. He comes forward now with a doctrine of toleration which throws Jews, Turks, and all non-Christians or anti-Christians overboard by implication, and he declares that Roman Catholic worship is not to be tolerated either in public or in private. "We have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on Scripture" is now his unmitigated maxim. How had he shrunk into this rigidity, this narrowness? The times had changed, and Milton with them. Rudely disenchanted of his former great dreams of disestablishment, an absolute divorce of Church from State, as the one sovereign way to universal spiritual liberty, he had steeled himself to think of what would suit facts and circumstances. At the same time there had been a growing intensification, we may say induration, in his own heart and mind of his habitual worship of the Bible as God's one revelation of himself to mankind, and the infallible and exhaustless source of instruction for the human spirit. These two considerations going together,—present expediency and his personal conviction that the one sheet-anchor for the soul of every man in this world of uncertainties is the Bible,—there was evolved the Miltonic doctrine of toleration for 1673. *Until* and *without* the acceptance of the Scriptures, no liberty of conscience; *after* and *with* that acceptance, all liberty! Practically in England at the time this was a very broad platform of limited toleration, broader than any which had ever been proposed by Owen or others

of the Limited Toleration Nonconformists. Episcopalians of the Established Church, and Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and all other sects of Protestant Christians, out of that Church, inasmuch as they all professed faith in the Bible as the one authority in religion, were to have equal rights in the interpretation of the Bible, and were to tolerate all differences among themselves arising from differences of interpretation. Arians and Socinians are included by name, the very class of heretics about whom there had been most horror and most difficulty in the schemes of limited toleration hitherto. What proportion of the English population remained unprovided for? Milton takes no notice of the Quakers, and it does not appear from the tract what he would have done with those good friends of his. Probably he meant that they should be included among the Protestant sects, though their doctrine about the Bible as a rule of faith was slightly under the common Protestant mark. For the rest, why should he trouble himself? Jews, Turks, and the like were not numerous in England; and such as resided there were foreigners, whose exceptional rights by the law of nations he expressly postulates in his tract. As for domestic anti-Scripturists and Atheists, *they* need not suffer in the least, if they would keep their opinions prudently to themselves. Liberty of separate meetings for worship was not observed to be so passionate a demand among them but that they could continue to belong professedly, as most of them had hitherto done, to the Church of England, or they could lodge, like Milton himself, in the interstices of the different communions, belonging to none, disliking them all, and staying at home on Sundays. Thus all was left free for the main matter. That was the suppression of Popery. Roman Catholic worship was to be permitted at the embassies and to resident foreigners, but not to natives. The "No Popery" excitement of 1673, the sudden popular dread of "the growth of this Romish weed," was the healthiest thing Milton had seen in England for many a day, and he had thought it his duty, "how unable soever," to assist what was going forward by writing his little tract. Part of its purpose, according to the

title, had been to propound "what best means may be used against the growth of Popery." That had been done so far by his exposition of the true idea of toleration and by his advice not to tolerate the Papists, but to suppress their worship and opinions by every possible means, short of that punishment by fine and imprisonment which he supposed "stands not with the clemency of the Gospel more than what appertains to the security of the State." How there could have been a policy of suppression without fines and imprisonment he leaves unexplained. But he adds, at the end of the tract, other means for the diminution of Popery in England. Let the English of all ranks become, more than hitherto, a Bible-reading, Bible-believing, and Bible-studying nation, and Popery will vanish from among them very fast. Then also, as "it is a general complaint that this nation of late years "is grown more numerously and excessively vicious than "before," let there be a thorough reformation of manners, "lest through impenitency we run into that stupidly which "we now seek all means so warily to avoid, the worst of "superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments, "Popery."

We have another glimpse of Milton as involved in the complex ecclesiastical controversy of the years 1672 and 1673. The reader may remember a certain young Mr. Samuel Parker, of Puritan parentage and education, who used to go much about Milton, in his house in Jewin Street, as long ago as 1661 or 1662, confiding to Milton his difficulties about conformity to the Church of the Restoration, and asking his advice. He may remember also that Andrew Marvell met the young man there and did not like him. Ten years had passed since then; and now, in 1673, all England was ringing with a paper-warfare between this Samuel Parker and Mr. Andrew Marvell.

The young man's difficulties about conformity had not lasted long. Having been "rescued," in Trinity College, Oxford, "from the chains and fetters of an unhappy education," he had graduated as M.A. and taken holy orders in 1663, and had become "a zealous anti-Puritan and strong assertor

of the Church of England,"—in fact, the most rancorous ribald against the Nonconformists among the younger Anglican clergy. Having become known, by some theological publications, to Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, he had been brought to London in 1667 as one of the archbishop's chaplains, and had become a fellow of the Royal Society. Like his fellow-chaplain Tomkyns, he was employed in licensing work; and the Stationers' Registers exhibit him as an occasional licencer of books from 1669 onwards,—e. g. of Isaak Walton's life of George Herbert, and of a volume of Stillingfleet's sermons. The fourth of his own publications appeared in 1670, with the title *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity, wherein the Authority of the Civil Magistrate over the Consciences of Subjects in matters of External Religion is asserted, the mischiefs and inconveniences of Toleration are represented, and all pretences pleaded in behalf of Liberty of Conscience are fully answered.* The book caused a consternation among the Nonconformists. "He writeth," says Baxter of it, "the "most scornfully and rashly and profanely and cruelly against "the Nonconformists of any man that ever yet assaulted "them that I have heard of, and, in a fluent, fervent, ingenious "style of natural rhetoric, poureth out floods of odious re- "proaches, and, with incautelous extremities, saith as much "to make them hated and to stir up the Parliament to "destroy them as he could well speak." Dr. Owen wanted Baxter to write a reply, as "the fittest man in England for that work," and, when Baxter declined, wrote one himself, called *Truth and Innocence Vindicated.* This brought Owen personally under Parker's notice. Having meanwhile brought out another anti-Nonconformist pamphlet, called *Toleration discussed in two Dialogues*, he published in 1671 *A Defence and Continuation of Ecclesiastical Polity.* Here there was not only another "most voluminous torrent of natural and mali- "cious rhetoric" against the Nonconformists of all varieties, as collectively "the most villainous, unsufferable sort of "sanctified fools, knaves, and unquiet rebels," but also such an onslaught on Dr. Owen, with inconvenient recollection of his former preachings and political intriguings, more especi-

ally when he aided Fleetwood and Desborough to pull down Richard's Protectorate, that the poor doctor was silenced and felt that he had injured the Nonconformist cause by his appearance for it. Though one or two others replied to Parker, he remained virtually master of the field; and in 1672 he returned to the charge in *A Discourse in Vindication of Bishop John Bramhall and the Clergy of the Church of England from the fanatic charge of Popery, together with some Reflections on the present state of affairs.* In this discourse, which was prefixed to a posthumous treatise of Bramhall, Owen was again attacked, with Baxter and the whole body of the Nonconformists. Parker was now Archdeacon of Canterbury, and D.D., with any farther preferments ready for him that could be expected by a man of thirty-two years of age who had made himself the terror of the Nonconformist world.

Would nobody grapple with this Harapha of Gath? Andrew Marvell stepped out, fifty-two years of age, but hale and smiling.—He had given up long ago that vein of pure idyllic poetry in which he had promised so well in his tutorship in Fairfax's house of Nunappleton during the Commonwealth. His literary performances since the Restoration had been almost exclusively rough satirical pieces in prose and verse, such as came naturally from the patriotic and incorruptible member for Hull, one of the staunchest voters with the small knot of extreme liberals in the Cavalier Parliament, though not much of a speaker. Some of these scraps of satire, all necessarily anonymous, had been extremely clever and witty, treating Clarendon and his government, and the court and courtiers of Charles, and Charles himself, with a severity quite refreshing amid the sickly panegyrics of Waller, Dryden, and the rest, though descending now and then, as in several pictures of the Duchess of York and Lady Castlemaine, into reckless savagery and coarseness. Thus he had been qualifying himself for an encounter with any one that needed a public exposure; and he had not the least hesitation in appearing for the defence of the Nonconformists, and of civil and religious liberty generally, against Dr. Parker.—Taking as his immediate text Parker's last

publication, his preface to Bramhall's treatise, but referring to his previous writings, Marvell sent out quietly in the same year 1672, without his name, *The Rehearsal Transprosed, or Animadversions upon a late Book.* The fantastic title was suggested by the Duke of Buckingham's farce, *The Rehearsal*, which had been so famous since December 1671, when it had been brought out to ridicule Dryden and heroic plays. It had just been published and was in everybody's hands. One of the jests against Dryden, in his character of Bayes in the farce, turns on the explanation which Bayes gives to his friends Johnson and Smith of his "Rule of Transversion, or *Regula Duplex*, changing verse into prose, or prose into verse, alternative as you please." They ask how he works that rule. "Why, thus, sir," says Bayes; "nothing "more easy when understood: I take a book in my hand, "either at home or elsewhere, for that's all one. If there "be any wit in't, as there is no book but has some, I trans- "verse it; that is, if it be prose, put it into verse, (but "that takes up more time); if it be verse, put it into prose." On Johnson's remark, "Methinks, Mr. Bayes, that putting verse into prose should be called *transprosing*," Bayes answers, "By my troth, a very good notion, and hereafter it shall be so."—Marvell's appropriation of the title of Buckingham's popular farce, and of the new word "transprosing," may have been to the advantage of his book against Parker, whom throughout, to keep up the jocose reference, he persists in calling "Mr. Bayes." That was but a clumsy trick; but it was convenient to have some personification for Parker, while respecting the etiquette of the anonymous. There was no other respect for him from first to last. He is played with and lectured; he is battered and shattered; he is turned about and about with every variety of ludicrous dexterity of invention; he is kept standing in the midst, while Marvell fetches amusing anecdotes and apophthegms from all quarters, with much quaint learning, and fine quotations from the Latin and Italian poets, all to be mixed with the scurrilities already at hand in plenty. The satire, for mingled humour, irony, and indecency now and then, may match with some of

Swift's, though the texture is looser and sometimes finer, and there are ordinary argumentative passages interspersed, quoting sentences from Parker and commenting on them seriously. Marvell had resolved at all risks to be readable, and he had succeeded. "To which," says Baxter, speaking of Parker's preface to Bramhall, "Mr. Andrew Marvell, a Parliament "man, burgess for Hull, did publish an answer so exceeding "jocular as thereby procured abundance of readers and pardon "to the author." Not only was the Nonconformist world in thankful ecstasies, but, as Baxter hints, the public at large, Church of England men included, looked on with glee at Parker's punishment.

Exerting himself to the utmost, Parker produced in 1673 *A Reproof to the Rehearsal Transprosed in a Discourse to its Author*. There also appeared about the same time at least five other anonymous answers to Marvell by friends or adherents of Parker. One was called *A Commonplace Book out of the Rehearsal Transprosed*; another, entitled *The Transproser Rehearsed*, was thought at the time to be by Parker himself, though the real author, according to Wood, was Richard Leigh, B.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, then an actor in one of the London theatres. Of the controversy, when it was thus at its thickest, and of the comparative merits of the two principals, Parker and Marvell, Wood's account may be taken as the most unprejudiced. "This pen combat exer-"cised between our author and Marvell," he says in his sketch of Parker, "was briskly managed, with as much smart, "cutting and satircal wit on both sides as any other perhaps "of late hath been, they endeavouring by all the methods "imaginable, and the utmost forces they could by any means "rally up, to blacken each other's cause, and to set each "other out in the most ugly dress; their pieces in the mean-"while, wherein was represented a perfect trial of each other's "skill and parts, in a jerking, flirting way of writing, enter-"taining the reader with a great variety of sport and mirth, "on seeing two such right cocks of the game so keenly "engaging with sharp and dangerous weapons. And it was "generally thought, nay even by many of those who were

"otherwise favourers of Parker's cause, that he, through a "too loose and unwary handling of the debate, though in a "brave, flourishing, and lofty style, laid himself too open to "the severe strokes of his sneering adversary, and that the "odds and victory lay on Marvell's side. However it was, "it wrought this good effect upon our author that for ever "after it took down somewhat of his high spirit, insomuch "that, though Marvell in a Second Part replied upon our "author's *Reproof*, yet he judged it more prudent rather to "lay down the cudgels than to enter the lists again with an "untowardly combatant so well versed and experienced in "the then but newly-refined art (though much in mode and "fashion almost ever since) of sportive and jeering buffoonery." The Second Part of Marvell's *Rehearsal Transprosed*, which thus finished Parker and wound up the controversy, appeared very late in 1673, with this title:—*The Rehearsall Transpros'd: The Second Part. Occasioned by two Letters: The first, printed by a nameless Author, intituled a Reproof, &c. The Second Letter left for me at a Friend's house, dated November* 3, 1673. *Subscribed J. G., and concluding with these words; if thou darest to Print or Publish any Lie or Libel against Dr. Parker, By the eternal God I will cut thy Throat. Answered by Andrew Marvel. London, Printed for Nathaniel Ponder at the Peacock in Chancery Lane near Fleet Street*, 1673." Marvell, as the victor, now gave his name openly.

That Milton's name should have occurred in the course of this controversy was the most natural thing in the world in any case. On the appearance of the first part of Marvell's *Rehearsal Transprosed*, however, Parker and his friends seem to have assured themselves that Marvell had been inspired and assisted by Milton. Hence, both in Parker's own reply, called *A Reproof*, and in Leigh's *Transproser Rehearsed*, which Marvell supposed to be Parker's also, as well as in the *Commonplace book out of the Rehearsal Transprosed*, Milton is dragged in. The following are specimens of the references to him:—

"If we take away some simpering phrases and timorous introductions, your collection will afford as good precedents for rebellion

and king-killing as any we meet with in the writings of J. M. in defence of the Rebellion and the Murder of the King." *Reproof*, p. 212.

"He might have as well called him Bayes Anonymus, in imitation of Milton's learned bull (for that bulls in Latin are learned ones none will deny); who in his answer to Salmasius calls him Claudius Anonymus." *Trans. Reh.* p. 9.

"The work would have been more gratefully accepted than Donne's Poems turned into Dutch,—but what talk I of that?—than Prynne's *Mount Orgueil* or Milton's *Paradise Lost* in blank verse." *Ibid.* p. 30.

"He has all the terms of that art [railing] which Smectymnuus, Marchamont Needham, J. Milton, or any other of the professors, ever thought of." *Ibid.* p. 32.

"Dark souls may be illuminated with bright and shining thoughts. As, to seek no farther for an instance, the blind author of *Paradise Lost* (the odds betwixt a Transproser and a Blank Verse poet is not great) begins his third Book thus, groping for a beam of light:—

> Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heaven first-born
> Or of the Eternal coeternal beam
> May I express thee unblamed? . . . . .
> . . . . . Thee I revisit safe,
> And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou
> Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain
> To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
> So thick a drop serene hath quenched their orbs,
> Or dim suffusion veiled.

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No doubt but the thoughts of this vital lamp lighted a Christmas candle in his brain. What dark meaning he may have in calling it this *thick drop serene* I am not able to say; but, for his *Eternal coeternal*, besides the absurdity of his inventive Divinity in making light contemporary with its Creator, that jingling in the middle of his verse is more notoriously ridiculous because the blind bard (as he tells us himself in his apology for writing in blank verse) studiously declined rhyme as a *jingling sound of like endings*. Nay, what is more observable, it is the very same fault which he was so quicksighted as to discover in this verse of Hall's *Toothless Satires*:—

> 'To teach each hollow grove and shrubby hill.'

This *teach each* he has upbraided the Bishop with in his Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus." *Ibid.* pp. 41–43.

"Once perhaps in a century of years there may arise a Martin Marprelate, a Milton, or such a brave as our present author." *Ibid.* p. 55.

"I shall only match them with some historical remarks in

an ingenious writer against Mr. Milton, concerning the rise and fall of Republics [quotation from *Censure of the Rota* on Milton]." *Ibid.* p. 113.

"In his Accidence (whether it be the same with Milton's *Accidence Commenc'd Grammar* I know not) . . . ." *Ibid.* p. 126.

"In page 83 he tells us this J. O. [John Owen] *has a head and a mouth, with tongue and teeth in it, and hands with fingers and nails upon them.* Which is almost as apposite a description of an Independent as his friend Mr. Milton has given us of a Bishop; who in his Apology for his Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus says that *a Bishop's foot that hath all his toes*, maugre the gout and a linen sock over it, is the aptest emblem of the Bishop himself; who, being a pluralist, under one surplice, which is also of linen (and therefore so far like the toe-surplice, the sock), hides four benefices, besides the metropolitan see. So that, when Archbishop Abbott was suspended, we might say, in Mr. Milton's style, his metropolitan toe was cut off. But, since Milton is so great an enemy to great toes (however dignified and distinguished, be they Papal or Metropolitan), we would fain know whether his are all of one length, since the Leveller it seems affects a parity even in toes. Whether now his Bishop with a metropolitan toe or our author's Congregational Man with ten fingers and long nails upon all be the fitter monster to be shown is hard to say. Only, &c. . . . For, unluckily, among other calamities of late, there has happened a prodigious conjunction of a Latin Secretary and an English Schoolmaster, the appearance of which none of our astrologers foretold, nor no comet portended. . . .

> O marvellous fate! O fate full of marvel!
> That Noll's Latin pay two clerks should deserve all,
> Hiring a gelding, and Milton the stallion."

Ibid. pp. 126–8 and 135.

"In his [Marvell's] discourse of the liberty of unlicensed printing, p. 6 (which is little else but Milton's *Areopagitica* in short hand), *the very sponges*, &c. [quotation from Marvell]." *Ibid.* p. 131.

"If you will have it in *his* elegancy, I never saw a man in *so high a state of salivation.* If in Milton's (I know he will be proud to lick up *his* spittle), he has invested himself with all the rheum of the town, that he might have sufficient to bespawl the clergy." *Ibid.* p. 132.

"Such was the liberty of his [Milton's] unlicensed printing that the more modest Aretine, were he alive in this age, might be set to school again to learn in his own art of the *blind schoolmaster.*" *Ibid.* pp. 136-7.

In the Second Part of the *Rehearsal Transprosed* Marvell devotes one dignified paragraph to a notice of these attacks

on Milton and insinuations that Milton had assisted him in the First Part. He addresses Parker thus:—

"You do three times at least in your *Reproof*, and in your *Transproser Rehearsed* well nigh half the book thorough, run upon an author J. M.; which does not a little offend me. For why should any other man's reputation suffer in a contest betwixt you and me? But it is because you resolved to suspect that he had an hand in my former book; wherein, whether you deceive yourself or no, you deceive others extremely. For by chance I had not seen him of two years before; but, after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, lest I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your friend the author of the *Commonplaces* could have told you (he too had a slash at J. M. on my account) that, had he took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escaped so easily as you did under my *Transprosal*. But I take it moreover very ill that you should have so mean an opinion of me as not to think me competent to write such a simple book as that without any assistance. It is a sign (however you upbraid me often as your old acquaintance) that you did not know me well, and that we had not much conversation together. But, because in your p. 115 you are so particular,—You '*know a friend of ours*,' intending that J. M. and his answer to Salmasius,—I think it here seasonable to acquit my promise to you in giving the reader a short trouble concerning my first acquaintance with you.—J. M. was, and is, a man of great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side, and he writ, *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises. His books of Divorce I know not whether you may have use of; but those upon which you take him at advantage were of no other nature than that which I mentioned to you, writ by your own father: only with this difference, that your father's, which I have by me, was written with the same design, but with much less wit or judgment; for which there was no remedy, unless you will supply his judgment with his High Court of Justice. [The allusion is to the fact that Parker's father, the Puritan and Republican lawyer, John Parker, had been one of the High Court of Justice that sentenced to death the three great Royalist peers, Lord Capel, the Earl of Holland, and the Duke of Hamilton, immediately after the execution of Charles I.] At his Majesty's happy return J. M. did partake, even as you yourself did for all your huffing, of his regal clemency, and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that, being one day at his house, I there first met you, and accidentally. Since that I have been scarce four or five times in your company; but, whether it were my foresight or my good fortune,

I never contracted any friendship or confidence with you. But then it was, when you, as I told you, wandered up and down Moorfields, astrologizing upon the duration of his Majesty's Government, that you frequented J. M. incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourse you there used he is too generous to remember. But, he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him, by your scaramuccios and in your own person, as a schoolmaster, who was born and hath lived much more ingenuously and liberally than yourself; to have done all this and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourself better, which you had so easy opportunity to do; nay, when you yourself too have said, to my knowledge, that you saw no such great matter in it but that I might be the author: it is inhumanly and inhospitably done, and will, I hope, be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid —I will not say such a Judas, but—a man that creeps into all companies to jeer, trepan, and betray them [1]."

The Second Part of Marvell's *Rehearsal Transprosed*, with this passage in it, was out in London in the winter of 1673–4. It must have been in that winter, if not a little before, that Milton received a memorable visit, perhaps the last, from the real Bayes. "Jo. Dreyden, Esq., Poet Laureate, who very

[1] Authorities for my account of Parker, and of the Parker-Marvell controversy in its connexion with Milton, are:—Wood's Ath. IV. 225—235 (Parker), IV. 101 and 108 (Owen), and IV. 533 (Leigh); Baxter's Life, Part III. 41, 42, and 102; my notes from the Stationers' Registers; old copies of the books on the Parker side quoted from; and Marvell's *Rehearsal Transprosed*, in Dr. Grosart's edition of Marvell's Works. The quotation from this last is from pp. 498—500.——Parker wrote more books, some of them theological and others of High Church and Passive Obedience politics, and had farther preferments in the Church, ending in his being Bishop of Oxford in the reign of James II. He held the bishopric, retaining his archdeaconry *in commendam*, but a short time, i. e. from Oct. 17, 1686 to his death, March 20, 1687-8. He figures in Burnet's History as carrying his rancour and meanness with him to all lengths through his life, his High Churchism transmutable into Popery at last if need were. He had never forgotten Marvell's castigation; for in a *History of his own Time* which he left behind him, and which was published in Latin in 1726 and in English in the following year, he is very large upon Marvell, representing him as one of those infamous reprobates who kept English society agitated after the Restoration by a deliberate and chronic conspiracy for the subversion of the Monarchy. "Amongst these lewd revilers," he says, "the lewdest was one "whose name was Marvell. As he had "lived in all manner of wickedness from "his youth, so, being of a singular im-"pudence and petulancy of nature, he "exercised the province of a Satirist for "the use of the faction, being not so "much a Satirist through quickness of "wit as sourness of temper; of but in-"different parts, except it were in the "talent of railing and malignity... Out "of the House, when he could do it with "impunity, he vented himself with the "greater bitterness [because he was "always hissed down in the House, "asserts Parker] and daily spewed in-"famous libels out of his filthy mouth "against the King himself. If at any "time the Fanatics had occasion for "this libeller's help, he presently issued "forth out of his cave like a gladiator "or wild beast." There is much more about Marvell, with one or two allusions to Milton as his patron.

"much admired him," says Aubrey, "went to him to have "leave to put his *Paradise Lost* into a drama in rhyme. Mr. "Milton received him civilly, and told him that he would "give him leave to tag his verses." The proposal strikes us now as an impudent one; but, with Dryden's ideas, it was the highest compliment he could pay to Milton. Dryden's veneration for Shakespeare had not prevented him and Davenant together from recasting Shakespeare's *Tempest* six years before, to adapt it to the improved dramatic tastes and the improved stage-decorations of the Restoration. Remembering this, and always in quest of new subjects, it had occurred to Dryden that a condensation of the plot of *Paradise Lost* into several acts of a sacred drama or opera, with a cunning selection of the most telling passages, "transversed" into sonorous rhyme by his peculiar method, would be an attractive novelty at the King's Theatre. There might be difficulty in obtaining permission for such a production, and there would be the farther difficulty of devising a proper stage-substitute for the costume of Paradise. But both difficulties might be overcome; and, even if the stage-performance of such a drama should turn out to be impossible, the written drama would be a good example of Dryden's process of "transversing," and might illustrate, *in corpore nobili*, that very question of the comparative powers of rhyme and blank verse in poetry about which he and Milton differed. It was but polite in Dryden to ask Milton's sanction of the liberty beforehand; and Milton, it appears, was equally polite in granting the request. "O, certainly, you may *tag* my verses if you please, Mr. Dryden," seem to have been the words. *Tags*, in those days of elaborate dressing, were the metal points or knobs, gold or silver if possible, at the ends of the laces or cords with which dresses were fastened. They were partly for ornament, partly to keep the ends of the laces from fraying. Blank verse, therefore, in Milton's clever momentary fancy, consisted of lines in their natural state, or *untagged*, and to make them rhyme, as Dryden proposed, was to *tag* them, or put on the fashionable shining points at the ends. To that experiment with *Paradise Lost* Dryden was made

welcome to any extent, and went away satisfied. If ever Milton laughed by himself after the departure of a visitor, it must have been on this occasion. His amusement must have lasted for some time; for he mentioned the visit and its purport, we shall find presently, to Marvell, if not to others, repeating the exact words of the answer he had given to Dryden.

Dryden was a rapid worker; and within the space of a month, as he tells us himself, he accomplished his task. He does not mention the particular month, but it must have been before the 17th of April 1674; on which day, as the Stationers' Registers inform us, "Mr. Henry Herringman "entered for his copy, under the hands of Roger L'Estrang, "Esq., and Mr. Warden Mearne, a Booke or Coppy entituled "*The Fall of Angells and Man in Innocence: An Heroick* "*Opera,* written to [sic] John Dreyden, Servant to his "Majestie." For some reason, though the opera was then quite ready, its publication was postponed. But, as all the poet-laureate's movements interested the public, and his intention of transversing Milton's poem had become a matter of special gossip, there was such a curiosity to see the result that, without Dryden's knowledge or consent, transcripts of his opera were in circulation through the town, he says, while his own manuscript still lay in Herringman's hands. These transcripts were passing from hand to hand and being multiplied, each new copy more erroneous than the last, and critics were already pronouncing their judgments on the performance, some of which reached Dryden's ears, and were not flattering. Among those critics of the opera, as it was to be read in the copies that had got about early in 1674, were Milton himself and his friend Marvell. The fact has escaped notice hitherto, but is certain nevertheless [1].

If Milton had been amused by Dryden's proposal of a

[1] The proof will be completed presently, if it should not seem complete already in the fact of the entry of the opera in the Stationers' Registers on the 17th of April, 1674, taken in connexion with Dryden's express statement, in his preface to the opera when it was actually published in the end of 1674, that "many hundred copies of it" had meanwhile been "dispersed abroad," doing injustice to the work by their incorrectness. See the Preface in Scott's edition of Dryden's Works, Vol. V.

dramatic transversion of his *Paradise Lost*, he must have been even more amused by the result. The heroic opera consists of five short acts, grasping the main story of Milton's epic pretty coherently for scenic effect, and telling it in soliloquies and dialogue, aided by stage-directions. The soliloquies and dialogue are almost entirely rhymed translations of passages of Milton's blank verse, only a speech or two being left unrhymed, and the translation in those speeches being from Milton's blank to Dryden's other kind of blank. The following are sufficient specimens:—

Act I: Scene I.

Represents a Chaos, or a confused mass of matter; the stage is almost wholly dark: A symphony of warlike music is heard for some time; then from the Heavens (which are opened) fall the rebellious Angels, wheeling in air and seeming transfixed with thunderbolts: The bottom of the stage, being opened, receives the Angels, who fall out of sight. Tunes of victory are played, and an hymn sung; Angels discovered above, brandishing their swords: The music ceasing, and the Heavens being closed, the scene shifts, and on a sudden represents Hell: Part of the scene is a lake of brimstone or rolling fire, the Earth of a burnt colour: The Fallen Angels appear on the lake, lying prostrate; a tune of horror and lamentation is heard.

LUCIFER, RAISING HIMSELF ON THE LAKE.

Lucifer. Is this the seat our conqueror has given?
And this the climate we must change for Heaven?
These regions and this realm my wars have got;
This mournful empire is the loser's lot:
In liquid burnings or on dry to dwell
Is all the sad variety of Hell.
But see, the Victor has recalled from far
The avenging storms, his ministers of war:
His shafts are spent, and his tired thunders sleep,
Nor longer bellow through the boundless deep.
Best take the occasion and these waves forsake
While time is given.—Ho! Asmodai, awake,
If thou art he! But ah! how changed from him,
Companion of my arms! how wan, how dim,
How faded all thy glories are! I see
Myself too well and my own change in thee.

Asmodai. Prince of the Thrones, who in the fields of light
Led'st forth the embattled Seraphim to fight;
Who shook, &c.

Act II: Scene II.

PARADISE.

Trees cut out on each side, with several fruits upon them; a fountain in the midst: At the far end the prospect terminates in walks.

Adam. O virgin heaven-begot, and born of man,
Thou fairest of thy great Creator's works!
Thee, goddess, thee the Eternal did ordain
His softer substitute on earth to reign;
And, wheresoe'er thy happy footsteps tread,
Nature in triumph after thee is led.
Angels with pleasure view thy matchless grace,
And love their Maker's image in thy face.
Eve. O only like myself (for nothing here
So graceful, so majestic, does appear),
Art thou the form my longing eyes did see,
Loosed from thy fountain, and come out to me?
Yet sure thou art not; nor thy face the same,
Nor thy limbs moulded in so soft a frame;
Thou look'st more sternly, dost more strongly move,
And more of awe thou bear'st and less of love.
Yet pleased I hear thee, and above the rest
I, next myself, admire and love thee best.
Adam. Made to command, thus freely I obey,
And at thy feet the whole Creation lay . . . .
Eve. Something forbids me, which I cannot name;
For, ignorant of guilt, I fear not shame:
But some restraining thought, I know not why,
Tells me you long should beg, I long deny.

It was evidently high time that there should be a second edition of the real *Paradise Lost*. The wonder is that, the first edition having been sold out five years ago, there should not have been a second long ere this time. The printer Simmons may have thought that the 1300 or 1500 copies already published had reached all the likely purchasers of such a poem then in England, and that a new edition might be postponed till new readers grew up. He was stirred at last, however, and it seems not impossible that the poet-laureate's proposed publication of his dramatic transversion of *Paradise Lost* may have been the immediate stimulus. Were the poet-laureate and Mr. Herringman to be making money by the sale of hundreds of copies of a rapid adaptation of an important book the copyright of which belonged to him,

Mr. Simmons? Had Mr. Milton acted legally in authorizing such an adaptation? In the covenant of April 1667, when Mr. Simmons acquired the copyright and paid Mr. Milton his first five pounds, was it not expressly stipulated "that "he the said Jo. Milton, his executors or administrators, or "any other by his or their means or consent, shall not print "or cause to be printed, or sell, dispose, or publish the "said book or manuscript, or *any other book or manuscript of* "*the same tenor or subject*, without the consent of the said "Samuel Symons, his executors or assigns?" Whether it was this consideration that moved Simmons, or whether he and Milton had already been agreeing independently in the course of 1673 that a new edition of *Paradise Lost* ought to be ventured, certain it is that such a new edition was one of the events of the year 1674. "*Paradise Lost. A Poem In Twelve Books. The Author John Milton. The Second Edition Revised and Augmented by the same Author. London, Printed by S. Simmons next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate-street*, 1674:" such was the title-page of the new volume. The precise month of its appearance in the year 1674 cannot be ascertained [1].

The Second Edition differs from the First in various mechanical particulars, in some for the better, in others for the worse. The size of the volume is small octavo, instead of small quarto, and some copies at least contain Dolle's portrait of Milton, reduced in 1671 from the Faithorne engraving. The pages, not numbered in the first edition, are now numbered in the ordinary fashion. On the other hand, the marginal numbering of the lines by tens is omitted,—a decided inconvenience. The "Argument" of the poem, prepared for the late issues of copies of the first edition, and then put in block at the beginning, is now distributed through the volume, each piece heading its own proper Book. More im-

[1] Why is there not in every printed book a note of the *month* of its publication, as well as of the *year*? For historical and biographical purposes the mere notation by the year is very insufficient.—The hypothesis that Simmons was roused by Herringman's announcement of Dryden's opera might account for the delay in the publication of the opera so long after its registration in April 1674. Simmons may have insisted that his second edition of *Paradise Lost* should have the precedence by some months at least.

portant still, the poem is arranged now in twelve books, instead of ten as originally. This is done by dividing the two longest books of the poem in the first edition, viz. those numbered VII. and X. there, into two books each. To smooth the breaks caused by these divisions a few new lines had to be dictated by Milton; and, accordingly, the second edition contains eight lines that had not been in the first,—to wit, the three that now open book VIII. and the five that open book XII. This is all that can justify the word "augmented" in the title-page. There are one or two slight alterations of the text besides, and a few verbal or literal variations due to the printer. Altogether the book is a very correct one, and presents the poem in the form finally judged best by Milton; but it is not nearly so handsome, or so pleasant to read, as a copy of the first edition. The two editions taken together, there were now 2600 or 3000 copies of the epic in print.

Two sets of commendatory verses were prefixed. One was in Latin elegiacs, headed *In Paradisum Amissam Summi Poetæ Johannis Miltoni*, and signed "S. B., *M.D.*;" the other was in English heroics, headed "*On Paradise Lost*," and signed "A. M." These sets of verses are, or ought to be, in all modern editions of the poem, and are of interest here biographically.—The writer of the Latin set was that Dr. Samuel Barrow, a Norfolkshire man by birth, whom we encountered as long ago as 1659, when he was chief physician to Monk's army in Scotland and one of Monk's most confidential advisers, and whom we found marching with Monk and that army into England, and assisting Monk in the first difficulties of his temporary dictatorship[1]. Having been one of the minor negotiators for the Restoration, he had been made physician in ordinary to the King and advocate general and judge martial of the army; he had a large medical practice in London; and he had married the wealthy widow of a knight. It need be no surprise to us, after finding the Earl of Anglesey, Sir Robert Howard, and others more or less eminent in Court society, on terms of kindly familiarity

[1] See ante, Vol. V. p. 476; also p. 528, and p. 534.

with Milton in his later years, to find that the eminent court-physician Dr. Barrow had also then been drawn into his company. Though this is his first appearance there, he has now to be added, therefore, to the list of those who had been among Milton's admirers and visitors since the publication of *Paradise Lost* in 1667. He was then but forty-two years of age, Milton's junior by about seventeen years. That he was a scholarly and intelligent man, whose admiration was worth something, is attested by his Latin lines themselves, and by the fact that Milton used them to introduce his second edition. Whether they were offered expressly for that purpose, or had already been in Milton's possession for some time as a private testimony of Barrow's regard, does not appear. The concluding four lines, calling upon all Roman and all Greek writers to acknowledge Milton's superiority, and declaring that the readers of *Paradise Lost* would agree with him in thinking Homer and Virgil but poor in comparison, may pass as mere hackneyed hyperbole. But the preceding thirty-eight lines show real acquaintance with the poem, and are a spirited summary of a portion of its contents. "Thou who readest *Paradise Lost*, the grand poem of the great Milton," says Barrow, "what readest thou but the universe of things?" There is then a sketch of Milton's plan of Heaven, Chaos, Hell, and Earth, and of his story of the Angelic Wars[1].—The "A. M." of the English commendatory verses was, of course, Andrew Marvell. They must have been written expressly for the second edition; for their very peculiarity consists in their being a studied combination of eulogium on Milton for his *Paradise Lost* with rebuke to Dryden for his impudence in attempting a dramatic and rhymed transversion of such an epic. When first he saw the blind poet engaging with his vast theme, he says, he trembled for his failure, great as he knew his powers to be. Heaven, Hell, Earth, Chaos, the crowned Messiah, the Rebel Angels, the Fall of

[1] Ante, Vol. V. p. 476, p. 528, and p. 534; Lysons's Environs of London, II. 371, where there is quoted the long Latin inscription on Barrow's tomb in Fulham church, containing particulars of his life; Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia* from 1671 to 1682; the Commendatory Verses. Barrow died March 21, 1681–2, ætat. 57.

Man: how could the blind man compass such a union of grandeurs? Would he not, like his own Samson, pull down the edifice, and be buried in the ruins? There was yet another danger:—

"Or, if a work so infinite he spanned,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill-imitating would excel)
Might hence presume the whole Creation's Day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play."

Marvell's fears for Milton's success had been groundless, and he begs the mighty poet's pardon for having ever entertained them—

"Thou singst with so much gravity and ease,
And above human flight dost soar aloft
With plume so strong, so equal, and so soft:
The bird named from the Paradise you sing
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.
Where couldst thou words of such a compass find?
Whence furnish such a vast expense of mind?
Just Heaven, thee like Tiresias to requite,
Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight."

Then, in that very thing which had been most misdoubted, his use of Blank Verse, what a literary revelation he had given to all, and what a lordly lesson to certain *litterateurs* who need not be particularly named!—

"Well mightst thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rime, of thy own sense secure;
While the Town-Bayes writes all the while and spells,
And, like a pack-horse, tires without his bells.
Their fancies like our bushy points appear;
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too, transported by the mode, offend,
And, while I meant to *praise* thee, must *commend*.
Thy verse, created, like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime."

Marvell's discipleship to Milton, it will be seen, is perfect and exceptionless to the last. He will do anything for Milton,—drink up eisel for him, eat a crocodile. He will forswear rhyme for him, though he had himself practised nothing else in his own poetry; and he will beard Bayes

the poet-laureate for him as fearlessly as he had bearded Bayes the archdeacon on a more general account[1].

In a preserved account of the Hearth-money taxation of the county of Middlesex for the year ending at Lady Day 1674 Milton's house is entered as the ninth from one end in the row of houses then forming Artillery Walk, Bunhill, and his position among his nearest neighbours in the row is presented thus:—"Mr. Becke, 6 hearths; Samuel Kindall, 4 hearths; Widow Bowers, 4 hearths; John Melton, 4 hearths; Richard Hardinge, 6 hearths; Mr. Howard, 5 hearths." His house was, therefore, one of the smallest in the row at that date, of the same size as that of Widow Bowers, the next on one side, but considerably smaller than that of Richard Hardinge, the next on the other. As the house, however, had sufficed for Milton ten years before, when he had removed to it from Jewin Street with his third wife and his three daughters, and as now the only inmates were himself, his wife, and a single maidservant, named Elizabeth Fisher, there is no reason to doubt that, besides being the most celebrated householder in the row, the most famous man of the whole Bunhill neighbourhood, he still ranked also among his neighbours as a man of very good means.

Richardson, it is true, has transmitted these lines "Upon "John Milton's not suffering for his Traitorous Book when "the Triers were executed 1660," found written, apparently about the year 1674, and certainly while Milton was alive, on the spare leaf at the beginning of a copy of the *Eikonoklastes*:—

> "That thou escaped'st that vengeance which o'ertook,
> Milton, thy regicides and thy own book
> Was clemency in Charles beyond compare;
> And yet thy doom doth prove more grievous far.
> Old, sickly, poor, stark blind, thou writ'st for bread:
> So for to live thoud'st call Salmasius from the dead."

[1] The quotations from Marvell's verses for the second edition of *Paradise Lost* complete the evidence of a previous note (ante, p. 710); and the wording of the last quotation, "tag," "bushy points," &c., verifies the statement that Milton and Marvell had talked together over Dryden's visit to Milton to request leave to turn parts of *Paradise Lost* into rhyme, and over Milton's answer (ante, pp. 709—710).

The writer of the lines, however, must have written very much from hearsay. As at no period of Milton's life had he known what poverty was, as his condition through a great part of his life might be described as that of wealth or at least of very easy and liberal means, so not even in his latest years had he sunk into anything like destitution. What is true, and what the writer of the lines has exaggerated, is simply the fact that he was now, with all his new celebrity as the author of *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, a much poorer man than he had ever been before. That fact is certain and is worth remembering. Our calculation of Milton's means about the year 1662, when his former fortunes had been wrecked by the Restoration, was that he was then still in possession of about £1500 of saved capital and of about £200 a year of income from that capital and from other sources. But in the interval between that date and 1674 there had been, as we have had to note, other losses and disturbances. By the Great Fire of London in 1666 he had lost, it appears, all that part of his income which consisted in rents from remaining pieces of house property, and so had been reduced nearly, if not quite, to the interest from his savings. Add the expenses, reported as very heavy, to which he had been put, in and after 1670, by the apprenticing and boarding out of his daughters, and it may be a fair estimate that Milton's personal estate from about 1670 was one third less than it had been in 1662, and that he had been living for some years on an income of not more than £100 a year of the money of that time. The equivalent might be somewhere about £300 a year now. To ensure even such an annual competency he had, it seems, been put to shifts. "Towards the latter end of his life," Toland informs us, "he contracted "his library, both because the heirs he left could not make a "right use of it, and that he thought he might sell it more to "their advantage than they could be able to do themselves." As Milton's library must have been a pretty valuable one, the probability is that the conversion of a portion of it into cash was convenient to himself for more immediate reasons. All in all, though it has to be distinctly repeated that

Milton's condition in 1674 was by no means that of poverty, but only of very frugal gentility, and that not even then, any more than at any former time in his life, was he reduced to "write for bread," yet one can see that the writer of the lines quoted was not so very far astray in one part of his guess. Any little sums that Milton may have made by his recent publications in verse and prose, in addition to the £10 he had received from Simmons for *Paradise Lost*, must have been welcome enough to him, and the prospect of another £5 or £10 now and then from a bookseller, for any little thing he had by him or could concoct and dictate in an honest way on the spur of occasion, may not have been indifferent to him as late as 1674[1].

In addition to Simmons, Allestree, Hickman, Starkey, and Dring, the five booksellers or printers with whom there had been transactions by Milton since his literary reappearance in 1667, a sixth now comes on the scene. He was Brabazon Aylmer "at the sign of the Three Pigeons in Cornhill." The tradition is that he was a man of noted integrity and good taste in his business, and it is borne out by what we see of him in his transactions with Milton. They were Milton's last with any bookseller.

[1] Hunter's *Milton Notes*, p. 43, for the extract from the Hearth Tax Record; Richardson's *Life of Milton*, p. xcv; Toland's *Life*; and ante, pp. 444—5.—May not the sale of part of the library have been in or about the year 1670, and may not the transaction have had something to do with the residence of Milton about that time with the book-auctioneer, Millington? (see ante, pp. 650—651). —Richardson, in noticing the state of Milton's circumstances in his later years, takes into account "presents" received by him from friends and admirers, adding "for so I have heard it intimated" (p. xcix). In *Notes and Queries* for March 3, 1877, a correspondent, signing himself "W. S. E.," communicates the fact that Milton is mentioned in the will of Sir Peter Wentworth, K.B., of Livingston Lovell, Co. Oxon, dated Dec. 20, 1673, in these words:—"To my worthy and verrie learned friend Mr. John Milton (who wrote against Salmatius) one hundred pounds of like money." Sir Peter Wentworth, it may be remembered, had been one of the members of the Republican Council of State in the second year of the Commonwealth (Vol. IV. p. 177), and again in the fourth year, and in the fragment of the fifth preceding Cromwell's dissolution of the Rump Government on the 20th of April 1653 (Vol. IV pp. 354—355); and he had been one of those ultra-Republicans who had bearded Cromwell most boldly in the House at the moment of the famous dissolution, and had been addressed by Cromwell on that occasion in language more forcible than polite (Vol. IV. p. 412). Wentworth's regard for Milton must date from those days, when they used to meet in the Council-Room, Wentworth as Councillor and Milton as Foreign Secretary; and the fact that Wentworth continued his friendship with Milton to as late as 1673, and then remembered him so handsomely in his will, and with a spirit of the old Republican in the words of the bequest, is peculiarly interesting.

There were two masses of manuscript lying by Milton the publication of which, in his own lifetime if possible, he especially desired. One was that Latin Body of Divinity from the Bible, or Treatise of Christian Doctrine, on which he had been engaged for many years, and which he had now completed; the other was his collection of Latin State Letters, written by him during his Secretaryship to the Councils of the Commonwealth, and to Oliver and Richard. For the preparation of these manuscripts for the press, and for assistance to him among his papers generally, there had for some time been in his employment a certain Daniel Skinner, the son of a merchant in Mark Lane. He had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and had taken his B.A. degree in 1673. He was a relative, it is believed, of Milton's intimate friend Cyriack Skinner, and had probably been recommended to Milton by Cyriack. At all events, he was an excellent amanuensis, perhaps the best Milton ever had,—not only a trained scholar, but a beautiful penman. He had already, under Milton's direction, made a complete transcript, in his clear Italian hand, of such of the Latin State Letters as Milton had preserved or thought worth publication, and he had transcribed the first 196 pages of the Treatise of Christian Doctrine, and gone over the remaining 540 pages of the bulky manuscript of it left by previous amanuenses, revising the spelling, and inserting little additions from Milton's dictation. Readings aloud of the two manuscripts to Milton by the young Cantab, for the purpose of perfecting them for the press, must have been among the occupations in the house in Artillery Walk through part of 1673 and some way into 1674[1].

An attempt was made with the Latin State Letters. They were to be put forth by Brabazon Aylmer in a volume in-

[1] Mr. Leigh Sotheby's *Milton Ramblings*, pp. 159—165; where there is an ample account of the manuscript of the Treatise of Christian Doctrine and of Daniel Skinner's share in the transcription and revision of it, with fac-simile specimens of his and the other handwritings. Among the other handwritings is distinctly recognisable that of the person to whom Milton had dictated the Sonnet in memory of his second wife, and who had also signed for him the transfer of a Bond to Cyriack Skinner in May 1660 (ante, Vol. V. p. 409, footnote, and p. 703).

cluding also Milton's Latin Familiar Epistles. It was perhaps thought that the conjunction of the Private Letters with the State Letters might make the publication less objectionable to the authorities. But it was an absurdly bold hope in those days. How vigilant the authorities were in preventing publications of a suspicious tendency is proved by Baxter's account of what happened in his case in 1673. "My book-"seller," he says, "came to me and told me that Roger "L'Estrange, the overseer of the Printers, sent for him, and "told him that he heard I was answering Bishop Bramhall, "and swore to him most vehemently that, if I did it, he "would ruin him and me, and perhaps my life should be "brought in question." If so with a book of Baxter's, how could Milton expect to be allowed by the Government of Charles II. to publish his State Letters for the Republic and Oliver, reviving memories of Oliver and of a foreign policy which it was convenient now to forget? In such a case permission by L'Estrange himself might be insufficient, even if it could be obtained, and appeal might have to be made to Lord Arlington, as Secretary of State, or to his Under-Secretary, Sir Joseph Williamson, who was also Keeper of the State Papers. That there was some kind of application to the authorities, and that it failed, we learn from Brabazon Aylmer in a neat little Latin advertisement, headed "The Printer to the Reader," at the beginning of the little volume which took the place of the projected larger one. "I had "reason for some time to hope, benevolent reader," he says, "that I might be permitted the printing of both the Public "and the Familiar Letters of our author in one volume." Intimation had reached him, however, that the Public Letters must be kept back,—the form of the intimation, we may fancy, having been a message from Arlington or Williamson through the rude L'Estrange. Daniel Skinner's fine transcript of the State Letters, therefore, remained private property; and only the Latin Familiar Epistles which Milton had selected, or which were all he had kept copies of, were at Aylmer's disposal. To eke out these, too few to make even a small volume by themselves, Aylmer, as we saw in his own words long ago,

had applied to Milton for something else of a publishable kind, and had obtained his *Prolusiones Quædam Oratoriæ* or Latin Academical Exercises. These very juvenile compositions must have been turned up in the rummaging among Milton's old papers in 1673; for the English verses "At a Vacation Exercise in the College" had then been detached from one of them to be printed in the Second Edition of the Minor Poems. All the rest, with that exception, having been handed over to Aylmer, he did make up a neat little duodecimo volume of 156 pages, which he published with the title: "*Joannis Miltonii Angli, Epistolarum Familiarium Liber Unus: Quibus accesserunt, Ejusdem, jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis, Prolusiones Quædam Oratoriæ. Londini, Impensis Brabazoni Aylmeri sub Signo Trium Columbarum, Via vulgo Cornhill dicta, An. Dom.* 1674." ("One Book of the Familiar Epistles of John Milton, Englishman: to which are added some of his Oratorical Exercises long ago when he was a youth at College. London, at the expense of Brabazon Aylmer, at the sign of the Three Pigeons in the street commonly called Cornhill, *An. Dom.* 1674.") Aylmer had taken every precaution; for the little book was duly entered in the Stationers' Registers as licensed by L'Estrange. The date of the entry is July 1, 1674. Copies, we may suppose, were out that month [1].

Of the *Prolusiones Oratoriæ* we gave a sufficient account when editing them, or portions of them, in connexion with Milton's University life at Cambridge [2]. They belong properly to that early period of the biography, and the only observation about them required here is that it is characteristic of Milton that those juvenile performances should have been preserved and accessible after two-and-forty years, and that he did not then hesitate to let them go forth just as they were. The *Epistolæ Familiares* have all been given in translation in these pages, each in its proper chronological place. It is

[1] Book itself, with Aylmer's Preface; Stationers' Registers of date; and ante, Vol. I. pp. 239—240. Toland's statement is that "the Danish Resident prevailed with Milton to get the Letters of State transcribed." The letters chiefly interesting to the Resident must have been those addressed by Cromwell to Charles Gustavus, showing Cromwell's admiration of that heroic Swede and his desire of a strict alliance between England and Sweden for common action on the Continent.

[2] Vol. I. pp. 239—274.

characteristic that these too, ranging as they do from 1625, Milton's seventeenth year, to 1666, his fifty-eighth year, should have been preserved; but they may be supposed to be only the casual survivors of a great many Latin letters he had written and of which he had not kept copies. The fact of their publication by Milton in 1674 is also characteristic, when we consider the very private and confidential nature of the contents of some of them. They were thirty-one in number in all, and had been addressed to seventeen persons. Of the seven earliest, appertaining to the Cambridge and Italian periods of his life, two had been addressed to his first preceptor, Thomas Young, three to Alexander Gill the younger, his preceptor in St. Paul's School, and two to the bosom-friend of his youth, the never-forgotten Charles Diodati. Two letters, addressed respectively to Buommattei, the Florentine Grammarian, and Lucas Holstenius, the Librarian of the Vatican, recalled memories of his Italian journey in 1638–9. One, written from London in 1647 to the Florentine Carlo Dati, returned to those Italian memories, but contained intimate details respecting Milton himself in the interval. Three, addressed respectively to the Oldenburg diplomatist Hermann Mylius, the Greek Parisian Philaras, and the English clergyman Heath, belonged to the time of his Secretaryship for the Council of State of the Commonwealth. Fourteen belonged to the time of his Secretaryship to Oliver; of which one was to Philaras again, one to the Dutch Aitzema, one to the Genevese Ezekiel Spanheim, one to the French Emeric Bigot, two to Henry de Brass, two to the German Peter Heimbach, three to Henry Oldenburg, and three to Mr. Richard Jones. Of three written between Cromwell's death and the Restoration one was to the French enthusiast Jean L'Abadie, one to Oldenburg again, and one to Richard Jones again; and the last of the series, and the only one written after the Restoration, was that to Peter Heimbach in 1666, just after the Great Plague. Most of the seventeen correspondents were dead, some of them long ago; but, of the foreigners among them, Carlo Dati, Spanheim, Bigot, and others were still alive, as were also Oldenburg, the

naturalized Englishman, now Secretary of the Royal Society, and his and Milton's pupil, Mr. Richard Jones. This last, now thirty-four years of age, was no longer merely Mr. Richard Jones, but Viscount Ranelagh, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, a very important man in that kingdom, reputed "of good parts, great wit, and very little religion," and on the eve of being created Earl of Ranelagh. Several of the persons mentioned in the letters, in terms of praise or dispraise, were also alive. Morus, indeed, who had figured chiefly in them for dispraise, was dead; but Viscount Ranelagh's mother, the incomparable Lady Ranelagh, was the living lady-chief of learned society in London, the brilliant hostess, in her sixtieth year, for her brother Robert Boyle, in their well-known house in Pall Mall. On the whole, though Oldenburg may not have been altogether satisfied with his appearance in Milton's *Epistolæ Familiares*, the only living person entitled to complain a little was the dashing Viscount Ranelagh. What need was there to remind the public, the good-natured fellow might have asked in the midst of his troubles with Irish revenue-affairs, that he had been formerly the soft-headed boy Jones, who had caused so much anxiety to his mother, and who had been held in such tight rein both by blind Mr. Milton and by Mr. Oldenburg? That was a trifle; and, for the rest, Milton had judged for himself and had judged wisely. He had been prevented from giving to the world such a history of his Latin Secretaryship as might have been gathered from his State Letters; but he had communicated in his Familiar Epistles a good many autobiographic particulars that would otherwise have been unknown. Who would now miss one of them[1]?

[1] See Carte's *Ormond*, II. 451 et seq., for an account of Ranelagh's part in the Irish administration from 1670 onwards and his differences with Ormond, and also for an ill-natured mention of his mother, Lady Ranelagh, as a strong-minded woman, with "the same genius or taste for intrigue" as her son, and holding political cabals "several nights in every week at her house." Earl Ranelagh lived on through King William's reign, was a Privy Councillor in that reign and a man of consequence generally, and did not die till Jan. 5, 1711–12. He had been twice married, and had two sons and four daughters by his first marriage; but, the sons having died young, the Earldom of Ranelagh became extinct. The Viscountcy of Ranelagh, however, with the Barony of Navan, was revived. In the codicil to the will of the Earl of Ranelagh, dated Feb. 20, 1710–11, is mentioned "his dear mother's picture hanging up in his closet in Chelsea" (Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, enlarged by Archdall, 1789, Vol. IV. pp. 303—304). Ranelagh Gardens, Chelsea, derived their name from the fact that they occupied ground that had belonged to this Irish Earl, once Milton's pupil.

In the same month of July 1674, or perhaps a little later in the year, Brabazon Aylmer published a small quarto tract of twelve pages with this title: "*A Declaration, Or Letters Patents of the Election of this present King of Poland John the Third, Elected on the 22d of May last past, Anno Dom.* 1674. *Containing the Reasons of this Election, the great Vertues and Merits of the said Serene Elect, His eminent Services in War, especially in his last great Victory against the Turks and Tartars, whereof many Particulars are here related, not published before. Now faithfully translated from the Latin Copy. London, Printed for Brabazon Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons in Cornhil,* 1674." The translation was reprinted as Milton's in the collected edition of his prose-works in 1698, and was then distinctly ascribed to Milton by Toland; and there seems no reason to doubt the fact. The subject of the tract must have been strongly interesting to Milton:—Through the reign of John Casimir (1648–1668), and under his successor Michael Wisnowietzki, Poland, once an important European kingdom, had been struggling for her very existence. Disorganized internally by her wretched political constitution, and by the reactionary policy that had been adopted against the Protestant religion, which had taken such a strong hold of her population in the sixteenth century, she had been overrun by invasion after invasion of Swedes, Russians, Tartars, and Turks. Her warrior-chief, the one man upon whom her hopes had been centred in the confusion, was John Sobieski, Castellan of Cracow. His last great victory over the Turks had been in November 1673, the very day after the death of the Polish King Michael. Accordingly, when the Polish Diet met at Warsaw in April 1674 for the election of a new King, and when, as usual, several foreign candidates were nominated, one of them by Sobieski himself, the words "Let a Pole reign over Poland," uttered by another Polish magnate, had an electrical effect. Unanimously and with acclamation Sobieski was elected King; and a Latin Declaration to that effect having been duly executed and vouched at Warsaw, on the 22nd of May, by ten Polish bishops, twenty-three palatins, twenty-four castellans, and seventy-five senators and great

officers, and Sobieski having taken his oath on the 5th of June, the document was published for the information of Europe. Too large to be given in full in the miserable *London Gazette* of that day, it was likely to be in demand if put forth in the form of a tract in English; and Aylmer may either have applied to Milton for a translation, or been offered one. The document is by no means a dry and formal affair but full of fervour, and with sentiments about popular rights and the nature of true sovereignty which it must have pleased Milton to present again, in any form, to his countrymen. It begins by sketching the proceedings of the Diet and referring to the foreign candidates who had tendered their services. "But the Commonwealth," it proceeds, "be-
"coming more diligent by the prodigal ambition used in the
"last interreign and factions and disagreeings of minds, nor
"careless of the future, considered with herself whether firm
"or doubtful things were promised, and whether she should
"seem from the present state to transfer both the old and
"new honours of Poland into the possession of strangers, or
"the military glory, and their late unheard of victory over
"the Turks, and blood spilt in the war, upon the purple of some
"unwarlike Prince; as if any one could so put on the love
"of the country, and that Poland was not so much an enemy
"to her own nation and fame as to favour strangers more
"than her own, and, valour being found in her, should suffer
"a guest of new power to wax proud in her. Therefore she
"thenceforth turned her thoughts upon some one in her own
"nation, and at length abolished (as she began in the former
"election) that reproach cast upon her, under pretence of a
"secret maxim *That none can be elected King of Poland but*
"*such as are born out of Poland.* Neither did she seek long
"among her citizens whom she should prefer above the rest
"(for this was no uncertain or suspended election: there
"was no place for delay); for, although in the equality of
"our nobles many might be elected, yet the virtue of a hero
"appeared above his equals. Therefore the eyes and minds
"of all men were willingly, and by a certain divine instinct,
"turned upon the High Marshal of the Kingdom, Captain of

"the Army, John Sobietzki." There follows a glowing character of Sobieski, with an account of his family and his life hitherto. At the time of his election Sobieski was forty-five years of age. His great reign of twenty-two years, with such farther exploits against the Turks as were to earn the admiration of all Europe, justified the election, and gave Poland her one chance of being permanently a nation. Of that reign Milton was to know nothing. He had lived but to see another hero emerge out of things in wreck and become John III. of Poland.

The *Declaration of the Election of John III. of Poland* and the tiny volume containing the *Epistolæ Familiares* and the *Prolusiones Oratoriæ* were both on sale in Brabazon Aylmer's shop, as we have seen reason for believing, in July 1674.

In the end of that month Milton had an attack of gout more serious than usual. His brother, Christopher Milton, Bencher of the Inner Temple, and Deputy Recorder for Ipswich, had occasion to remember the fact very particularly. It was Christopher Milton's custom, before going to Ipswich, which he generally did for each vacation after the midsummer term, to call on his brother for a special leave-taking; and "on or about the 20th of July 1674," as he afterwards testified, he went to Bunhill, on this customary visit. He could not be more precise as to the day of the month; but he was certain that the visit was in the forenoon, because the Ipswich coach, by which he was to start that day, always left town about noon. He found his brother in his own chamber, "not well," though "of perfect mind and memory" and discoursing sensibly. In a very serious manner Milton spoke of the possibility of his dying before his brother's return to London, and desired him to take notice, in that case, of his intentions with regard to his property. He spoke deliberately, like one making a word-of-mouth will. As near as Christopher could recollect, the words were these: "Brother, the portion due "to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to "the unkind children I had by her; but I have received no "part of it: and my will and meaning is they shall have no "other benefit of my estate than the said portion and what

"I have besides done for them, they having been very un-
"dutiful to me. And all the residue of my estate I leave to
"the disposal of Elizabeth, my loving wife." At the time of his thus speaking his wife was in the room, and the maid-servant, Elizabeth Fisher, was "going up and down the room"; but whether they heard the words, or, at all events, whether the maidservant heard them, Christopher could not be sure. He was quite sure, however, that his brother, "then ill of the gout," was perfectly calm, only declaring, "but without passion," that "his children had been unkind to "him, but that his wife had been very kind and careful of "him;" and the entire impression on Christopher was that his brother had been induced to the communication merely by the thought that, as he, Christopher, was going into the country, they might never meet again. The complaint about the undutifulness of the daughters was not then made for the first time. Christopher had heard it from him before more than once[1].

It may have been on the same day, just after Christopher had left the house in Bunhill to take the Ipswich coach, or it may have been a day or two afterwards, that Milton, seated with his wife at their midday dinner, recurred to the subject of his conversation with his brother. Our informant is the above-named maidservant, Elizabeth Fisher. She had been about a year in Milton's service; and she remembered perfectly that, on a certain day which she could not farther specify than that it was in July 1674, Milton and his wife being at dinner together by themselves in his "lodging-chamber," and she waiting on them, and something having been provided for dinner which Milton "very well liked," she heard him say to his wife, whom he usually called Betty, "God have mercy, Betty, I see thou wilt perform according "to thy promise in providing me such dishes as I think fit "whilst I live; and, when I die, thou knowest that I have "left thee all." He was at that time "of perfect mind and memory, and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, but

[1] Christopher Milton's evidence in Court in the case of his brother's Nuncupative Will.

was then indisposed in his body by reason of the distemper of the gout which he had then upon him"; and she remembered that, at the moment of his speaking the above words, he was "very merry and not in any passion or angry humour." Nor did she hear him then refer at all to his children or their conduct. She had heard him say enough on that topic before[1].

Milton, it appears, recovered sufficiently from his illness of the end of July to be seen again, in his garden, or at the door of his house, in his grey coarse cloth coat, receiving visitors or led about on his walks out of doors. And so August passed with its heat, and September and October came with the falling leaves. Not by fall of leaf or changing colour did month follow month for Milton. The world came to him by hearing only.—From abroad the main rumours, in those months, were still of the war between Louis XIV. and the Dutch, and of the unflinching heroism of the young Prince of Orange. England having retired from that war several months ago by her separate peace with the Dutch, there was leisure at home for speculating on the new domestic policy of the Danby Administration, then shaping itself secretly in the interval between the Twelfth Session of the Parliament and the uncertain day of the meeting of the Thirteenth. It was necessarily to be a "No Popery" policy, on the principles of the Test Act, and so far popular; but, for the rest, appearances were that it would be very much a return to Clarendon's policy, and therefore unpromising for the Nonconformists. By the advice of Danby, Charles had begun to entertain the idea of the marriage of his niece, the Princess Mary, with the Prince of Orange; and the chances that the marriage might come about were eagerly discussed among the Londoners. Among other matters of public gossip were Shaftesbury's plottings for the revenge of his political disgrace, and the appointment of Arlington to the office of Lord Chamberlain, in compensation for his removal from the Secretaryship of State, now held by Sir

[1] Elizabeth Fisher's evidence in Court in the case of Milton's Nuncupative Will. See ante, p. 476.

Joseph Williamson. The statue of Charles I. had been set up at Charing Cross, and they were laying the foundations of the new St. Paul's. There were new pieces every week at the two theatres, and Shadwell, Wycherley, and Crowne were now the familiar names among theatre-goers after Dryden's. There were advertisements in the London Gazette of a new and enlarged edition of *Hudibras*, the first and second parts together, as on sale jointly by Martin and Herringman, and of an exhibition in Grocers' Hall of Sir Samuel Morland's new pumps and engines, for which his Majesty had granted him a patent for seventeen years.—Amid this confused buzz of facts and rumours round the invalid Milton, with whatever of more vague news reached him of the state of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland, his thoughts, one finds, were turning more and more on the certainty that his own days were numbered. Again and again he recurred, in conversation with his wife, and also quite openly with the maidservant Elizabeth Fisher, to the arrangement he had made with his brother in case of his death. He seems to have thought the verbal arrangement sufficient without the formality of a written will, but to have been anxious to leave additional testimony to it, and to his reasons for it, if there should be need. Several times, accordingly, after his partial recovery from his gout-fit in the end of July, Elizabeth Fisher heard him "declare and say that he had made provision for his "children in his life-time, and had spent the greatest part "of his estate in providing for them, and that he was resolved "he would do no more for them living or dying, for that little "part which he had left he had given to his wife." In these words, and in the fact that he likewise told Elizabeth Fisher, one Sunday afternoon, that "there was a thousand pounds left "in Mr. Powell's hands to be disposed amongst his children "hereafter," we see something like pains taken to prove himself not unjust. But, indeed, the settlement he had made seems to have been such a relief to his mind that he could not help reverting to the topic whoever was present. As late as October 1674 there was a repetition, with slight variation, of the little incident of the midday dinner of July,

with its ejaculation "God have mercy, Betty." The fact comes to us not from Elizabeth Fisher, but from her sister Mary Fisher, a servant in the same neighbourhood, who used often to look in upon her sister, and in that way knew Mr. Milton very well. She testifies that, one day about the middle of October, as nearly as she could remember, being in Milton's house about noon, and in the kitchen with her sister, and Milton and his wife dining that day in the kitchen, she heard Milton say to his wife, "Make much of "me as long as I live, for thou knowest I have given thee "all when I die at thy disposal." He "was then very merry and seemed to be in good health of body." The words about his will, we can see, had by this time established themselves half-humorously between him and his wife as his formula for his sense of helplessness and dependence on her alone[1].

November 1674 had come,—the beginning, as the chronicles inform us, of an unusually warm and unhealthy winter through the British Islands. Again Milton was ill, this time of "the gout struck in," or severe gout-fever. His neighbours were thenceforth to miss their famous blind man in grey. He died on Sunday, the 8th of November, late at night, "with "so little pain that the time of his expiring was not perceived "by those in the room." He had reached the age of sixty-five years and eleven months.

Bunhill Fields Burying-ground, close to Milton's house, was already known as peculiarly the London burying-ground of the Dissenters, and was to be more and more famous in that character as one eminent Nonconformist after another found a grave within it and the number of the tombstones increased. Not there, however, was Milton buried, but in his own parish-church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, beside his father, and according to the rites of the Church of England. The funeral was on Thursday, the 12th of November. "He had "a very decent interment, according to his quality," says Phillips, "being attended from his house to the church by "several gentlemen then in town, his principal well-wishers

[1] Evidence of Elizabeth Fisher and Mary Fisher in the case of Milton's Nuncupative Will.

"and admirers." Toland's account is as trustworthy and is more particular. "All his learned and great friends in "London, not without a concourse of the vulgar," says Toland, "accompanied his body to the church of St. Giles, near Crip- "plegate, where he was buried in the chancel." We can see the coffin brought out from the small house opposite the Artillery Garden Wall, the neighbours looking on from their windows, and the widow left in the house with one or two women attending her, but perhaps not one of the three daughters. We can see the funeral procession, from Bunhill Row, along Beech Lane and Whitecross Street or Redcross Street, to Cripplegate church, Christopher Milton and perhaps the two Phillipses as chief mourners, and surely Andrew Marvell and Dr. Nathan Paget following in the ranks, whether the Earl of Anglesey, Sir Robert Howard, and Dryden were there or not. It arrives at the church gate, where there is some little concourse, either because the neighbourhood has heard that Mr. Milton is to be buried, or merely because it is the funeral of somebody. There one or two clergymen meet the coffin; they place themselves before it and begin the reading or chaunt, "I am the "resurrection and the life, saith the Lord: he that believeth "in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live." They read or chaunt the rest, advancing into the church, till the coffin rests by the side of the grave that has been opened for it in the pavement of the upper end of the chancel, and round which the mourners are now grouped. Then comes the moment for the lowering of the coffin and for the words, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great "mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here "departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground, earth "to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust." With these words, the handfuls of earth fall on the coffin-lid; some eyes are in tears; the remaining prayers are read; the workmen bustle to fill up the grave; and the company depart.

BOOK IV.

Posthumous Miltoniana.

POSTHUMOUS MILTONIANA.

In no case can the life of a man be said to end precisely at his death; but the amount of posthumous matter appertaining to the biography of Milton is unusually large. It may be arranged under a series of headings:—

MILTON'S NUNCUPATIVE WILL.

Hardly was Milton dead when there arose a dispute between his widow and his three daughters as to the inheritance of his property. The dispute took the form of resistance by the three daughters to the widow's application in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury for probate of the nuncupative or word-of-mouth will which she alleged Milton to have made, on or about the 20th of the preceding July, in presence of his brother, Mr. Christopher Milton, Bencher of the Inner Temple and Deputy of Recorder of Ipswich (ante, p. 727–728). The words of the will, as they were reduced to writing by Christopher Milton on the 23rd of November 1674, and lodged that day in Court on the widow's behalf, attested by Christopher Milton's signature and by the mark of Elizabeth Fisher, Milton's maidservant, were these:— "*The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's* "*father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having* "*received no part of it; but my meaning is they shall have no* "*other benefit of my estate than the said portion and what I* "*have besides done for them, they having been very undutiful to* "*me: All the rest of my estate I leave to disposal of Elizabeth, my* "*loving wife.*" The question for the Court was whether this, in the circumstances, could be taken as a good nuncupative will. Verbal or nuncupative wills, if sufficiently vouched,

were valid enough in those days for personal property, and it was not till 1677 that they were distinctly discouraged by a statute subjecting them to very strict conditions. Naturally, however, wills of this kind were always liable to suspicion, and were never allowed till the objections of adverse parties had been fully considered.

The objections lodged in Court on the part of the daughters were in the form of a paper of nine interrogatories to be tendered to the witnesses for the will. It was desired that it should be asked—(1) in what relation or dependence each witness stood to the widow, and to which of the contesting parties each witness would give the victory if it depended on mere vote; (2) whether each witness could be positive as to the day of the alleged will, the time of the day, and the very words spoken by the deceased; (3) whether, if the will was as had been declared, the deceased was not in perfect health at the time, and declared the will in a "present passion or some angry humour against some or one of his children;" (4) whether the deceased was known to have any "cause of displeasure" against his daughters, and whether, on the contrary, they had not always been and still were "great frequenters of the Church and good livers;" (5) whether the will, if any, had not been that the widow should have £1000, and that the residue should go to Mr. Christopher Milton's children, and whether there was not an understanding to that effect between Mr. Christopher Milton and the widow, if her present suit should succeed; (6) whether the unpaid marriage-portion which was all that had been left to the three daughters by the alleged will, and which it supposed to be still recoverable out of the estate of the Powells, was not "reputed a very bad or altogether desperate debt;" (7) whether Mr. Christopher Milton was not acting as the widow's solicitor in the cause, superintending the suit, and paying fees to her proctor, &c.; (8) what provision deceased had made for his daughters in his life-time, and whether the eldest of them, Anne Milton, was not "lame and almost helpless;" (9) what, as far as each witness could guess, was the total value of the estate of the deceased.

The depositions of the witnesses for the will in answer to these interrogatories were duly taken and recorded. The examination of Christopher Milton was on the 5th of December, before Dr. Lloyd, one of the surrogates of the Court; that of Elizabeth Fisher on the 15th, before Dr. Trumbull, afterwards Sir William Trumbull, Ambassador and Secretary of State for some time to William III, and remembered as in his last years the friend and literary adviser of Pope; and on the same 15th of December another surrogate took the evidence of Mary Fisher, who had been in the habit of dropping in upon her sister Elizabeth in Milton's kitchen, knew Milton and his wife in that way pretty well, and had heard him, on one of these visits, about two months after the date of the alleged will, use words which seemed to refer to the will as a settled thing. How the story of Milton's express declaration of his will to his brother, and his subsequent references to it in conversation, and the story also of the unpleasant relations between Milton and his daughters, did come out in the three examinations, we know already to the last detail. There are several points of additional interest here, however, in the answers to the queries of the three daughters. Christopher Milton distinctly acknowledged that he had drawn up the will with his own hand out of consideration for the widow, recollecting his brother's exact words to the best of his ability, and that he wished to see the will take effect, though he denied that there was any other foundation for the idea that he was conducting the case at his own expense than that, having gone with the widow to proctor's chambers in the course of the business, he had lent her two half-crowns to make up a sum she wanted. He also acknowledged that Mrs. Milton had told him that Milton had privately intimated a wish to her that, if the property left should exceed £1000, the surplus should be given to Christopher Milton's children; but he denied having heard anything to that effect from his brother himself or considering it part of the will. In the matter of the undutiful behaviour of the daughters to their father he could speak mainly from what his brother, when declaring his will and at different times

before, had told him; and of their present church-going habits and general manner of life he knew nothing, "they living apart from their father four or five years last past." He was by no means of opinion that the bequest to the three girls of their mother's unpaid marriage-portion was valueless, knowing the said portion to be "in the hands of persons of ability, able to pay the same, being their grandmother and uncle," and having "seen the grandfather's will, wherein 'tis particularly directed to be paid unto them by his executors." This marriage-portion, consisting of a principal of £1000, "besides the interest thereof for about twenty years," was, he believed, all that Milton had given to his daughters, over and above "his charges in their maintenance and breeding;" and the eldest of the daughters, Anne Milton, he did understand to be "lame and helpless." On this last point the maidservant Elizabeth Fisher, as a workwoman herself, had more distinct notions than the Bencher. "Anne Milton," she said, "is lame, but hath a trade and can live by the same, which is the making of gold and silver lace, and which the deceased bred her up to." The same witness had also several times heard Mr. Milton "declare and say that he had made provision for his children in his life-time, and had spent the greatest part of his estate in providing for them," and assign this as one reason for doing nothing more for them at his death. She believed, moreover, that their mother's marriage-portion, left them, and due to them by their uncle Mr. Powell, was a good debt enough, "for that the said Mr. Powell is reputed a rich man." On th whole, though it was the evidence of this witness that was most damaging to the girls, and especially to the second daughter, Mary, the dreadful story of whose words about her father as far back as 1663 she testified to have heard from Milton's own lips, yet there seems to have been no spite in her evidence, but good rough sense and feeling. To the first of the nine interrogatories she answered that she was still in Mrs. Milton's service, and therefore, of course, had "a dependency upon her as her servant," but declared that, notwithstanding that relation, if the decision of the case were in her power, "she would give the deceased's

estate equally to be shared between the ministrants and the producent," i.e. between the three daughters and the widow.

Elizabeth Fisher's notion of rough justice seems to have been also that of the Court. There was not the least doubt of the trustworthiness of any of the witnesses; but the nuncupative will as attested by them wanted some of the qualifications deemed essential. It had not been made on the deathbed of the testator, nor even in what could be supposed his last sickness; the evidence of the witnesses was concurrent from several moments in the last months of the life of the deceased and not from one and the same moment; nor had there been the solemnity of a distinct call from the deceased to the witnesses to hear his words and remember them as his last will. "On these principles," says Warton, "we may presume Sir Leoline Jenkins to have acted in the rejection of Milton's will." Sir Leoline Jenkins, afterwards Ambassador and Secretary of State, was then the chief judge of the Prerogative Court, and had a high reputation for uprightness; but I do not find the proof of any such definite decision by him as is here assumed. All that appears is that the widow came out of Court without the probate of the will which she had applied for, but with letters of administration granted to her instead. They were granted on the 25th of February 1674–5, and the register of the Court bears that they were granted, "the "nuncupative will of the said defunct, otherwise alleged by "the aforesaid Elizabeth Milton, having not yet been proved "(*nondum probato*)." My construction is that the various parties had by this time come together, Christopher Milton advising the widow, while the three girls were represented, as they had probably been from the beginning of the suit, by their grandmother Mrs. Powell and their uncle Mr. Richard Powell, and that, to save farther trouble, the widow had abandoned her claim for probate of the will and agreed to be content with that administration of the effects of the deceased which the Court was willing to assign her. The grant of administration constituted her the officer of Court for realising all the effects, and distributing the surplus, after payment of the debts of the deceased, among all entitled to share, accord-

ing to the proportions fixed by the law and custom of that time; and the difference for herself was that, whereas probate of the will would have given her all, administration gave her two-thirds, one third as widow, another as administratrix, the remaining third to be distributed equally among the daughters[1].

The widow was most prompt and business-like in her arrangements. She was entitled to take time in settling with the daughters; but, even before the letters of administration had been granted, she had virtually settled all. The proof exists in the form of the three releases or receipts given to her by the three girls. Those of Anne and Mary Milton are both dated Feb. 22, 1674–5, or three days before the date of the letters of administration. They are in identical terms, and are signed by the same four witnesses, one of whom is a "Richard Milton;" and the only difference is that Anne's release is signed by her mark merely over the seal, her name "Anne Milton" being written for her by this Richard Milton, while Mary's release bears her own signature, "Mary Millton," spelt so. Each states that "before the ensealing and delivery hereof" the sum of £100 has been "secured to be payd" by the widow, "to the end the said one hundred pounds may, by and with the consent and approbation of Christopher Milton and Richard Powell, both of the Inner Temple, London, Esqrs., be layd out and disposed off for and in purchasing of a rent charge or annuity" for the giver of the receipt during her life, "or otherwise as they shall judge to be for the best benefitt and advantage;" and, in consideration of this security, each "doth hereby acknowledge herselfe fully sattisfyed of her share and distribucion of her said late father's estate." The release of the third and youngest daughter, Deborah, does not come till about a month later, i.e. on the 27th of March 1675, and then with some interesting peculiarities. In the first place, it is not granted by

[1] The documents relating to the procedure in the Nuncupative Will were first printed by Warton in his second edition of Milton's Minor Poems in 1791, and have been reprinted in full by Todd, with Warton's notes (Todd's Milton, edit. 1852, I. 167—183), and by Mr. John Fitchett Marsh (Appendix to Milton Papers, printed for the Chetham Society, 1851).

"Deborah Milton," but jointly by "Abraham Clarke, of the Citty of Dublin in ye Kingdome of Ireland, weavor, and Deborah, his wife," and is signed and sealed accordingly by both, the signature "Deboroh Clarke" having an *o* for the *a* in the christian name, and a correction in the last letter of the surname, as if the writer were hardly yet accustomed to it. The four witnesses to this receipt are different from those who had witnessed the other two; two of the names seem Irish; and, though the receipt does not positively bear to have been signed in Dublin and sent over thence, that seems self-evident. Now, as it was under her maiden name of "Deborah Milton" that Deborah had appeared as one of the parties to the suit against the widow in November 1674, and as she retains that name in the documents of the suit till the 5th of December, there seem to be only two ways of accounting for her appearance as "Deborah Clarke" on the 27th of March 1675. Having gone to Dublin, we are told, some years before her father's death, as companion to a lady named Merian, and having there met the Abraham Clarke who describes himself as a "weaver," but whose business Aubrey explains further by the words "a mercer, sells silk," she may have been married to him for some time, without having taken the trouble of informing her father or her sisters; and so, when her sisters did look after her interests as well as their own in the suit, they may have entered her as still Deborah Milton, and only on correspondence with her in consequence of the suit may it have emerged that she was now Mrs. Clarke. It is more probable, however, that she was still only Deborah Milton when the suit began, was then in Dublin, and remained there through the whole progress of the suit, and that her marriage with Abraham Clarke occurred in Dublin between the 5th of December 1674, when the paper of interrogatories to the widow's witnesses, tendered in the Prerogative Court in London, purported to be from "Anne, Mary, and Deborah Milton," and the 27th of March 1675, when she and her husband signed their joint release to the widow. In that case the signing of the release must have been one of the earliest incidents of her married life; and in either case the

widow must have settled with her by correspondence. Whether because the husband, Abraham Clarke, took care to exact from the widow all he could before giving the release, or because the widow recollected the young Deborah with kindlier feelings than she could own to the two elder sisters, the settlement with the Clarkes yielded something more to Deborah than had been yielded to Anne and Mary. The release from Deborah and her husband is as complete as the others had been, but is "in consideracion of "the full and just summe of one hundred pounds sterling paid "by Elizabeth Milton, relict and also administratrix of the "goods and chattles of the said John Milton, unto John "Burrough of Cornehill, London, cabinet-maker, for the use "and by the appointment of the said Abraham Clarke and "Deborah his said wife, and of the delivery unto ye said "John Burrough, for the [like] use and by the like ap-"pointment, of severall goods late of ye said John Milton, "deceased, by ye said Elizabeth Milton." The goods thus entrusted to the cabinet-maker of Cornhill to be sent to Dublin with the £100 may have included articles of furniture that would be useful to a newly married couple; but we chance to know independently that they included one or two little articles that a daughter might like to have as relics of her father. One was a silver seal which Milton had used, bearing the family arms.

One point more in the widow's settlement with the three daughters. All the three releases contained an excepting clause. That of the Clarkes discharges the widow of all further claims on her on account of the estate of the deceased, realized or to be realized, "except such share thereof as ye "said Deborah, or as ye said Abraham Clarke in right of "ye said Deborah, doth or may claim or demaund by force or "colour of one bond or obligacion, dated ye two and twentieth "day of February now last past, of ye penall summe of Two "Hundred Pounds, entred into by Christopher Milton of ye "Inner Temple, London, Esqr., unto Richard Powell, of the "same Inner Temple, London, Esqr., or of ye condition there "under-written." The exception had been *totidem verbis* in

the two previous releases. The bond given by Christopher Milton, the paternal uncle of the three girls, to Mr. Powell, their maternal uncle, has not come down to us; but there can be little doubt that it referred to the unpaid marriage-portion of Milton's first wife. By the very act of quashing the nuncupative will that debt of £1000, with twenty-one years of interest, belonged no longer, as by the will, to the three daughters, but to the widow, as administratrix for herself and for them; and, whatever the debt might turn out to be worth, two thirds of it, as of the rest of the estate, would be legally the widow's, and only the other third would be divisible among the daughters. Is it too much to suppose that Mr. Powell, on the one hand, was anxious to guard himself against a claim of the widow which might be very inconvenient to him, and that the widow, on the other hand, having made up her mind that the three daughters were the proper persons to benefit by their mother's marriage-portion, if it should ever be recovered, was willing to leave that debt as a family matter to be settled between Mr. Powell and his nieces without her interference? If so, her good friend Christopher Milton agreeing with her and willing to be her security, the bond to Mr. Powell may have been to the effect that Mr. Powell should have no further trouble from her in that matter, and that, whenever he should see fit to pay up anything of the long due marriage-portion, as enjoined by his father's will of December 1646, it should all go to the daughters[1].

Mrs. Milton having paid Deborah's share of £100 by the 27th of March 1675, it may be assumed that she had by that time paid also the other two shares of £100 each, and so was then clear of all her liabilities. What she had retained for herself can have been about £600 only, with the greater portion of her deceased husband's household goods. Phillips's report from hearsay, that his uncle had died worth £1500 in money besides household goods, must, therefore, be consider-

[1] My chief authority for the transactions between the widow and the daughters is the little volume of *Milton Papers* edited for the Chetham Society by Mr. John Fitchett Marsh in 1851. The volume contains the three releases, with facsimiles of the signatures to them, and excellent annotations by Mr. Marsh. But see also Vol. I. pp. 3—4, footnote, Vol. III. pp. 635—637, and ante, p. 449—451.

ably abated. Milton had estimated his own estate just before his death at £1000 or perhaps a little more, and his estimate had turned out tolerably correct. He had wanted to leave his widow £1000, and what had actually come to her was about two-thirds of that sum. It was as if now a widow were left about £2000, to be invested in an annuity for her life or otherwise.

THE WIDOW, THE THREE DAUGHTERS, AND MILTON'S DIRECT DESCENDANTS.

At Milton's death his widow was just thirty-six years of age. Though she might have married again, one hears of no such intention. She lived on in London, for six or seven years longer, still apparently in the house in Artillery Walk, Bunhill. One of her most frequent visitors, and her most intimate friend all in all in London, was her relative Dr. Nathan Paget, who had first introduced her to Milton. He died in January 1678–9; and in his will, dated the 7th of that month and proved the 15th, while leaving a sum of money to the College of Physicians, and other sums to his brother the Rev. Thomas Paget, his widowed sister Elizabeth Johnson, and her children, he expressly marks his regard for his "cosen" Elizabeth Milton by a bequest to her of £20. An occasional visitor of Mrs. Milton, especially about 1680, was the inquisitive Aubrey, some of whose particles of information about Milton, jotted down about that year, are authenticated by him by the repeated phrase "*vidua affirmat*," "his widowe assures me," &c. Aubrey was particularly interested by finding that she had a great many letters by her that Milton had received "from learned men of his acquaintance, both of England and beyond sea," and also that she had still in her possession the portrait of Milton he thought the best, viz. that taken when he was twenty-one years of age and a Cambridge scholar. As Aubrey liked this portrait better than the later one prefixed to some of Milton's books, he thought it "ought to be engraven," and he pro-

posed to write Milton's name upon it in "red letters" for its safer preservation[1].

It seems to have been in or about 1681 that the widow, then in her forty-third year, made up her mind to leave London and retire to her native Cheshire. Preparation had been made by an arrangement with her brother, Richard Minshull, rather more than two years younger than herself, and still living in the parish of Wistaston, near Nantwich, where they had both been born and baptized. On the 4th of June 1680 this Richard Minshull of Wistaston, describing himself as a "frame-work knitter," had given a bond in £30 to "Elizabeth Milton of the city of London, widow," to the effect that, in consideration of the sum of £150 "payd or secured to be payd" by her to him for her use, he surrendered to Sir Thomas Wilbraham, baronet, a lease of "a messuage and tenement, with the appurtenances and diverse lands thereunto belonging," held by him from the said baronet, and situated in Brindley, in the county of Chester, in order that a new lease of the same should be made to the said Elizabeth Milton. As the new lease was to be for the widow's life, conjointly with that of Mary Minshull, the wife of the Richard Minshull who gives the bond, and with that of a son of his, also named Richard Minshull, for the benefit of whichever of the three should live longest, it is evident that the arrangement was one for the common interests of the family, with the help of the widow's money. When Mrs. Milton did retire to Cheshire, it was not to the messuage at Brindley, which is about six miles west from Nantwich, but to Nantwich itself, much closer to her brother and his family. Wistaston was the place where he carried on his trade of frame-work knitter, and the lease at Brindley was a mere farming investment, sublet to undertenants.

Having arrived in Nantwich, some time in 1681, the widow took up her abode either in some very small house in the town by herself, or more probably in a portion of the

[1] Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, I. 224—225; Milton, Minshull, and Gouldsmyth pedigree, with notes, by Miss Thomasin E. Sharpe, reprinted from *The Genealogist* of April 1878; Aubrey's Lives, Milton.

house of some friend, where she placed her furniture, and where she could have all the attendance she wanted without keeping her own servant. There, among her relatives and old acquaintances once more, and near her native spot, she grew older and older, utterly forgotten in London, but gradually more and more known to all Nantwich as an eminently respectable and pious person, widow of the famous Mr. Milton, and living frugally on what he had left her. So well known were her habits and circumstances among her neighbours that it became a saying among the Nantwich people, when they would describe the hospitalities of persons of straitened means, "They have had Mrs. Milton's feast, enough and no more." This must have been late in her life, when she was also known as the member of a small congregation or chapel of General Baptists in Nantwich, the pastor of which was a Mr. Samuel Acton. Phillips, while writing his memoir of Milton in 1694, was not quite sure that she was still alive in her Cheshire retirement; and, save that Toland, when preparing his Life of Milton in 1698, caused a friend to write to her for information, who received a letter in reply, admirers of Milton do not seem to have troubled her with any inquiries about him till in her very last years. It was from some one who had seen her in Nantwich that Bishop Newton heard that her hair had been originally of a golden hue; and there is another tradition that, on being asked by some visitors whether her husband had not been a great reader of Homer and Virgil, she resented the question, thinking it implied plagiarism, and answered with some eagerness that her husband stole from nobody but the muse that inspired him, and that muse was God's Holy Spirit. One or two more documents are extant relating to her money-affairs. On the 11th of April 1713, or the last year but one of the reign of Queen Anne, she became bound jointly with Mr. Samuel Acton in £20 for the payment six months afterwards of a debt of £10, with interest, to a Randal Timmis, of Greasty, co. Chester, yeoman; and, though the nature of the debt is not stated, one imagines it to have been connected somehow with the Baptist chapel. On the 22nd

of October 1720, when George I. had been six years on the throne, and she was in her eighty-second year, she signed an agreement with John Darlington, yeoman, letting to him her farm and premises at Brindley at a rent of £30 yearly on certain carefully stated mutual conditions. On the 16th of June 1725, when she was in her eighty-seventh year, there was a farther transaction between her and the same John Darlington, relating to the same premises and farm at Brindley. She lived more than two years after that, for her last will is dated Aug. 22, 1727, in the first year of the reign of George II., and it was proved on the 10th of October in that year. She died, therefore, between these two dates, near the age of eighty-nine. Hers had been an unusually long widowhood, for she had outlived her husband fifty-three years. A funeral sermon said to have been preached on her in the Baptist chapel, Nantwich, by the Rev. Isaac Kimber, assistant to Mr. Acton, was published in 1756 by the preacher's son, Mr. Edward Kimber, but with a mistake as to the date of her death. It contains no allusion whatever to Milton, and next to nothing about herself.

Most of Mrs. Milton's small property having terminated with her life or been already settled beyond that, her will was a very simple one. It constituted her "loving friends" Samuel Acton and John Allecock, both of Nantwich, her executors, and gave all her effects, after payment of her debts, to her "nephews and nieces in Namptwich" equally, without naming them. Allecock alone took out letters of administration, and there was very little to administer. The goods and chattels she had left were sworn under £40; and the "true and perfect inventory" of them, made for the purpose of the oath, still exists, and exhibits the total as exactly £38 8*s.* 4*d.* It is a most touching document. The total, small though it is, comprises 108 different items. First comes "a pair bedsteads and hangings," valued at 18*s.*, then "a feather bed and bolster," valued at £2 7*s.*, then "2 quilts and pair of blanketts, old patched ones," valued at 10*s.*, then "2 teaspoons and 1 silver spoon, with a seal and stopper and bitts of silver," valued together at 12*s.*, then a "chest of drawers

and frame," valued at 13*s.*, then "one dress-box, bottles, and things belonging," valued at 12*s.*, then "one pencil-case," valued at 3*s.*; and so on the document goes, through a miscellany of pewter dishes, other dishes, pails and small barrels, a brass fender, fire-irons, cooking utensils, trunks, old tin candlesticks, "a totershell knife and fork with other old ones," an old looking-glass, two old pairs of scissors, a tobacco-box, "one mask and fan," "one old muff and case," "a fine cloak and hood," "a Norwich gown and pettycoat," "a calimancoe gown," "an old Norwich gown and coat," handkerchiefs and other articles of body attire, "three pair old gloves," "a pair shoes and two pair cloggs," "two pair of spectables," &c., &c. The majority of the items range from two or three shillings to threepence or lower in value, and there are included 17*s.* in money and sixpence worth of coals that had been left unburnt. The highest item by far in the inventory is "Mr. Milton's pictures and coat of arms," valued at £10 10*s.*; the next in value is the above-named feather-bed and bolster at £2 7*s.*, the next the Norwich gown and petticoat at £1 5*s.*, the next the bedstead and hangings at 18*s.*, the next the "fine cloak and hood" at 17*s.* 6*d.*, and the next "two cane chairs and two velvet cushions" at 17*s.* Under the name of "2 Books of Paradise," valued at 10*s.*, one recognises bound copies of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained;* "some old books and few old pictures" go together for 12*s.*; and there is "a large Bible" valued at 8*s.* To assist myself in inferring the domestic accommodations of Mrs. Milton at the close of her life, I have submitted the inventory to practised feminine judgment; and the report is that her part of whatever house she lived in consisted probably of a single chamber, with a small attached scullery, but that the chamber, though uncarpeted, and serving as sitting-room, kitchen, and bed-room in one, may have been of good size, and bright and tidy enough, with its fire-place and brass fender, its old chest of drawers, its two old tables, its two cane chairs with velvet cushions, and two or three sedge-bottomed chairs and stools beside, and with Mr. Milton's pictures and coat of arms on the walls, and the two Books of Paradise and the large Bible as the

conspicuous table-ornaments. I am informed also that the venerable old lady's wardrobe, though it included curious little articles of fashion, like the mask and fan, that must have been carefully conserved from the days of the Restoration, and also handsome enough changes of more lately purchased apparel, in which to walk out or receive visitors, was deficient in woollen and linen under-comforts, and that her tastes were evidently much less in the direction of needlework or knitting than of cookery and pastry. The proportion of saucepans, mortars and pestles, and other little articles of cooking apparatus, to the rest of her scullery effects is, I am told, remarkable; and some of these articles, it appears, indicate a certain preference for minces, stews, made dishes, and generally for the daintier style of cookery. One remembers Milton's compliment to her, "*God have mercy, Betty*," &c. (ante, p. 728). On the whole, the ascendancy of Milton in the widow's memory and surroundings to the last is a thing most manifest. Besides the relics of him in the old furniture, such as it was, in the two portraits of him and his coat of arms, in the bound copies of his *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and in the few silver trinkets, it seems probable that she had retained more familiar mementoes in the articles entered in the inventory as "the best suit of twad cloaths," "the worser do," and "2 pair of ruffles." The two suits of "twad," possibly Milton's old suits of grey in Bunhill fifty-three years before, were valued at 3*s*. and 1*s*. 6*s*. respectively, and the ruffles at 2*s*. If they were Milton's, they ought to have fetched higher prices even from Nantwich antiquaries. The two portraits of him, the one his sweet round-headed little boy-portrait, the other that graceful portrait of him in his Cambridge days which Aubrey had wanted to mark, were to be sold ere long for considerable sums, and were to find their way southward [1].

[1] The facts in this account of the later life of Milton's widow, so far as they are not incidentally from Toland, Newton, or previous information in these volumes (e. g. in footnotes at p. 50 and pp. 278—279 of Vol. I.) are from Mr. J. Fitchett Marsh's *Milton Papers* for the Chetham Society, and from a subsequent paper of his read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in Feb. 22, 1855. This last contains the inventory of Mrs. Milton's effects at her decease, with Mr. Marsh's notice of the same.

At Milton's death, his eldest daughter, Anne, was twenty-eight years of age, Mary was twenty-six years of age, and Deborah was in her twenty-third year. They had each the £100 of their father's money that had been surrendered by the widow, besides their dependency on the Powells and the chances of their own exertions. The dependency on the Powells can have been worth little; but, for one of them, it hardly mattered. Anne Milton, the eldest daughter, the handsome-faced but deformed one, with an impediment in her speech, found a husband very soon, it seems, in a person whose name has not come down to us, and of whom nothing more is known than that he was a "master-builder," or architect of some kind; and she died in giving birth to her first child, the child dying with her. This must have been before the 24th of October 1678; on which day Mrs. Powell, making her will, mentions her two grandchildren, "Mary Miltor, spinster," and "Deborah Clarke, wife of —— Clarke —— of —— in Ireland," as "the two surviving daughters" of her late daughter "Mary Milton, deceased," and leaves them £10 each. The bequest shows that the grandmother had still some kindly feeling for the two; but the other items of the will indicate that her main regards were elsewhere. To her son Richard Powell of the Inner Temple, Esq., she bequeathes discharge of a bond of his for £120, dated July 8, 1665, together with a gold ring, "which was his grandmother Archdale's," and all goods left in the house at Forest Hill; to Anne, the wife of her said son, she leaves the said son's picture in a case of gold or enamel; and to her grandchild, Richard Powell, son of the said son, she leaves 20*s*. for a ring. The other principal legatees are her four living daughters, Anne Kinaston, wife of Thomas Kinaston of London, merchant, Sarah Pearson, wife of Richard Pearson, gent., Elizabeth Howell, wife of Thomas Howell, gent., and Elizabeth Holloway, wife of Christmas Holloway, gent.,—to each of whom she leaves £50, the said Anne Kinaston to have the residue of her goods besides, and to be executrix. As the will was not proved till Nov. 6, 1682, Mrs. Powell must have lived about four years after making it, and not till after those four

years can Mary Milton and Mrs. Clarke have received their £10 each. It seems to have been the last benefit to them from their Powell connexion; for, though their uncle Richard Powell lived till 1695, a prosperous man, one of the Readers of the Inner Temple, &c., and all his forementioned sisters were then still alive, there seems to have been no farther recollection among them of any obligation or relationship to their Milton nieces. At the time of the uncle's death, indeed, only one of these nieces was left. Milton's second daughter, Mary, the likest to her mother, and the most disagreeably remembered of the three, had died, still unmarried, at some uncertain date before 1694; in which year Phillips, in his memoir of Milton, speaks of Deborah as the sole daughter then surviving[1].

Deborah Milton and her husband, Abraham Clarke, after they had been a good number of years in Dublin, came over to London "during the troubles in Ireland under King James II," or some time between 1684 and 1688, the husband continuing his Irish business of weaving and silk-dealing by becoming "a weaver in Spitalfields." They had ten children in all, seven sons and three daughters, born either in Ireland between 1676 and the date of their migration to Spitalfields or afterwards in Spitalfields itself. Most of these died in infancy; the husband, Abraham Clarke, died at some unknown date after 1688; but Deborah did not die till the 24th of August 1727, when she was in her seventy-sixth year. Her death was almost contemporaneous with that of Milton's widow at Nantwich, thirteen years her senior. Her only surviving son, Urban Clarke, was then a Spitalfields weaver, as his father had been, and unmarried; her only surviving daughter had changed her name, a good many years before, from Elizabeth Clarke to Elizabeth Foster, by her marriage with a Thomas Foster, also "a weaver in Spitalfields;" and Deborah's

[1] Milton Pedigree by Sir Charles Young, Garter King at Arms; and abstracts of the wills of Mrs. Powell and her son Richard Powell, kindly communicated to me by Miss Thomasin E. Sharpe. Mr. Powell's will is dated Dec. 29, 1693, and proved Feb. 3, 1695–6.—It will be noted that there were two living sisters in the Powell family bearing the same name, Elizabeth. See Vol. II. p. 499; where I gave the baptism dates of both the Elizabeths, but assumed, wrongly it now appears, that one of them had died in infancy.

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abode in her widowhood, for some years before her death, seems to have been in the house in Spitalfields occupied by the Fosters and their family, where her son Urban was also a lodger. Her eldest son, Caleb Clarke, had emigrated to Madras long ago, had married there, and had children before his death in 1719. She remembered that dead son well, and could think vaguely of her grandchildren in India whom that son had left; but the home of her immediate interests and anxieties was in the little weaving world of Spitalfields.

Even in this little weaving world Mrs. Clarke had been always pursued by some recollection that she was Milton's youngest daughter, and for some years before her death, in her old age and widowhood, she had been publicly rediscovered and made a celebrity on that account. "I was in London," says Voltaire, "when it became known that a daughter of blind Milton was still alive, old and in poverty, and in a quarter of an hour she was rich." This would make the excitement about her a sudden thing, and refer it to the year 1726 or to the beginning of 1727, the year of her death. But it is certain that for at least seven or eight years before that date she had been an object of considerable interest and curiosity to eminent persons in London. Addison died on the 17th of June 1719; and the credit of first inquiring after Milton's daughter, or at least of calling attention to her circumstances, seems to belong to him. Hearing that there was such a person living in Spitalfields, he sent for her, asking her to bring with her any papers or other evidences that could prove her Milton birth. When she came into his presence, with or without papers, and was about to explain herself, "Madam," he said, "you need no other voucher; your face is a sufficient testimonial whose daughter you are." The good Addison then conversed with her, said he hoped he might be able to procure a small annual pension for her, and gave her some guineas from himself. Addison's death prevented the proposal of a pension from taking effect; but from that time Mrs. Clarke was very well known, and visits to her for her father's sake were not unusual. The engraver, George Vertue, visited her on Thursday the 10th of August 1721, for the

purpose of taking her advice as to the authenticity of a picture of Milton that had been put into his hands to be engraved. He carried this picture with him, and also two or three different prints of Milton's portrait as already engraved, i. e. from or after the Faithorne crayon-drawing of 1670. She rejected the picture which Vertue had brought, as being dark-complexioned and dark-haired, and therefore quite unlike her father; but she immediately recognised the likeness in the prints, explaining that, having been in Ireland some time before her father's death, she had not been aware of any such portrait of him in his later life, and knew of no other pictures of him than the boy-portrait and the student-portrait which her step-mother then had in Cheshire. These facts are from a letter of Vertue's own, dated Aug. 12, 1721; but either that letter omits some of the particulars, or there must have been a subsequent experiment of Mrs. Clarke's discrimination in the matter of portraits of her father. The sight of one portrait of her father, we are told, greatly moved her. Richardson, who was then the possessor of that portrait, but who expressly tells us that an accident prevented him from seeing Mrs. Clarke himself, is our authority for this interesting addition. "The picture in crayons I have of him," says Richardson, "was shown her after several others, or which "were pretended to be his. When those were shown, and "she was asked if she could recollect if she had ever seen such "a face, *No, No;* but, when this was produced, in a transport, "*'Tis my father, 'Tis my dear father, I see him, 'tis him*, and then "she put her hands to several parts of her face, *'Tis the very* "*man! here, here!*" All who saw Mrs. Clarke observed this tone of reverence and fondness in her reminiscences of her father, though there seems to have been some natural asperity in her references to her step-mother, the old lady at Nantwich. One of her visitors was Professor Ward, of Gresham College; and to him she confirmed the accounts given by Aubrey and Phillips of her father's domestic methods with herself and her two sisters. Their father in his blindness had employed them all in reading to him "in eight languages" which they did not themselves understand, his frequent joke in

their hearing, when there was remark on that anomaly, being that "one tongue was enough for a woman." To test her memory of her readings, Professor Ward asked her whether she could repeat anything from Homer and Ovid, two authors she mentioned as having been often in request. "At my desire," he says, "she repeated a considerable number of verses from the beginning of both these poets with great readiness." Some one else seems to have tested her in Euripides, with like effect. She spoke to Mr. Ward with much gratitude of Addison's kindness to her, and altogether she appeared to Mr. Ward "to be a woman of good sense and a genteel behaviour, and to bear the inconveniences of a low fortune with decency and prudence." His visit to her would therefore seem to have been before that burst of bounty of which Voltaire speaks, and the date of which may be fixed by the appearance of an article on her case, and an appeal in her behalf, in *Mist's Weekly Journal* of April 29, 1727. That there was then, or about that time, some such burst of bounty is proved by Richardson's words in 1734. "She that died a few years "since, and was so much spoke of and visited, and so nobly "relieved for his sake," Richardson then wrote of Milton's daughter; and he repeats the word "relieved" emphatically in two other passages, as if a fund had been raised which satisfied even his notion of what was fitting. He had the satisfaction, he modestly hints, of contributing to the fund himself. Another contributor must have been the Princess Caroline of Wales, then about to become Queen Caroline by the accession of her husband to the throne as George II., if indeed the fifty guineas which that liberal-minded princess is known to have sent to Milton's daughter had not already been sent independently. And so, not in utter neglect, but in some comfort and honour at last, came the sunset of life in Spital-fields for our poor motherless, misguided, but never unlikeable little Deborah of Petty France and Jewin Street, more than sixty years ago [1].

[1] Vertue's Letter of Aug. 12, 1721, in Add. MS. 5016* in British Museum (see ante, Vol. I. p. 277, footnote, where it is quoted); Richardson, pp. xxxii, xxxvi, xcvi, and xcix; Birch's Life of Milton (1753), p. lxxvi; Note of Mr. J. F. Marsh in his *Milton Papers*, pp. 29—30; Todd's Life, I. 148—149 (mainly quota-

Caleb Clarke, Deborah's eldest son and Milton's eldest grandson, had gone out to Madras, then better known as

tion from Warton); Letter of Voltaire as quoted in Mitford's Life of Milton (1851), p. cxxxix, footnote.—That there was a *second* visit to Mrs. Clarke to consult her about portraits of her father, and that it was in this second visit that she testified so strongly to one "picture in crayons" that was shown her, is suggested by a passage in the *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* (p. 620), where it is said that "about the year 1725" Mr. George Vertue found her "lodged in a mean little street near Moorfields," where she then "kept a school for children for her support," and where the result is stated to have been just such a transport of excitement over one "drawing in crayons" as that which Richardson reports. Thus, if there were two separate experiments of her discernment in the matter of her father's portraits, one in 1721, as Vertue himself records, and another about four years later, it was still Vertue, according to this account, that was the experimenter in the second case. The experiment, whether in one visit or in two, is of much importance in connexion with the subject of the portraits of Milton; and this may be the place for some information on that subject, additional to what has been already given in Vol. I., p. 50 and footnote, and footnote to pp. 277–278.—The two portraits there discussed were the two that remained in possession of Milton's widow till her death at Nantwich in 1727: viz. the boy-portrait and the student-portrait. About the authenticity of these there is no doubt whatever. But they are juvenile portraits; and the question now is as to portraits of Milton in more advanced life.—(1) Absolutely and indubitably authentic is the Faithorne of 1670, drawn from the life in Milton's sixty-second year, and engraved, with his own sanction, for the first edition of his *History of Britain*. See ante, pp. 647—649. Faithorne's original crayon-drawing of this portrait was certainly in existence, in possession of the Tonson publishing family, as late as 1760, when an etching from it was made by Cipriani for the Milton enthusiast Mr. Thomas Hollis. See Memoirs of Hollis, p. 529, where a copy of the etching is given, and p. 620, where the original is expressly described as "a drawing in crayons by William Faithorne, now in the hands of Messrs. Tonson, booksellers, in London." This crayon-drawing having now disappeared, however, and Cipriani's etching from it being of little worth, the only true remaining Faithorne is Faithorne's own engraving from the drawing, as published in 1670. All in all, for certainty and impressiveness, I prefer this to any other portrait of Milton. It has been repeatedly reproduced, more or less truthfully, and is therefore tolerably familiar. The portrait prefixed to the present volume is a careful reduction from it by the late Mr. Jeens; but I would also recommend a very fine and striking enlargement of it done recently by Mr. W. J. Alais for Dr. Grosart, and issued by Dr. Grosart as a companion to a portrait of Spenser engraved for him by the same artist. (2) A number of the engraved portraits of Milton from 1734 to the present time, while presenting unmistakeably the same Milton face as the Faithorne, differ from the true Faithorne of 1670 in having the face posed to the left instead of to the right, and also in the size and shape of the collar and in the folds of the costume. These, it seems now to have been ascertained, have all been derived from that "picture in crayons" which was in possession of Richardson in 1734, and which, as he tells us, had been shown to Mrs. Clarke and verified by her so remarkably. After Richardson's death in 1745, this crayon-drawing was acquired by Jacob Tonson, *tertius*, the last of the Tonson publishing family; who must thus have had in his possession, till his death in 1767, *two* crayon-drawings of Milton,—the Faithorne and this. Most of the heir-looms of the Tonson family descended to their relatives, the Bakers of Bayfordbury, Herts; but, only the Richardson crayon-drawing having been preserved in this family, confusion has arisen. It had been forgotten that there were two drawings, and the preserved one has been reproduced and referred to for eighty years or more as the original Faithorne. The mistake had just been pointed out by Mr. J. Fitchett Marsh in his learned tract of 1860 on the engraved portraits of Milton when the late Mr. Leigh Sotheby threw new light on the subject by a reproduction of the preserved drawing far more exact and effective than any of the previous derivatives from it. Prefixed to his sumptuous volume of *Milton Ramblings*, published in 1861, appeared a photograph with

Fort George, when he was a very young man. He is found there as a married man in 1703, his wife's Christian name

this inscription, "*This portrait is taken from the drawing in crayons formerly in possession of J. Richardson, sen., and Jacob Tonson, now the property of William Baker, Esq., of Bayfordbury, Herts, by whose kind permission it is photographed.*" To my mind the most remarkable thing about this beautiful photograph is the extraordinary resemblance of the face altogether to that in the Faithorne. Though there are the differences of position and costume already mentioned, and though the photograph conveys a somewhat softer look, less worn and aged in its sadness, the features are, in every point, wonderfully the same. If the preserved drawing at Bayfordbury was an independent original from the life, it corroborates the Faithorne signally, and receives corroboration in return. But *is* the drawing at Bayfordbury an independent original? Granted that it is, as Mr. Leigh Sotheby assured himself, the actual "picture in crayons" which Richardson owned in 1734, and not, as Mr. Marsh was inclined to think in 1860, a mere derivative which the Tonsons had caused to be made about 1758, we have still to inquire as to its origin. "A picture which I have reason to believe he sate for not long before his death" are Richardson's somewhat vague words about it in 1734. Mr. Leigh Sotheby, from his careful inspections of the drawing, was "led to consider whether it could have been an earlier drawing by Faithorne, from which, when he made the engraving in 1670, he took another copy for that purpose, altering the form of the dress," &c. Were this hypothesis correct, the two drawings once in possession of the Tonsons must have been both Faithornes; and it is at least curious, though not very explicable, that in the version given in the *Hollis Memoirs* of the story of Vertue's visit to Mrs. Clarke "about the year 1725," it is the now missing Faithorne drawing, and not the preserved drawing now at Bayfordbury, that is credited with such instant effects on Mrs. Clarke. "When she perceived the drawing," say the *Hollis Memoirs*, p. 620, "she cried out, '*O Lord! that is the picture of my father: how came you by it?*' and, stroaking the hair of his forehead, added, '*Just so my father wore his hair.*'" If the Richardson cannot be thus resolved into identity with the Faithorne on the supposition of two Faithornes, may it not have been an early derivative from the Faithorne by an artist who kept to the face of the original, but altered the pose and the costume? (3) One hears of a third drawing as possibly an original: viz. one by Robert White, a London line and mezzotint engraver, who also "drew portraits in black chalk," and who, having been born in 1645, was considerably Faithorne's junior, and about twenty-nine years of age when Milton died. The sole evidence, however, for the existence of such an original is, I believe, a rare "folio mezzotint" of Milton, inscribed "*R. White ad vivum delin. J. Simon fecit.*" It bears no date, but must have been executed between 1704, when White himself died, and 1753, when Simon, the engraver of White's supposed original, died. The probable date may be between 1730 and 1740. But why, if White drew Milton from the life some time before 1674, did he leave his drawing unengraved by himself; and why, especially, does the portrait of Milton which White did engrave,—that for the Somers or subscription folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published by the first Jacob Tonson in 1688,—bear only the words "*R. White, sculp.*," with no hint of the engraver's previous *ad vivum* drawing? Coupling this difficulty with the fact, vouched by Mr. Leigh Sotheby, that "there is most undoubtedly a great similarity between the design of the Richardson and White portraits," I am disposed to doubt the independent originality of any portrait by White.—On the whole, without concluding positively that Milton in his later life sat to no other artist than Faithorne, we shall be safe in making the Faithorne of 1670 the standard by which to judge of all professed portraits of the veteran Milton. Several oil-portraits of him, extant in various places, of small merit as pictures, recommend themselves as obvious derivatives from the Faithorne or the Richardson; but others must be rejected. Most of the engraved portraits being also, as we have said, derivatives from the Faithorne or the Richardson, though with more or less of phantasy and variation, the general idea of the Milton face which they have fixed in the English mind is sound enough. In not a few of them, however, one traces a specific influence from an alleged bust of Milton taken

being Mary, but her surname unknown. They had three children, commemorated in the Parish Register of Fort

from the life about 1654, when he was sixteen years younger than in the Faithorne. This bust, the face of which is supposed to be a unique plaster cast from the original mould, while the hair and the rest of the head have been added in modelling, was long in the possession of the engraver Vertue; who "believed it was done by one Pierce, a sculptor of good reputation in those times, the same who made the bust in marble of Sir Christopher Wren which is in the Bodleian library." An engraving after it by Vertue himself was prefixed to Birch's edition of Milton's Prose Works in 1753. On Vertue's death in 1756 the bust was purchased by Sir Joshua Reynolds for £9 12s.; Sir Joshua afterwards parted with it, for £12, to Mr. Thomas Hollis, who had it engraved again twice by Cipriani (*Hollis Memoirs*, p. 383 and p. 513); and, from among Mr. Hollis's effects, it passed at length, by gift, to Christ's College, Cambridge, —where it now is. A photograph from it, giving a more exact idea of its look than the engravings by Vertue and Cipriani, appeared in Mr. Leigh Sotheby's *Milton Ramblings* in 1861; and a still more correct copy of it, with an accompanying account and criticism, was given a year or two ago in *Scribner's Illustrated Magazine*. The head in the bust is certainly a noble one, very handsome and stately, and yet almost Cromwellian in its expression of bold courage and magnanimity; and, though the pedigree of the relic is far from perfect, and one has some difficulty in imagining Milton submitting to a plaster cast from his face in the first years of his blindness, yet the opinion of such experts as Vertue, and the sensation one has that the manly countenance here represented at the age of about forty-six is not irreconcileable with the Faithorne of Milton sixteen years later, lend a probability to the conjecture that this may be a genuine bust of Milton in the time of his Latin Secretaryship and European celebrity as the conqueror of Salmasius. At all events, an influence from this bust, through the engravings from it in the last century, may be detected in a good many of the engraved portraits of Milton, from Vertue's own downwards. Better, I think, leave the bust by itself, or engrave from it avowedly and separately, and adhere, for the sexagenarian Milton, strictly to the Faithorne and the Richardson.—

One professed portrait of Milton, which has attained some celebrity, must be absolutely rejected. It is the supposed miniature of him, at the age of between forty-five and fifty, by Samuel Cooper. Sir Joshua Reynolds, having purchased this miniature from a dealer, became so fond of it, so sure that it was Milton, that he caused it to be engraved, and published in beautiful form, by Miss Caroline Watson, in 1786. It is doubtless a genuine Cooper, and a very fine miniature of some one; but it is certainly, conspicuously, not Milton. It is utterly irreconcileable with the Faithorne, the Richardson, or the bust, —a wholly different face, which some have thought might be Selden's. Moreover, the pedigree breaks down hopelessly. For a skirmish on the subject, in Sir Joshua's last years, between him and the Scottish judge, Lord Hailes, see *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, July, and October 1791. Lord Hailes pointed out that the manuscript placard on the back of the picture, on the faith of which Sir Joshua had bought it, was a clot of historical incongruities and absurdities,—a mere dealer's concoction to sell the picture as a Milton; and Sir Joshua could answer but lamely. But the external evidence against was stronger than even Lord Hailes could then know. "This picture belong'd to Deborah Milton," was the main statement of the placard, before it went on to tell, in that jumble of impossible datings which Lord Hailes exposed, how it had passed from her into the family of Sir William Davenant, and had been competed for by many persons of distinction, including Lord Dorset, Dryden, and Sir John Denham. Now, not only did Deborah Milton never possess a picture of her father, but one of her definite pieces of information to Vertue, when he called on her on the 10th of August 1721, was that till that moment she was unaware of the existence of any picture of her father besides the schoolboy picture and the student picture which her step-mother, Milton's widow, then had with her at Nantwich. Nay, as I read Vertue's letter describing the interview (see ante, Vol. I. p. 277), it seems possible that this very miniature founding its claim to be Milton on the statement that it had belonged to his daughter was the actual picture which Vertue submitted to her for verification before he would engrave it,

George,—Abraham, baptized on the 2nd of June 1703; Mary, baptized on the 17th of March 1706, and buried on the 15th of December in the same year; Isaac, baptized on the 13th of February 1711. It is at least a coincidence that, during those first years of the fortunes or misfortunes of Milton's grandson in Madras, and till the first two of Milton's Madras great-grandchildren were born, the Governor of the settlement was Addison's elder brother, the Hon. Galston Addison. He died in 1709; and it was under another governorship that Caleb Clarke rose to what seems to have been his highest position in life, that of parish-clerk of Madras or Fort George. He was in this post in 1717; and the same register which records the baptism of his three children and the burial of one of them records his own burial on the 26th of October 1719. He cannot then have been more than forty-three years of age. His eldest son, Abraham, a lad of sixteen, was not in Madras at the time, having gone to England with "Governor Harrison." But, on the news of his father's death, he returned to Madras; in September 1725 he married there an Anna ——; and the baptism of a child of theirs, Mary Clarke, is registered on the 2nd of April 1727. With this registration in the parish books of Madras all trace of Milton's posterity in India ceases. We do not know whether Abraham Clarke, then not quite four-and-twenty years of age, had any other children, or when or where he died; we do not know what had become of his younger brother Isaac, who, if then alive, was but a boy, or whether, if then alive, he married afterwards or remained unmarried; we do not know what became of the infant Mary Clarke. Our last glimpse is that of this infant, Milton's indubitable great-great-grandchild, born in Madras, strange to say, while her great-grandmother, Milton's daughter, was still alive in Spitalfields, and her step-great-great-grandmother, Milton's widow, was still alive in Nantwich. The rest is mere oblivion, with thoughts of

and which she at once rejected as quite unlike her father. On this last point, however, I would not be too sure, knowing the miniature only through Miss Watson's fine engraving from it in 1786, where the complexion and colour of the hair are not apparent. Anyhow, the portrait ought never again to be named or thought of as one of Milton.

the jungle fever, and of the long uncertainties of the struggle of whites with natives and of whites with other whites in India before the Presidencies became British [1].

The descent from Milton through Deborah's eldest son, Caleb Clarke, thus coming to a stop in India precisely in the year of Deborah's death, attention is fastened on Caleb's brother and sister, Urban Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, then remaining in Spitalfields. They must have benefited by the fund raised for their mother, but the benefit was not permanent. The silk-weaving seems to have been given up, or to have become precarious and intermittent, before February 1737–8; at which time the Fosters are found keeping a small grocer's or chandler's shop in Pelham Street, Spitalfields, with Urban Clarke still staying with them, There, on the 11th of that month, they were visited by Mr. Thomas Birch, then writing his memoir of Milton to be prefixed to his 1738 edition of Milton's Prose Works. Mrs. Foster gave him some information about her mother, and about Milton, derived from her mother, accurate in the main points, but with some confusion and inaccuracy, and with nothing of novelty after what we already know, except that she had heard that one of Milton's losses after the Restoration had been an estate of £60 a year, reclaimed by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. From Pelham Street, Spitalfields, the Fosters removed, in or about 1742, to Lower Holloway, between Highgate and London; where they remained for about seven years, still apparently keeping a chandler's shop, and where Urban Clarke, who had accompanied them, died in their house, still unmarried. About the beginning of 1749 the Fosters transferred themselves from Holloway to a small chandler's shop in Cock Lane, Shoreditch. Of seven children that had been born to them, three sons and four daughters by one account, five sons and two daughters by another, not one was then alive, most having died long ago, and all without issue, if not all

[1] Edinburgh Review Article of Oct. 1815 on *Godwin's Lives of the Phillipses*, containing about a page of information (from Sir James Mackintosh?) as to the results of researches about the Madras Clarkes; Birch's Life of Milton (1753), p. lxxvi.

unmarried. The childless couple, keeping their chandler's shop in Cock Lane, received a visit in 1749 from the Rev. Dr. Thomas Newton, afterwards Bishop Newton, then at press with the first volume of his edition of Milton. To him Mrs. Foster, whom he found "weak and infirm," but who struck him as "a good, plain, sensible woman," told her story over again, furnishing nothing new, save that her mother had inherited Milton's weakness of the eyes, having been obliged to use spectacles from the time of her going to Ireland, and that she herself had inherited the same, and had "not been able to read a chapter in the Bible these twenty years." One hears of other visits; but the last of any importance was a second by Birch on the 6th of January 1749–50. He carried her five guineas from a Mr. Yorke; and it was on this occasion that Mrs. Foster showed him her grandmother's Bible, with the dates of the births of her children entered on the blank leaf in Milton's own hand. These, as we know, Birch transcribed (ante, IV. p. 335, footnote). One consequence of the visits of Dr. Newton and Birch was a public effort in Mrs. Foster's behalf, like that for her mother three-and-twenty years before. It took the shape of a performance of *Comus* for her benefit at Drury Lane on the 5th of April 1750. "She had so little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety," says Dr. Johnson, "that she did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her." Johnson bestirred himself vigorously in the affair, and wrote the Prologue; Dr. Newton also exerted himself; and so did others. "The profits of the night were only £130," we are told by Dr. Johnson. In reality, the receipts at the theatre were £147 14*s*. 6*d*, leaving but £67 14*s*. 6*d*. of profits after deduction of £80 for expenses; and the sum was made up to £130 for Mrs. Foster by contributions from various persons. Of this sum, Dr. Johnson tells us, £100 was placed in the funds, "after some debate between her and her husband in whose name it should be entered"; and the rest, he adds, "augmented their little stock, with which they removed to Islington." Mrs. Foster lived four years more. "On Thursday "last, May 9, 1754," says a contemporary newspaper, "died

"at Islington, in the 66th year of her age, after a long and "painful illness, which she sustained with Christian fortitude "and patience, Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, granddaughter of John "Milton." With her Milton's line became extinct, unless any of the Clarkes still lived in India. Mrs. Foster's own account to Newton in 1749 was that she doubted whether any of them then survived, as she had used to hear from them sometimes, but had then heard nothing of them for several years [1].

OTHER SURVIVING RELATIVES OF MILTON, AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

Christopher Milton was near the end of his fifty-ninth year when his brother died. His practice in law, to which he had returned after the First Civil War in 1646, burdened with the difficulties of his previous Royalist delinquency, had never amounted to much. "Chamber practice every term" is Phillips's description of it, with the addition that "he came to no advancement in the world in a long time, except some small employ in the town of Ipswich," and that he did not take this greatly to heart, being "a person of a modest, quiet temper, preferring justice and virtue before all worldly pleasure and grandeur." Through the rest of the reign of Charles II. there was no great change in his fortunes. He was still merely Bencher of the Inner Temple and Deputy-Recorder of Ipswich, alternating between London and Ipswich, but having a house at Ipswich and liking to be there as much as he could. The reign of James II. brought a difference. "Wanting a set of judges that would declare his will to be superior to our legal constitution," says Toland, King James thought Christopher Milton would suit for one. It was an additional recommendation that he was by this time of the King's own religion, a professed Roman Catholic.

[1] Birch, Life of Milton, pp. lxxvi—lxxvii, with a note of Birch of date Jan. 6, 1749-50, quoted in Hunter's *Milton Notes* (p. 34) from Add. MSS. 4244 in British Museum; Newton's Life of Milton, prefixed to his edition of Paradise Lost; Johnson's Life of Milton, with Cunningham's notes; newspaper paragraph quoted in the *Hollis Memoirs* (p. 114).

Accordingly, having received the coif at a call of sergeants on the 21st of April 1686, he was sworn as one of the Barons of the Exchequer on the 24th of that month, and knighted at Whitehall the next day. On the 18th of April 1687 he was transferred from the Exchequer and became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. All this, according to Phillips, was for "his known integrity and ability in the law," while Toland's character of him is that "he was of a very superstitious nature and a man of no parts or ability." One inclines to a middle opinion, and to picture Sir Christopher as a mild, gentlemanly Roman Catholic judge, of no particular ability, who would not purposely or daringly invent harm, but might do a great deal of harm by compliance with what was expected. His term of judgeship, however, was brief. "His "years and indisposition not well brooking the fatigue of "public employment," says Phillips, "he continued not long "in either of his stations, but, having his *quietus est*, retired "to a country life, his study, and devotion." This is a euphemism for the fact that, on the 3rd of July 1688, he was dismissed. As the Revolution was at hand, which would have dismissed him at any rate, it was of little consequence. His last days were spent in retirement in a mansion called the White House in the village of Rushmere, close to Ipswich, where, as in his previous house in Ipswich itself, he is said to have had a chapel fitted up for Roman Catholic worship. The parish registers of St. Nicholas, Ipswich, bear that Sir Christopher Milton of Rushmere was buried in the church of that parish on the 22nd of March 1692–3. He had lived eleven years longer than his brother, having attained the age of seventy-seven. His wife, the Thomasine Webber, of London, whom we saw married to him in 1638, before he and she went to keep house for his old father, the ex-scrivener, at Horton, during Milton's absence on his Italian tour, had predeceased him and been buried in the same church at Ipswich, without having lived long enough to be Lady Milton[1].

[1] Phillips, Toland, Birch, and Todd; Pedigree of Christopher Milton in Harl. MS. 5802 fol. 196; Milton Pedigree by Sir Charles Young, Garter King at Arms, prefixed to Pickering's 1851 edition of Milton's Works; and ante, Vol. I. p. 685.

The three children of whom we had to take note as born to Christopher Milton and his wife before 1642, two of them at Horton and one at Reading, had died long ago; and the surviving children at the death of Sir Christopher were a son, Thomas, and three daughters. Thomas Milton was already a person of some consequence. Having been taken into the Crown Office in Chancery under his uncle Mr. Thomas Agar, Deputy Clerk of the Crown, he had, on Mr. Agar's death in 1673, succeeded him in the Deputy-Clerkship. He was still in that office in 1694, "with great reputation and ability," says Phillips. The date of his death has not been ascertained. By his wife, Martha, daughter of Charles Fleetwood of Northampton (who found a second husband in William Coward, M.D., of London and Ipswich), he left one daughter, who is heard of in 1749 as "Mrs. Milton of Grosvenor Street," a maiden lady, housekeeper to Dr. Secker, and who died July 26, 1769. She seems to have been the last living descendant of Sir Christopher Milton. Of her three aunts two, Mary and Catherine, had remained unmarried, and had lived long together at Highgate, till, one of them dying, the other took up her abode with the Fosters, at their little chandler's house and shop in Holloway, and died there at a great age some time after 1742. The other aunt had married a Mr. Pendlebury, a clergyman, and nothing more is known of her. The descent from Christopher Milton seems to have stopped about the same time as that from his brother [1].

At the death of Milton, his elder nephew and pupil, Edward Phillips, was forty-four years of age, and the other, John Phillips, was a year younger. Of their careers and characters in Milton's life-time we have had to take account already. It is necessary only to sketch their remaining lives.

Edward Phillips retains his character of being by far the more likeable and respectable of the two. His profession was still that of pedagogy combined with hack-authorship.

[1] Ante, Vol. I. p. 685 and Vol. II. p. 489; Phillips; Birch's Life of Milton (1753), pp. lxxvi—lxxvii, and additional note by Birch from MS. in British Museum (quoted by Hunter, p. 34); Milton Pedigree, as in last note; and Addenda to Mitford's Life of Milton in Pickering's Milton (p. clxxxiv).

From his tutorship, with a salary of about £20 a year, to the young son of John Evelyn of Sayes Court, near Deptford, from October 1663 to February 1664–5, he had gone direct, as we saw, to a similar tutorship, with a higher salary, in the family of Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke. It is uncertain how long he continued in this tutorship, which must have kept him a good deal at Wilton, the seat of the Pembrokes in Wiltshire; but he is mentioned in a letter of Evelyn's as still at Wilton in the year 1667, "where my lord makes use of him," says Evelyn, "to interpret some of the Teutonic Philosophy, to whose mystic theology his lordship, you know, is much addicted." In the same letter Evelyn adds, "As to Mr. Phillips' more express character, he is "a sober, silent, and most harmless person, a little versatile "in his studies, understanding many languages, especially "the modern." Phillips's principal pupil at Wilton was Philip Herbert, one of the younger sons of the Earl. On his father's death in 1669 this young man became heir-apparent to the earldom, his elder half-brother William having then succeeded as sixth earl; in July 1674 he became seventh Earl of Pembroke himself, by the death of this elder brother without issue; and in May 1675 he married Henrietta de Querouaille, sister of the Duchess of Portsmouth, the mistress of Charles II. Phillips's connexion with him and with the Pembroke family may be supposed, therefore, to have ceased about 1670 or 1671. We do not encounter him again distinctly till the 14th of September 1674, or two months before Milton's death. On that day there was licensed by Roger L'Estrange, and in 1675, a month or two after Milton's death, there was published by "Charles Smith, at the Angel, near the Inner Temple Gate in Fleet Street," a little book called *Theatrum Poetarum*, which is remembered now as one of the most interesting of Phillips's literary attempts. It is interesting on its own account, being "a brief, roving, and cursory account," as Wood well calls it, of the poets of all ages and nations, but chiefly of the English, arranged alphabetically, with rapid characters and criticisms of a good many of them, and a prefixed Discourse on Poets and Poetry in general. It

was one of the first books of that kind in English and has been a basis for later compilations. It is farther interesting, however, as conveying opinions about poets which Phillips must have imbibed from Milton, with sometimes, perhaps, as in the sketches of Euripides, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Drummond, Waller, Cowley, and Dryden, a phrase lent by Milton or recollected from his talk. The Prefatory Discourse opens with a strain of expression so Miltonic, so much above Phillips's usual range, that one is obliged to fancy either that Milton actually dictated some of the sentences, or that Phillips had Milton's ideas and voice in his mind and was trying to echo them. Less interesting than the *Theatrum Poetarum*, but creditable to Phillips's industry, was his *Supplement to the Book of John Speed, called the Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain,* published in 1676, and consisting of geographical and topographical extensions of the previous editions of Speed's work, originally published in 1611. This must have been a bookseller's commission, as was also an enlargement of his *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle* for the sixth edition of that popular book in 1674. It seems to have been a relief to Phillips from such drudgery when, in 1677, he received another appointment of the tutorial or secretarial kind in a family of distinction. "I preferred Mr. Phillips, nephew of Milton," Evelyn writes in his Diary under date Sept. 18 in that year, "to the service of my Lord Chamberlain, who wanted a scholar to read to and entertain him sometimes." The Lord Chamberlain so mentioned was still the same Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, of whom we have heard so much through the Clarendon and Cabal Administrations, and whom we left honourably shelved in that dignity in 1674, when his real power was gone and the Premiership of Danby had begun. Evelyn had just been on a visit of three weeks to this noble courtier and ex-statesman, now apparently a Roman Catholic no longer, at his great place of Euston in Suffolk, and had been wondering how, on his dilapidated fortunes, he could support such a magnificent establishment, with its vast halls and numerous apartments, its picture-gallery, its bathrooms, its conservatories

and gardens, its cascades and canals in the grounds, its stables and outhouses, the one hundred domestic servants running about on the premises, and the thousand red and fallow deer twinkling among the trees in the nine miles of park. He could not account for it, but found the Earl and his lady quite at ease, and most hospitable and kind. "My lord himself "is given to no expensive vice but building, and to have all "things rich, polite, and princely. He never plays, but reads "much, having the Latin, French, and Spanish tongues in "perfection." Evelyn's words would lead us to suppose that Phillips's duties were to be those only of secretary and reader to the Earl; but we learn otherwise that these were not all. On the 1st of August, 1672, Arlington's only daughter and heiress, Isabella, then a child of five years old, had been married, "the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating, and the King and all the grandees being present," to Henry Fitzroy, the King's second natural son by the Duchess of Cleveland, then a boy in his ninth year, created Earl of Euston that same month, and Duke of Grafton in 1675. Till the very young couple should be old enough to live together, Arlington was retaining his daughter under his charge; and the engagement of Phillips had been partly for the sake of this little lady, the Duchess of Grafton, now ten years of age, the pet of her father and mother at Euston, and described by Evelyn as a "charming young creature," worthy of the greatest prince in Christendom. She needed a tutor in languages; and, as the Earl's nephew, Henry Bennet, was also one of the household, and needed instruction, Phillips, whatever his other services, was a convenient tutor for both. There is a commemoration of this tutorship in a dedication to the young Duchess of a fourth and enlarged edition of Phillips's English Dictionary, *The World of Words*, published in 1678. But the tutorship, whether at Euston or elsewhere, cannot have lasted beyond November 1679. On the 6th of that month Evelyn, who had witnessed the marriage of the little Duchess to the little Duke by the Archbishop of Canterbury seven years before, witnessed their re-marriage, in the Earl of Arlington's lodgings at Whitehall, by the Bishop of Rochester, in

the presence of the King, the Duchess of Cleveland, and a large company, the bridegroom being then sixteen years of age and the bride twelve. Phillips must have been then once more adrift, at the age of nearly fifty, and what we next hear of him is a sad descent from the palatial splendours of Euston. "He married a woman with several children, taught "school in the Strand near the May-Pole, lived in poor con- "dition (tho' a good master), wrote and translated several "things meerly to get a bare livelyhood, was out of employment "in 1684 and 1685." This is Anthony Wood's pithy summary; and nothing can be added, except a list of the "several things" of a literary kind by which Phillips, in his last years, tried to eke out his failing pedagogy. In 1679 appeared the seventh edition of *Baker's Chronicle* with his revised *Continuation;* in 1682 his *Tractatulus de modo formandi voces derivativas Linguæ Latinæ;* in 1684 his eighth and last edition of *Baker's Chronicle*, his *Enchiridion Linguæ Latinæ*, and his *Speculum Linguæ Latinæ*,—these two last, according to Wood, being "all or mostly" taken from his uncle Milton's papers in preparation for a Latin Dictionary; and in 1685 a *Poem on the Coronation of his Most Sacred Majesty King James II. and his Royal Consort.* There may have been other things anonymously; but these, with a translation or two from the Greek and the French, are all that are known of Phillips in his later years, till 1694, when he published his English translation of Milton's *Letters of State*, with the valuable prefixed Memoir. That was a good and affectionate piece of service, and it was Phillips's last in the world, with the exception of a fifth edition of his *World of Words* in 1696. He was dead before 1698, having lived to the age of about sixty-seven. Whether he left children or step-children only is unknown [1].

The coarser, though perhaps stronger, John Phillips lived longer than Edward. He seems to have contrived at last to live by literary hackwork without pedagogy. His chief

[1] Godwin's *Lives of the Phillipses*; Wood's Ath. IV. 760—769, in Bliss's edition of 1820; Evelyn's Diary, under dates Aug. 1, 1672, Aug. 28—Sept. 18, 1677, and Nov. 6, 1779; De Brett's Peerage, *Dukes of Grafton*; also a letter of Evelyn's (edit. of Diary and Correspondence in 1852, Vol. III. pp. 196—198).

productions before his uncle's death had been his *Satyr against Hypocrites* of 1655, reprinted in 1661 and 1671, and his *Maronides, or Virgil Travesty*, a low Hudibrastic burlesque of the fifth and sixth Æneids, published in two parts in 1672 and 1673. As these were in some demand, there were later editions of each,—of the *Maronides*, both parts together, in 1678, and of the *Satyr* in 1680; but the main activity of John Phillips from the date of Milton's death is represented by a long succession of new publications of various sorts, anonymous or with his name. Of these the more important, as far as to the death of Charles II., were the following:—*A Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, in 1676; translations of the French romance of *Pharamond* by Calprenède and M. de Scuderi's romance of *Almahide*, in 1677; part of a folio translation in the same year of *Tavernier's Voyages in the East;* a controversial book in 1680 called *Dr. Oates's Narrative of the Popish Plot Vindicated;* another in 1681, called *Character of a Popish Successor*, professing to be the second part of a book under that title by Elkanah Settle; *Speculum Crape-Gownorum, or An Old Looking-glass for the Young Academicks*, in 1682; *History of Ethiopia from the Latin of Ludolphus*, in the same year; and *Treatises in Plutarch's Morals from the Greek*, in 1684. To the reign of James II. belong these, among others:—a handsomely printed poem, in sixteen pages of Pindarics, *To the Sacred Memory of the late most serene and potent monarch Charles II.*, published in 1685, and concluding vast eulogies of Charles with a prostration before James; *The History of Don Quixote*, in 1687, the second English translation of the great Spanish novel, and a work of "power and spirit," Godwin admits, though debauching the original by incredible interpolations of slang and obscenity; and a pamphlet in 1688 against Marvell's old enemy, Samuel Parker, now bishop of Oxford. The most dangerous part of Phillips's Bohemian career through those fourteen years had been his connexion from 1678 to 1681 with the infamous Titus Oates. Phillips, it has been proved, was in the closest intercourse with Oates; from which fact, as Phillips, a man of "little or no religion" himself, can hardly have been a dupe in the Popish Plot business, Godwin

thinks we may better infer "the debasement of his mind and the impurity of his tastes" than even from his writings. When the revenge upon Oates and his associates came in the reign of James, Phillips escaped; and after the Revolution of 1688 he conformed his politics to the ordinary Whiggism then in fashion. His main dependence from 1690 seems to have been on what Wood calls his *Monthly Accounts*, a political periodical containing a history of contemporary affairs from month to month, chiefly, but not exclusively, translated from a French journal in high repute published in Holland. These *Monthly Accounts*, entitled more fully *The Present State of Europe, or A Historical and Political Mercury*, were edited regularly by Phillips, from August 1690 onwards, as long as he lived. Additional trifles from his pen in prose and verse have been discovered in the years 1693, 1694, and 1695; in which last year Anthony Wood, then dying, leaves him still alive in the world with this farewell character: "A man of very loose principles, atheistical, forsakes his wife "and children, makes no provision for them." After an *Elegy on Queen Mary* by Phillips in 1695, poems and other things of his are found in 1697 and 1700; and in 1703 he sent forth, with his initials only, under the title of *The English Fortune-Tellers*, a thin whimsical quarto, enabling persons, "for harmless mirth and recreation" merely, to tell their own fortunes by means of astrological diagrams, a table of questions, and a large quantity of provided verses. In the memoirs of the London bookseller John Dunton, published in 1705, John Phillips is mentioned as still alive, "a gentleman of good learning and well-born," with the addition, "He 'll write you a design off in a very little time, if the "gout or claret don't stop him." In one of the numbers of the *Monthly Mercury* there is an apology by Phillips himself for the deficiency of the previous number, on the ground that "the author was then so violently afflicted with the gout, "both in hands and feet, that it was as much as he could do "to continue the series." The last known thing of Phillips is a poem, published May 6, 1706, with the title *The Vision of Mons. Chamillard concerning the Battle of Ramilies.* It does

not bear the author's name, but it is "humbly inscribed" on the title-page to Lord Somers "by a Nephew of the late Mr. John Milton." One or two sulky references to Milton, I believe, have been detected in the preceding series of Phillips's performances since Milton's death; but here Phillips reverts to the relationship openly. His career of Bohemianism seems to have ended in or about that year, when he was seventy-five years of age. Of his children we know nothing[1].

One little inquiry more, to complete this posthumous Milton genealogy. The two Phillipses, it will be remembered, were the only surviving children of Milton's sister, Anne Milton, by her first marriage. But, after the death of her first husband, Edward Phillips of the Crown Office, in 1631, this only remaining sister of the poet and of Christopher Milton had married that first husband's friend and successor in the Crown Office, Thomas Agar. By this second marriage, which cannot have been till after 1633, when Agar's first wife, Mary Rugeley, was still alive, the issue had been two daughters, Mary and Ann Agar, half-sisters to the Phillipses, and nieces of the poet and his brother (see ante, Vol. II. pp. 98–101). What had become of this line, the Agar line, of the general Milton descent?

Though the two Phillipses had been resigned almost wholly to Milton's charge from their early boyhood, there is no need to suppose any break between Milton and his sister during her second marriage, or that there was not much more of continued communication between the Miltons on the one hand and the Agars on the other, from that date forward, than has left itself recorded. Mr. Agar, indeed, had been a Royalist through the great struggle, as might have been expected from his official position as Deputy Clerk of the Crown, and had been ejected from his office sometime before the establishment of the Commonwealth. Difference of politics about that time may have occasioned a coolness between him

[1] Godwin's Lives of the Phillipses, and Wood's Ath. as before. I find the registration of Phillips's *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle* from 1662 to 1675 in the Stationers' Books under date April 18, 1676. The licencer was "Henry Oldenburgh, Esq.," Milton's friend, who licensed occasionally about that time.

and Milton, but not necessarily more than there may have been between Milton and his Royalist brother Christopher on the same ground; and, at all events, after the Commonwealth had confirmed itself and passed into the Protectorate, and the Stuart monarchy had begun to seem a thing of the past, and Milton was a man of influence with the new powers, animosities among the Miltons on account of political differences must have died out as in other families, and more easily than in most. Milton and his brother-in-law Mr. Agar, the ex-Deputy Clerk of the Crown, may have been very good friends during the years immediately before the Restoration, when Milton was residing in Petty France as the blind Foreign Secretary for Oliver and Richard. When the Restoration did unexpectedly come, Agar may have been one of those who were most anxious about Milton's fate, and most relieved by his marvellous escape. For Agar himself the event was heaven. It brought back distinction and prosperity. He was reinstated in his important and valuable office as Deputy Clerk of the Crown; and, if it were necessary, mentions of him in his official capacity might easily be recovered, I doubt not, from the State papers and Parliamentary records of Charles's reign through the Clarendon and Cabal administrations. Enough for us here to pass on to the 10th of June 1671. On that day, "being in good health of body and of perfect mind and memory," but considering "the approaching certainty" of his departure, and the propriety of disposing of such "goods and chattels" as "with much industry" he had "scrambled for amongst others in this wicked world," Mr. Agar, styling himself "Thomas Agar, of London, gentleman," made his will. This will gives us a very clear glimpse of the state of his family and circumstances at that time.

Mr. Agar's second wife, Milton's sister, was then dead. The date of her death is unknown, and it may have been any time between 1637 and 1671, though it seems probable that it was nearer the latter term than the former. Her elder child, Mary, had "died very young," as we learn independently from Phillips. Mr. Agar's only child by his former marriage to Mary Rugeley being also dead, his natural

heir was the only remaining daughter of the second marriage, Ann Agar, Milton's niece and the half-sister of the two Phillipses. She was no longer Ann Agar, however, but Ann Moore, the wife of a David Moore, and with an infant son, Thomas Moore. There was also a nephew and namesake of Mr. Agar's, in a grown up Thomas Agar, much about his uncle and much regarded by him. In the will, accordingly, the three principal legatees are Mr. Agar's daughter Ann Moore, his infant grandson Thomas Moore, and this nephew Thomas Agar. But very kindly mention is made in the will of Dr. Luke Rugeley, Mr. Agar's brother-in-law by his first wife, and also of one of the two Phillipses, his stepsons by his second wife. The stepson so mentioned is Edward Phillips; and from the absence of all mention of the other stepson, John Phillips, one infers that Mr. Agar had long ceased to concern himself about that gentleman. As the wording of the will is more than usually characteristic, the main parts may be given textually:—

". . . And first I give and bequeathe unto Edward Phillipps, my son-in-law, £200, to be laid out in the purchase of an annuity for his life, or some place of employment for his better subsistence, which shall seem most for his benefit; wherein I desire my dearly and entirely beloved and most deserving nephew Mr. Thomas Agar, whom I declare, nominate, and appoint my executor of this my last will and testament, to be assistant to him, my said son-in-law, requiring and enjoining him, my said son-in-law, to be ordered and governed herein by him, my said nephew, who, I am assured, hath much love and kindness for him: provided that, if before my decease I procure the King's Majesty's grant of my office of engrossing of appeals to be made and passed under the great seal of England to him, then this my bequest to him before-mentioned to cease and be utterly void.—*Item*, I give and bequeathe unto my grandson Thomas Moore, to be paid him by my executor at his full age of one and twenty years, £500 of lawful English money.—And my intent, will, and meaning is that one full moiety of such my estate as shall remain, besides debts, burial expenses, and what I have and shall bequeathe by this my last will otherwise, upon a clear and just account thereof, to be made by my executor within one year next after my decease, shall be paid and disposed to such trustee or trustees as my dear daughter Mrs. Ann Moore shall direct and appoint, to remain in his or their hands for the intents and purposes following,—that is to say, for her sole and

separate use, notwithstanding her present coverture with her present or any other husband, wherein her said husband shall not any way intermeddle nor have to do, nor any other with whom she shall happen to intermarry. [This precaution for the independent use and management of the property by his daughter, to the exclusion of interference by her present husband Mr. David Moore, or by any other husband, is drawn out farther at great length, and with much studied strictness in the phraseology, as if it were a point on which Mr. Agar felt himself bound to be careful. Mrs. Moore is not only to have the sole use and management of the property during her life, but may devise it by will as she chooses after her death; failing which settlement of it by her will and appointment, it is to go at her death to her son Thomas Moore, or, should he be dead, then to Mr. Thomas Agar, the executor of the present will]. . . .—The other moiety of my said estate I do hereby give and bequeathe to my said executor, to retain to his own proper use and benefit.—Lastly, I may not forget the long-concontinued love and kindness of my dear brother Doctor Rugeley, not only to myself, but also to my relations: to whom it never was nor yet is in my power to make a due and suitable return. I desire the continuance of his brotherly kindness in acceptance of a petty legacy from me of twenty pieces of broad gold, which I hereby bequeathe to him, to bestow in a ring or any other thing which may be best to his liking and may remind him of his poor brother who did truly love and honour him for his great goodness.—In witness whereof," &c.

To this will of June 10, 1671 there was a codicil, dated Oct. 27, 1673, somewhat modifying its provisions. Instead of the full moiety of the property remaining after payment of debts and other legacies, Mrs. Moore is now to receive "the sum of £1000 and no more in money," together with the rents and profits of "two houses in London," all Mr. Agar's estate and interest in which is bequeathed to the executor, Mr. Thomas Agar, in strict "trust and confidence" that he will pay such rents and profits of them to her or her order only, and "not unto the said David Moore," and that, failing any will of hers, he will pay them to such issue of hers as shall be alive at her decease, payment wholly to cease should there be no surviving issue. It is also provided that the legacy of £500 to the grandson Thomas Moore shall lapse and not be payable to any representatives of his if he should die before coming of age. The daughter's husband, Mr. David Moore, does now receive something; but it is only £20, to

be paid him within one year after the testator's decease. The legacy of £200 to Edward Phillips is undisturbed; and, for the rest, the nephew Mr. Thomas Agar is constituted, in the amplest manner, executor, administrator, and residuary legatee.

Mr. Agar must have died immediately after having made this codicil, for the will and codicil together were proved by the nephew on the 5th of November 1673. Before Milton's death, in the following November, he must not only have been aware, therefore, that one of his nephews, Thomas Milton, the son of his brother Christopher, had succeeded Mr. Agar in his Deputy Clerkship in the Crown Office, but must also have had the satisfaction of knowing that £200 of Mr. Agar's money had come to his other and needier nephew, Edward Phillips. It must have come very acceptably, for it came in that blank of Phillips's life which we have noted as occurring between his tutorship in the Pembroke family at Wilton and the publication of his *Theatrum Poetarum*. Mr. Agar, regretting the precariousness of Phillips's means about this time, and evidently thinking he was a rather shiftless person, had been trying to secure for him the succession to one of his own minor offices in connexion with his Clerkship, but, that failing, had left him enough to be of some permanent use to him, if he would be guided by the good sense of the younger Agar in the mode of its investment [1].

The David Moore whom Mr. Agar's one surviving daughter had married, and in whom Mr. Agar had shown so little confidence, is known otherwise as David Moore, of Sayes House, Chertsey, co. Surrey, Esq., a country gentleman of some means, descended from a Robert Moore, who had been Secretary to Queen Ann Boleyn. He died on the 12th of January 1693–4, ætat. 74, and was buried in Chertsey church. His wife Ann Moore was then still alive, but renounced administration of his effects in favour of her son Thomas Moore, the grandson to whom Mr. Agar had left £500.

[1] Will and codicil of Mr. Agar, as seen and copied by me long ago (see ante, Vol. II. p. 101, footnote); with some particulars from Phillips,—who, though speaking well of Mr. Agar, does not mention the will or the legacy.

This Thomas Moore, Milton's grandnephew, and who may have seen Milton, was thenceforward the squire of Sayes House; and, as he was doubtless the heir of his mother at her death at some unknown date after 1694, he must have been a man of very considerable estate altogether. In 1715, at all events, he received the honour of knighthood and became Sir Thomas Moore; and he died in 1735, leaving at least two children by his wife, Elizabeth, sister of William Blunden of Basingstoke. From the elder of these, Edmund Moore of Sayes, who was born in 1696 and died in 1756, have descended a number of persons, Moores, Fitzmoores, Dashwoods, &c., of high respectability, I believe, to the present day, chiefly in the southern English counties, and all having the Milton blood in them, not indeed directly from Milton himself, but from his sister Anne, the mother of the "fair infant" whose death he lamented in his juvenile elegy in the winter of 1625–6. At the date of the elegy, and for some years after, that sister was Mrs. Phillips; and it was the accident of her second marriage with an Agar that sent on the Milton pedigree in a stock capable of maintaining itself in the world while the Miltons proper and the Phillipses showed their faculty of sinking [1].

INCREASE OF MILTON'S POETICAL CELEBRITY AND MULTIPLICATION OF EDITIONS OF HIS POEMS.

With the exception of the sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Vane, and the second of the two to Cyriack Skinner, and with the exception also of the scraps of verse dispersed through the prose-writings, all Milton's poetry as we now have it had been left by him before the world in three small separate volumes. There was the second or 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost*, in place of the first edition of 1667, which had been exhausted in the beginning of 1669; there was the little volume of 1671 containing *Paradise Regained* and *Samson*

[1] Manning's History and Antiquities of Surrey, III. 229; Milton Pedigree by Sir Charles Young, Garter King at Arms; and ante, Vol. I. pp. 143—145.

Agonistes; and there was the second or 1673 edition of the *Minor Poems*, superseding the original edition of 1645.

By these publications, but especially by the *Paradise Lost*, the reputation of Milton as a great English poet had been established while he was still alive. The statement, once customary, and not out of fashion yet, that his poetical fame did not begin till after his death, is wholly against the evidence. Within eighteen months of the publication of *Paradise Lost*, as we have seen, the impression made by that poem on the leaders of critical opinion in London had been such as not only to startle them into fresh recognition of an author they had thought defunct, but even to draw some of them round him personally, Dryden himself for one, in resumed or newly-formed relations of reverence. Nor even in those days of scanty apparatus in the form of critical journals had the admiration of Milton's extraordinary reappearance remained unrecorded. Edward Phillips's passage about his uncle in one of the essays subjoined to his edition of Buchlerus in 1669 was the expression indeed of the enthusiasm of a relative, but of one who squared his words to already formed public opinion; and, with all deduction for the licence of eulogy allowed to the writers of commendatory verses to be prefixed to books, no one can read Dr. Barrow's and Marvell's verses prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1674 without feeling that the writers were all the more in earnest with their superlatives because they were sure of the general adherence. But, should farther proof be wanted, it is at hand in two testimonies to Milton's greatness that were deposited, one may say, on his grave just after his funeral.—One was from Dryden, in his preface to that heroic opera of his, *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*, which had been registered for publication seven months before Milton's death, had been in circulation in manuscript copies since then, but was not published, with its dedication to Mary of Modena, Duchess of York, till 1675. "I cannot, without injury to the de-"ceased author of *Paradise Lost*, but acknowledge," Dryden there writes, "that this poem has received its entire founda-"tion, part of the design, and many of the ornaments, from

"him. What I have borrowed will be so easily discerned from "my mean productions that I shall not need to point the reader "to the places; and truly I should be sorry, for my own sake, "that any one should take the pains to compare them to-"gether: the original being undoubtedly one of the greatest, "most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age "or nation has produced." These words, from one who confessed to the critic Dennis twenty years afterwards that at the time he wrote them he "knew not half the extent of Milton's excellence," are sufficiently strong, and their effect is not diminished by his half-ironical reference, in the very next sentences, to the lines of compliment that had been furnished him by his young friend Nat. Lee, to be prefixed to the published opera. Milton had disclosed "the wealthy mine" and furnished "the golden ore," Lee there told Dryden, but it had been left "a chaos" till Dryden's "mighty genius" shone through the heap; and Dryden, while thanking his young friend profusely for his kindness, has no doubt he will "hear of it" from many of his contemporaries.—Almost simultaneous with the publication of Dryden's opera in 1675 was that of Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, where this is the little article on his uncle:—"JOHN MILTON: the author "(not to mention his other works, both in Latin and English, "both in strict and solute oration, by which his fame is suf-"ficiently known to all the learned of Europe) of two Heroic "poems and a Tragedy, namely *Paradice Lost, Paradice Regain'd*, "and *Sampson Agonista;* in which how far he hath revived "the majesty and true decorum of Heroic Poetry and Tragedy "it will better become a person less related than myself to "deliver his judgment." This must have been written while Milton was alive, and is amended in a subsequent article, which the kindliness of Phillips leads him to give to his brother John, as entitled to a place among the English poets by "his vein of burlesque and facetious poetry" and other things then less known. In that article John Phillips is expressly introduced as "the maternal nephew and disciple of "an author of most deserved fame, late deceased, being the "exactest of Heroic Poets (if the truth were well examined,

"and it is the opinion of many both learned and judicious "persons) either of the ancients or moderns, either of our own "or whatever nation else." Again one feels that Edward Phillips was expressing a common opinion and using words that were already stereotyped [1].

It was on the 12th of January 1674–75, before these first posthumous tributes to Milton had appeared, that the gossip Aubrey was promising Anthony Wood his notes about Milton, among others, for Wood's great forthcoming *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses*. In his letter to Wood of that date he had promised to go to the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, to see Milton's grave; and it was in a later letter, of May 18, 1675, that he sent Wood the interesting intelligence, "Mr. Marvell has promised me to write minutes for you of Mr. Jo. Milton." These minutes were never written; and Marvell, who might have been the first biographer of Milton, was dead in August 1678. The three intervening years had but confirmed Milton's reputed place among English poets, while perhaps bringing out more strongly in certain quarters the two forms of opposition which grudged him his full celebrity. One consisted, of course, in the recollection of his dreadful previous character and career as Revolutionist, Republican, and partisan of the Regicide; and the other consisted in repugnance to that theory of unrhymed verse which he had so daringly propounded and exemplified in his two epics. The Rhymed Drama of the Restoration had by this time been laughed out of favour; but poetry in general without rhyme was still a stumbling-block. Of the opposition to Milton's growing poetical fame, on these or on other grounds, there had appeared at least one bold spokesman. He was Thomas Rymer, immortal afterwards for his great historical collection, Rymer's *Fœdera*, but as yet known only as a lawyer of Gray's Inn and a dabbler in polite literature. In 1677, at the age of about thirty-nine, he had published a play; and in 1678 he published a critical essay, in the form of a letter to Fleetwood Shepherd, entitled *The Tragedies of the last age Considered and*

[1] Scott's Edition of Dryden's Works, V. 103—106; Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*; and a note in Godwin's Lives of the Phillipses, p. 143.

Examined. In this essay he threatened an attack on Milton, to appear shortly in "some reflections on that *Paradise Lost* of Milton's which some are pleased to call a poem." It never did appear; and, as in his next critical essay, in 1693, the attack was transferred to Shakespeare, with ludicrous consequences to Mr. Rymer himself, it is not probable that Milton would have suffered much from his expositions[1].

It was in 1678, when Mr. Rymer was threatening to blast Milton into extinction, that there appeared the Third Edition of *Paradise Lost*, printed, as the two former had been, "by S. Simmons, next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate Street." It is a small octavo, printed on the model of the Second Edition, with the same arrangement of the poem into twelve Books, but is hardly so good-looking, and is of no independent value. It is interesting chiefly as marking the fact that 2600, or perhaps 3000, copies of the poem were by that time disposed of, and 1300 or 1500 copies more were required. Milton's widow, still in London, was then entitled, therefore, by her husband's original agreement with Simmons, to the £5 due on the complete sale of the Second Edition. For some reason or other, Simmons was in no hurry, and it was not till the end of 1680 that he settled with the widow in the manner explained in the following receipt:—

"I do hereby acknowledge to have received of Samuel Symonds, Cittizen and Stationer of London, the Sum of Eight pounds: which is in full payment of all my right, Title, or Interest, which I have or ever had in the Coppy of a Poem Intitled Paradise Lost in Twelve Bookes in 8vo. By John Milton, gent., my late husband. Wittness my hand this 21st day of December 1680.

Elizabeth Milton

Witness, William Yapp.
Ann Yapp."

From this receipt it appears that Simmons's settlement

[1] Ante, Vol. I. p. ix; and Godwin, p. 143. Rymer's Essay is known to me only at second hand, and I take the phrase from it about Milton from Godwin.

with the widow was not retrospective only, but prospective and for ever. He owed her £5 for the Second Edition; but the Third Edition had been already out for some time, and for that edition, when 1300 copies of it had been sold, he would owe her, by the original agreement, another £5. As she was then about to remove from London to Nantwich, and anxious therefore to wind up all her concerns in London, it was convenient for her to compound for the second £5, not yet due, by accepting £3 instead; and hence her complete acquittance to Simmons for £8 in one sum. There is indeed a subsequent document, dated April 29, 1681, probably just before her actual departure for Nantwich, in which, in the most formal manner, and with extraordinary surplus of legal phraseology, she grants Simmons a renewed release from all obligations to her in the matter of *Paradise Lost*, and from all actions or demands in her interest, or that of her heirs, executors, and administrators, on that account, "from the beginning of the world unto the date of these presents." Perhaps she regretted having let Simmons have the £2 off, and he feared having farther trouble from her. In any case, by the original agreement with Milton, Simmons was to be absolute proprietor of the copyright after the sale of the then current or third edition. The stipulation of Milton, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, had been for £20 only in all, the first £5 paid down, and the rest to come in instalments of £5 for each of the first three editions when sold out, at the rate of 1300 copies for each edition; after which the book was to be Simmons's own. Milton had received £10 of the total price in his life-time; and the payment of the £8 to the widow in 1680 discharged the rest. The composition with the widow, reducing the stipulated £20 for the entire copyright of *Paradise Lost* to an actual payment of £18, was as if nowadays £70 had been the sum agreed for and it had been reduced to £63 by composition. The balance of £8 which the widow took with her to Nantwich was worth what £28 would be worth now[1].

[1] Gentleman's Magazine for July 1822; and Introduction to *Paradise Lost* in Cambridge Edition of Milton's Poems (1874), I. 15—17.

For ten years from 1678 there was no new edition of *Paradise Lost*. There are various traces, however, of the growth of the interest in Milton's poetry through those ten years.

In 1680 there was a second edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* together, published by the same John Starkey who had published the first. Whether the widow derived any benefit from this re-issue does not appear; nor is it known what copyright Milton had retained in these poems, or whether any. In the same year 1680, or in 1681, the printer Simmons, having just acquired the entire copyright of *Paradise Lost*, and either thinking he had made as much by his three editions of the book as he was likely to make, or else having reasons for converting his property in it into cash, sold the future copyright for £25 to Brabazon Aylmer of the Three Pigeons in Cornhill, the bookseller who had published the little volume of Milton's *Epistolæ Familiares* and *Prolusiones Oratoriæ* in 1674 and his translation of the *Declaration of the Election of John III of Poland* in the same year. His acquisition of *Paradise Lost* may have been agreeable to him on personal grounds; and the book might have fared well in his hands had it remained there. But there was a young fellow then in London whose enterprise in bookselling and publishing was to beat all slower tradesmen out of the field, and who was already on the alert for all promising speculations. This was Jacob Tonson, the third man after Humphrey Moseley and Henry Herringman in the true apostolical succession of London publishers. He had begun business in 1677, when hardly one-and-twenty years of age, at the sign of the Judge's Head near the Fleet Street end of Chancery Lane. He was an ungainly enough figure, if we may trust Dryden's wicked description of him twenty years afterwards,—

> "With leering looks, bull-faced, and freckled fair,
> With two left legs, and Judas-coloured hair,
> And frowsy pores that taint the ambient air."

But he had an able head on his shoulders, and a faculty of money-making, for authors and himself, of which Dryden,

thralled to Herringman hitherto, had already taken good advantage. On the 17th of August 1683, it appears, this Jacob Tonson bought from Brabazon Aylmer one half of the copyright in *Paradise Lost,* at a higher price than Aylmer had given to Simmons for the whole three years before. Dryden may have advised him in the transaction; but there was no immediate result. The other half of the copyright remained with Aylmer, or went elsewhither; and there was silence deep as death for a time[1].

Not among readers and critics. With the remaining copies of the third edition of *Paradise Lost*, the copies of the second edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, and the copies of the collected *Minor Poems* in the edition of 1673, the interest in Milton was going about like a gad-fly. Mentions of Milton and his poetry are frequent in books between 1678 and 1688, and some of them have been collected. Todd refers to an examination of the blank verse of *Paradise Lost* and a tribute to the language of the same in a *Paraphrase upon Canticles*, by Samuel Woodford, D.D., published in 1679, and to a curious commendation of Milton in religious poems by a Samuel Slater, published in the same year. He also quotes from the preface to an anonymous translation in 1680 of a poem of the Dutch Jacob Cats, in which the translator hopes his readers will not reject the counsel of the book, "though not sung by a Cowley or a Milton"; and he adds a quotation from a poetical tribute to Milton in the same year by an F. C., whom he supposes to have been Francis Cradock, formerly one of the Rota Club. It begins—

> "O thou, the wonder of the present age,
> An age immersed in luxury and vice,
> A race of triflers!"

In 1682 appeared the first edition of the *Essay on Poetry* by Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Bucking-

[1] Introduction to *Paradise Lost* in Cambridge Milton, I. 17—18, with references there to Newton and Nichols; Christie's *Globe* edition of Dryden, p. 653, and prefixed Memoir, p. xli.

hamshire, ending with the delineation of that impossible poet who

> "Must above Cowley, nay, and Milton too, prevail,—
> Succeed where great Torquato and our greater Spenser fail."

In an anonymous book of 1683, *The Situation of Paradise*, Milton, Todd says, is "the admired theme," and is quoted "with taste and judgment"; and in the second edition of the metrical *Essay on Translated Verse* by the Earl of Roscommon, who died in 1684, there is the strange compliment to Milton of the insertion amid the rhyming couplets of twenty seven lines of blank verse, ostentatiously adapted from the 6th book of *Paradise Lost* and offered as a specimen of the true sublime. By this time not only had Milton's doctrine of blank verse gained adherents and his example in that respect been followed, but, possibly on account of the drift of affairs to the Revolution of 1688, the recollection of his political offences had become weaker. It is still rank indeed in the article on him in the *Lives of the most famous English Poets* published in 1687 by a William Winstanley. He had been a barber, had pillaged Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum* for the purposes of his book, and dismisses Milton thus, in words stolen from Phillips, with an addition of his own:—"John Milton was "one whose natural parts might deservedly give him a place "amongst the principal of our English poets, having written "two heroic poems and a tragedy, namely *Paradice Lost*, "*Paradice Regain'd*, and *Sampson Agonista*; but his fame is "gone out like a candle in a snuff, and his memory will "always stink, which might have ever lived in honourable "repute, had he not been a notorious traytor and most "impiously and villanously bely'd that blessed martyr King "Charles the First." Winstanley was but a straw against the stream. There had already been a German translation of *Paradise Lost*, by an Ernst Gottlieb vom Berge, published at Zerbst in 1682 at the translator's own expense; even before that year Milton's old friend Theodore Haak, the original founder of that London club of which the Royal Society was a development, and now an aged Fellow of that Society, had

translated half the poem on his own account into German blank verse, with much approbation from the continental friends to whom he had sent specimens of it in manuscript; and a Latin translation of the first book of the poem, done by several hands, had been published in London in 1686 by Thomas Dring, the proprietor of the current edition of Milton's *Minor Poems*. Then, as we near the Revolution of 1688, the supremacy of Milton seems an article of universal belief. From a poem in a collection by various hands published that year in honour of Waller, who had died the year before, Todd quotes the lines :—

> "Speak of adventurous deeds in such a strain
> As all but Milton would attempt in vain;"

and he quotes also from a tribute to Milton entitled "*A propitiatory sacrifice to the ghost of J. M. by way of Pastoral, in a dialogue between Thyrsis and Corydon,*" which appeared in 1689 in a volume of pieces "by a late scholar of Eton," but bears marks of having been written soon after Milton's death. Milton in his blindness is compared to Homer and Tiresias, and is apostrophised thus :—

> "Daphnis, the great reformer of our isle!
> Daphnis, the patron of the Roman style!
> Who first to sense converted doggrel rhymes,
> The Muses' bells took off and stopt their chimes;
> On surer wings, with an immortal flight,
> Taught us how to believe and how to write[1]."

Into this state of sentiment about Milton, fully formed fourteen years after his death, came the sumptuous folio volume entitled *Paradise Lost. A Poem in Twelve Books. The Authour John Milton. The Fourth Edition, Adorn'd with sculptures. London, Printed by Miles Flesher, for Jacob Tonson, at the Judge's Head in Chancery Lane near Fleet-street. MDCLXXXVIII.*" Tonson must have been engaged in the preparation of this volume for some time, and must have bestowed much pains upon it. Not only is the size folio and the type large and open; but

[1] Todd's Milton (edit. 1852), I. 124—127, with his bibliographical list at the end of Vol. IV.; Bohn's Lowndes, Art. *Milton*; Aubrey's Milton Notes; Winstanley's Lives; Wood's Ath. IV. 280 and 763; Godwin's Phillipses, 144; Johnson's Lives of Roscommon and Sheffield, with Cunningham's Notes.

the so-called "sculptures," consisting of twelve plates designed by John Medina in illustration of the text, a plate for each of the twelve books, are, though in a bad and gaudy style of art, elaborate enough. There is also a prefixed portrait of Milton, inscribed "*R. White, sculp.*," a modification of Faithorne's original of 1670 by the well known line and mezzotint engraver Robert White of London, who was born in 1645 and died in 1704. The most remarkable thing about the volume, however, is that it had been published by subscription, or that, at all events, a large number of subscriptions had been obtained to secure the venture and add to Tonson's profits by ordinary sale. The tradition is that the Whig lawyer and statesman, Mr. Somers, afterwards Lord Somers, exerted himself greatly for the success of the edition; and it is accordingly called sometimes "the Somers edition." Among others who exerted themselves were Dryden and young Francis Atterbury, afterwards Bishop Atterbury. At the end of the volume are printed "the names of the nobility and gentry that encourag'd, by subscription, the printing of this edition." They are over 500 in number, and are arranged alphabetically in six pages of double columns. Among the nobility one notes Lord Abergavenny, Viscountess Brouncker, Lord Cavendish, the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Drumlanrick, Lord Dungannon, Lord Grey of Ruthen, the Earl of Kent, the Earl of Kingston, Lord Lexington, Lord Mordaunt, the Earl of Middleton, the Earl of Ossory, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Perth, the Duke of Somerset, and the Marquis of Worcester. Among the rest are Atterbury, Brabazon Aylmer, Betterton, three of Davenant's sons, Dryden, Dr. Eachard, Flatman, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Roger L'Estrange, Sir Paul Rycaut, Thomas Southerne, Stillingfleet, and "Edmund Waller, Esq.," the last of whom had died before the volume was ready. Dryden, besides subscribing to the volume and stimulating subscriptions to it, had furnished his famous, but somewhat clumsy and indiscriminating, six lines on Milton to be engraved under the portrait:—

> "Three Poets, in three distant ages born,
> Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.

> The first in loftiness of thought surpass'd;
> The next in majesty; in both the last.
> The force of Nature cou'd no farther goe:
> To make a Third she joynd the former two[1]."

Together with this fourth edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1688, and in the same folio size and the same style of type, as if to match it and be bound up with it if desired, but without "sculptures," appeared a third edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, "printed by R. E., and are to be sold by Randal Taylor near Stationers'-Hall." This Randal Taylor, therefore, had succeeded John Starkey in the proprietorship of these two poems, while the *Minor Poems* in their small octavo form still belonged to Thomas Dring. Thus Tonson's property in Milton's poetry was by no means complete in 1688; and, indeed, in some copies of his folio edition of *Paradise Lost* of that year he figures in the title-page as only joint-publisher with a "Richard Bently, at the Post Office in Russell Street," who perhaps represented the half-copyright which had been left in the hands of Brabazon Aylmer. But on March 24, 1690 (1690–1?), as we are informed, Tonson acquired from Brabazon Aylmer the other half of the copyright of *Paradise Lost*, "at an advanced price;" and from about that date, though we do not know the means, we find Jacob Tonson in possession of the whole of the poetry, or at least in the sole management of it. Nor did he let the property sleep. In 1692 there was a fifth edition of *Paradise Lost*, still in folio, bound up with a fourth of *Paradise Regained*. In 1695 there was a sixth edition of *Paradise Lost*, still in folio, with a uniform issue of *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and the *Minor Poems*, so that all might be bound together and constitute the first collective edition of

[1] From inspection of a copy of the edition; with information from Mitford, p. cviii, footnote, and p. clxxv, and reference to the Cambridge Edition of Milton, I. 19. Among the subscribers to the Somers folio of 1688 is a "Thomas Hobbs, Esq." As the philosopher Hobbes had died in 1679, in his ninety-second year, this must have been some one else, unless we can suppose that the subscription had begun nine years before the publication. L'Estrange among the subscribers is Satan also come to worship. There is a "Mr. Stephen Marshall" among them, and a "Mr. Thomas Woodcock." Was the first a son or other relative of the Smectymnuan, and the second a relative of Milton's second wife?

Milton's Poetical Works; and a peculiar accompaniment of this edition, testifying the extraordinary dimensions of Milton's fame by this time, was an elaborate commentary, or body of learned annotations on *Paradise Lost*, in 321 folio pages, by "P. H., φιλοποιήτης," i. e. Patrick Hume, a Scotsman, settled as a schoolmaster somewhere near London, whom Tonson had employed in the business, or who had undertaken it as a labour of love. All subsequent commentators have been indebted to this commentary of Hume's, and often with far too little acknowledgment. The folio edition of Milton's Poetical Works to which it was affixed was undoubtedly the best that had yet appeared, and sufficed for a while. But Tonson, having removed in 1697 from the Judge's Head in Chancery Lane to a shop at Gray's Inn Gate, till then occupied by his brother, and having assumed that brother's son, Jacob Tonson *junior*, as his partner, did not cease, amid all his other undertakings, to trade in Milton. He published a new edition of the Poetical Works in 1705 in two volumes large octavo, another in 1707 in two volumes smaller octavo, and a pocket duodecimo edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1711, completed by an issue of the other poems in a similar volume in 1713. This edition of 1711–13 may be called the ninth of *Paradise Lost*, the eighth of *Paradise Regained*, the seventh of *Samson Agonistes*, and the sixth of the *Minor Poems*. It was while these more handy editions were running that there appeared Addison's celebrated series of papers on Paradise Lost in the *Spectator*. They began on Jan. 5, 1711–12 and were concluded on May 3, 1712. The statement that it was these criticisms of Addison that first awoke the English nation to a sense of Milton's greatness ought to have been exploded long ago, and owes its continued vitality only to that inherent sheepishness of human nature which will persist in repeating anything whatever that has once been strongly said. The criticisms had no appreciable effect at the time on the demand for Milton's poetry. It was not, indeed, till 1719 that the Tonsons, who had meanwhile removed from Gray's Inn Gate to their last and most famous shop, the Shakespeare's Head in the Strand, speculated again in Milton, and then only in

another duodecimo edition of *Paradise Lost* by itself. But in 1720 they published the fine new edition of the Poetical Works known as Tickell's, in 2 vols. quarto, with Addison's critique reprinted, and a list of 300 subscribers; in 1721 another of the same in 2 vols. 12mo.; in 1725 the first of the so-called Fenton editions in 2 vols. 8vo.; and in 1727 and 1730 repetitions of the same. The Tonsons were also part publishers of Bentley's eccentric edition or mutilation of the *Paradise Lost* in 1732. That edition may be called the sixteenth English edition of *Paradise Lost*, while *Paradise Regained* was in its thirteenth, *Samson Agonistes* in its twelfth, and the *Minor Poems* in their eleventh. There had, however, been a Dublin edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1724, and one hears of a London edition of the Poetical Works in 1731, not by the Tonsons. On the whole the Tonsons had then had a virtual monopoly of Milton's poetry for forty years. It had been very profitable to them; and no wonder that, when old Jacob Tonson had his portrait painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, as one of the portraits of the Kit-Cat Club of which he was secretary, it was with a copy of *Paradise Lost* in his hand. He died, at the age of about eighty, on the 18th of March 1735–6, a very wealthy man, with landed estates. His nephew, Jacob Tonson the younger, had predeceased him about four months. It might be a consideration in any study of the law of copyright that in 1727, when these Tonsons were rolling in wealth, a goodly portion of it derived from traffic in Milton's poetry, Milton's widow was alive in very straitened gentility at Nantwich, and Milton's youngest daugher and her children were in penury in Spitalfields[1].

The old notion being that copyright was perpetual in the author, his heirs or assigns, and Milton having assigned away to Simmons all his copyright in *Paradise Lost* after the third edition, and the copyrights of the other poems having apparently gone in the same way to the booksellers Starkey and Dring, the Tonsons, as successors by purchase to the property of the whole, may have hoped to enjoy it for ever.

[1] Cambridge Milton, I. 18—28, with references there, including Bohn's *Lowndes* and Todd's Bibliographical List at the end of Vol. IV. of his Milton.

But in 1709, just when they had begun to adapt their editions to the popular market by dropping from the folio size to smaller sizes, there had been passed the Copyright Act of Queen Anne, the first general Copyright Act of this country. By this Act the old notion of perpetual copyright in books was annulled, and holders of existing copyrights in England and Scotland were secured undisturbed possession of them only for twenty-one years after the 10th of April 1710. Thus the monopoly of the Tonsons in Milton's poetry had come legally to an end in April 1731. But, though from that date we do find their monopoly interfered with by the publication of independent editions, not only from Dublin but soon also from Glasgow and Edinburgh, English trade-custom still kept Milton's poetry for another generation substantially in the possession of the Tonson family. The head of the firm after the deaths of old Jacob and Jacob *secundus*, was Dr. Johnson's friend, Jacob Tonson *tertius*, the son of Jacob *secundus* and the grand-nephew of old Jacob; and, to the death of this Jacob Tonson *tertius* in 1767, the Tonson firm continued to send forth editions of Milton in various forms, with hardly any competition except from Scotland and Ireland. The most important of these was Dr. Newton's edition of *Paradise Lost* in two large quarto volumes, with variorum notes in 1749, completed by his similar edition of *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and the *Minor Poems* in another volume in 1752. This variorum edition of all Milton's poems by Newton, which became the standard library edition for a long while, was in its fifth issue in 1763, when Newton had just become bishop of Bristol. In that year, I calculate, taking all editions whatever into account, *Paradise Lost* was in its forty-sixth edition, *Paradise Regained* in its thirty-second, *Samson Agonistes* in its thirty-first, and the *Minor Poems* in their thirtieth. From that year the number and variety of editions, with the number and variety of the commentaries, translations, &c. &c., defy calculation. In the matter of translations it may be noted that before the year 1763 there had been four of *Paradise Lost* into German, two into Dutch, three into French, and two into Italian. There had

also been at least one complete translation of it into Latin, by William Dobson, LL.B. Oxon, in two volumes quarto, besides the efforts in that now obsolete style of labour by the ingenious and learned William Hog or Gulielmus Hogæus, a Scotchman from the Carse of Gowrie, who had "known only misfortune since he came into England," and whose *Paraphrasis Poetica* of Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes, published in 1690, his *Paraphrasis Latina* of Lycidas, published in 1694, and his *Comœdia* (Comus) *Joannis Miltoni, viri clarissimi, paraphrasticè Reddita*, published in 1698, lie in old libraries as records of a wasted life[1].

POSTHUMOUS PROSE PUBLICATIONS OF MILTON AND FATE OF HIS PAPERS.

There is no reason to believe that Milton left a single scrap of verse he cared a farthing about that has not come down to us in our printed editions of his poems. It was otherwise with his prose-writings. He left masses of miscellaneous manuscript, and among them some prose compilations about the future fate of which he was by no means indifferent[2].

Two of his manuscripts about which, as we know, he was

[1] Cambridge Milton, I. 28—33; Todd's List of Editions, &c.

[2] Phillips, closing his Life of Milton, says:—"He had, as I remember, pre-"pared for the press an answer to some "little scribbling quack in London, who "had written a scurrilous libel against "him; but, whether by the dissuasion "of friends, as thinking him a fellow not "worth his notice, or for what other "cause I know not, the answer was "never published." From Phillips's description one imagines that it belonged to the Parker-Marvell controversy, and was provoked by that particular lampoon upon Milton in conjunction with Marvell, called *The Transproser Rehearsed*, the author of which was Richard Leigh (ante, pp. 703—706).—An interesting relic from among the papers left by Milton was discovered a few years ago at Netherby in Cumberland, the seat of Sir Frederick U. Graham, bart., in the course of researches made by Mr. Alfred J. Horwood for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and was edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Horwood (*Revised Edition*, 1877), under the title *A Common Place Book of John Milton*. The original is a thin manuscript which had been used by Milton at intervals through his life for receiving references to books he was reading, and notes of facts or ideas that there struck him. The entries are in English, Latin, French, and Italian, and are arranged in three sections,—viz. INDEX ETHICUS, INDEX OECONOMICUS, INDEX POLITICUS,—each entry with a heading denoting the particular subject. The handwriting in the earlier entries is generally Milton's own, most of it before his Italian journey; but other hands gradually come in, among which have been recognised those of several of Milton's otherwise known amanuenses from 1652 to 1674. The chief value of the relic lies in its containing so much of Milton's undoubted autograph. It contains nothing in the shape of original writing. There were found with it, however, a fragment of Latin prose on the subject of early rising, apparently a Latin prolusion of Milton's at Cambridge, not thought worth printing by him with his other *Prolusiones Oratoriæ* in 1674, and also a short Latin poem on the same subject, mainly in elegiacs. Copies of these are appended to Mr. Horwood's volume.

especially anxious just before his death were the small one containing the fair transcript of his *Latin Letters of State* and the much larger one containing that complete *Treatise of Christian Doctrine* or *Systematic Body of Divinity*, also in Latin, on which he had so long been engaged. He had attempted the publication of the former, as we saw, in or about June 1674, through the bookseller Brabazon Aylmer, in conjunction with his *Latin Familiar Epistles;* but, that attempt having failed by the refusal of the necessary licence from L'Estrange or from higher authorities, the transcript had remained in Milton's hands. It was left by him, together with the manuscript of the Theological Treatise, to the charge of the young, scholar, Daniel Skinner, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had for some time been his amanuensis, and whose chief employment for him indeed had been the making of the transcript of the State Letters, and the transcribing also, in his singularly clear and elegant hand, of the first 196 pages of the treatise, with revision of the remaining 540 pages (ante, p. 720). The bequest seems to have been made on the understanding that Skinner would do his best to have the two books printed in Holland, making what he could out of them for his trouble. At all events, the two manuscripts, with some other papers of Milton, did come to Skinner by Milton's directions. "The works of Milton which he left behind him to me" are Skinner's own words[1].

Skinner, one finds, had been admitted a junior fellow of his college at Cambridge on the 2nd of October 1674, Dr. Isaac Barrow being then still master. If the manuscripts came to him there, he probably did not show them about in college. But, in fact, he was tired of Cambridge residence, much fonder of London, and very anxious to obtain an appointment of some public kind there or abroad. He had already, by his own merits, or through his father, Daniel Skinner, senior, one of a firm of well-to-do merchants in the City, or perhaps even

[1] In the introduction to Milton's *Common Place Book*, described in last note, Mr. Horwood furnishes very probable evidence that Skinner possessed also that manuscript after Milton's death, and that it was from him that it passed, about 1682, into the family of the Grahams of Netherby. Two of the entries in the *Common Place Book*, at all events, both written apparently in 1673, are in Skinner's hand.

through Milton, found friends of influence in London; and it seems to have been some time in 1675 that he took courage to introduce himself to Mr. Samuel Pepys, then forty-two years of age, Secretary to the Admiralty, and M.P. for Harwich, wealthier and busier than ever, though not a whit less honest and kindly. Young Skinner found Mr. Pepys so affable, so "favourable and countenancing," that he could not express his thanks sufficiently, and hoped everything from the influence of "so good and great a patron;" and he did not conceal from Mr. Pepys that he had some of the late Mr. Milton's writings, and had negotiated or was negotiating for their publication by the printer Daniel Elzevir of Amsterdam. Whether the negotiation was by letter, or with an agent of Elzevir in London, or with Elzevir himself, who is known to have been on a visit to London about this time, does not appear; but it is certain that, in or about November 1675, Elzevir had agreed with Skinner to print the two manuscripts, and that shortly afterwards they were in Elzevir's possession in Amsterdam.

Months passed, and Skinner was still vainly waiting on in London for the desired public appointment, or going and coming between London and Cambridge. One infers that his father was troubled by his restlessness, and trying to drive him back to Cambridge and College routine by stopping supplies. In the course of 1676, at all events, he was in such straits for money that he made bold to ask Mr. Pepys for £10. The good-natured Pepys seems to have signified to the young man that he was taking a liberty, but to have lent the £10 nevertheless. After that Mr. Pepys saw no more and heard no more of Skinner for some time, the reason afterwards assigned by him to Pepys for such abscondence being his sorrow and shame, "occasioned on no other account but con-
"tinual and daily hopes of receiving ten pounds of my father,
"whereby I might safely approach and make a grateful
"return of your worship's kindness, not being able to appear
"till I could procure that." While he was in this unhappy condition, avoiding Pepys, and exhausting his other shifts, lo! in October 1676, the appearance, from some unnamed

printing-press and some unnamed bookseller's shop in London, of an edition of those very *Latin State Letters* of Milton which he had given to Elzevir to print. The consequences to Skinner were immediate and serious; but, before we tell the rest of his story, we must describe the little volume itself.

It is a rather neatly printed small duodecimo of 234 pages, with an anonymous Latin preface, and this title-page:—"*Literæ Pseudo-Senatûs Anglicani, Cromwellii, reliquorumque Perduellium nomine ac jussu conscriptæ a Joanne Miltono. Impressæ Anno* 1676." ("Letters in the name and by the order of the Pretended English Parliament, of Cromwell, and of the rest of the Rebels, written by John Milton. Printed in the year 1676.") The writer of the anonymous preface introduces the volume thus:—"When first these papers came to our "hands, I doubted long whether I should rather commit "them to the press or to the flames, till, mindful of that mercy "which had pardoned the Author long ago, however foully "delinquent against his Sacred Majesty, we judged that it "would be a most foolish act of inclemency not to spare his "papers to perish naturally. For it has always seemed to the "majority the most proper course to imitate the actions of "that Prince, whoever he is, whose injunctions and command "we ought to obey. Not that we here present you anything "with which we go about to corrupt the manners and dispo-"sitions of the younger members of society or to flatter the "seditious and impotent lust of ruling in others. All we "commend to you is the ornamental setting of the written "transactions, and the elegance of the Latin expression; for "Milton is perhaps a writer most worthy to be read by all, "had he not stained the eloquence and purity of his style by "most abominable conduct. But, inasmuch as from these "letters you may be able perhaps to extract some things which "may illustrate the annals of the time in which they were "written, and by which you may detect and explain the "stubborn malignity of those rebels, on this account have we "caused them to be given to the light. Meanwhile behold, "after the expulsion of kings, how gracefully the ass is "attired with the lion's skin, and how rebels, while commis-

"sioning embassies, sending envoys, undertaking wars, and "assuming the other prerogatives of Royal Majesty, think "the power they have unjustly usurped their proper due and "regularly entrusted to them. Have the letters, therefore, "Reader, and enjoy them to your own advantage and the "confusion of bad men." It is difficult to suppose that this was not written by some one who was more a Miltonist at heart than he could allow, and who was clever at irony.

The publication of Milton's State Letters would certainly have attracted the notice of Sir Joseph Williamson, then Secretary of State, or of some of his colleagues in the Government, even if Skinner had not moved in the matter. But, in his first annoyance at being forestalled in one of his own intended Milton publications through Elzevir at Amsterdam, he took a very bold step. Such, at least, is his own account. "There creeps into the world," he says, "a little imperfect "book of Milton's State Letters, procured to be printed by "one Pitts, a bookseller in London, which he had bought "of a poor fellow that had formerly surreptitiously got them "from Milton. These coming out so slily, and quite un-"known to me, and when I had the true and more perfect "copy, with many other papers, I made my addresses to "Sir Joseph Williamson, to acquaint him that there was "a book come out against his authority: that, if his honour "connived at that, he would please to grant me licence to "print mine; if not, that he would either suppress that little "book, or give me leave to put in the bottom of the *Gazette* "that they were printing in Holland in a larger and more "complete edition." Here Skinner represents himself as the informer against Pitts, not in dishonourable spite, but in the interest of his own projected Amsterdam edition of the *State Letters*. There has been preserved, however, in the Record Office, the attestation or abstract, in Skinner's own hand, and endorsed by the hand of Sir Joseph Williamson's secretary, of the information actually given to Sir Joseph. It is dated Oct. 18, 1676, and runs thus:—"That Mr. Pitts, bookseller in "Paul's Churchyard, to the best of my remembrance about "four or five months ago, told me he had met withal and

"bought some of Mr. Milton's papers, and that, if I would "procure an agreement betwixt him and Elzeviere at Am- "sterdam (to whose care I had long before committed the "true and perfect copy of the *State Letters* to be printed), he "would communicate them to my perusal; if I would not, "he would proceed his own way, and make the best advantage "of 'em: so that, in all probability, I not procuring Elzeviere's "concurrence with him (and 'tis impossible it should be other- "wise), Mr. Pitts has been the man by whose means this late "imperfect surreptitious copy has been published." In this attestation there in nothing necessarily inconsistent with Skinner's own above-quoted account, as given for subsequent and independent purposes. He had been aware of Mr. Pitts's possession of the surreptitious copy of the Letters as early as May or June 1676, and had then been in communication with him; but the actual appearance of the edition in October 1676 may have surprised him, and may have been the cause of his application to Sir Joseph.

Sir Joseph, it seems, took the affair much more seriously than Skinner had expected. He seems to have been satisfied, indeed, that Skinner had not been concerned in the publication of the anonymous London edition of the *State Letters;* but Skinner's information that he had arranged for the publication of a more perfect edition of the same by Elzevir of Amsterdam, with the fact that he had other unpublished papers of Milton in his charge, suggested only one course. "Little thinking," says Skinner, "that Sir Joseph was such an enemy to the "name of Milton, he told me he could countenance nothing of "that man's writings." He would give Skinner no licence, therefore, for an English edition of the State Letters, or for an advertisement of the Amsterdam Edition in the *London Gazette*. That is not surprising; but we should hardly have been prepared for the sequel. "In this answer," says Skinner, "I acquiesced. A little while after, his honour sends for me "to know what papers I had of Milton's by me, and that "I should oblige him if I would permit them to his perusal; "which very readily I did, thinking that it might prove ad- "vantageous to me; and, finding upon this so great an access

"to his honour, I presented him with a Latin petitionary "epistle for some preferment, either under him or by his "means. His honour was pleased graciously to receive it, "and in a most expressive manner to promise me any advance-"ment that might be in his power." Evidently, Sir Joseph, on the one hand, had taken a liking to the young man, and was disposed to be his friend after farther probation, and Skinner, on the other hand, was delighted at having found such a patron, and was resolved that neither Milton's memory nor his manuscripts should stand in the way.

Meanwhile, before those interviews with Sir Joseph which had changed his plans, Skinner had drafted a Latin prospectus of his forthcoming edition of *Milton's State Letters*, to be inserted in the *London Gazette* or sent to Elzevir for publication abroad, warning people against the anonymous London edition as an abortion and imposition. A copy of it has been preserved. "Be it known to all the learned," it begins, "whether "in the Universities or in London, as well as to booksellers, "if any there are with more than usual knowledge of Latin, "and also to all foreigners whatsoever, that the letters of John "Milton, Englishman, written in the time of the Interregnum, "which a certain London bookseller, taking counsel with "himself how much to his profit and reputation might be "yielded him by anything, however imperfect and crude, from "among the works of so great a man, has lately caused "to creep to light, besides being," &c.; and it goes on to denounce the obscure bookseller, the beggarly wretch who had sold him the papers, the mutilated and untrustworthy character of the edition, the confused arrangement of its contents, and the meanness and dishonesty of the preface to it, announcing at the same time the speedy appearance of the full, true, and perfect edition in elegant type, now at press in Holland, and to be accompanied by copies of the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Dutch Treaties, and by other illustrative documents, German, Danish, and Swedish.

Precisely at this point in the business news came to Skinner in London so good that, in his own words, he "leaped at it." What had seemed most feasible, and what he

had for some time desired most, was an appointment in the English embassy at Nimeguen in Guelderland, East Holland, already the head-quarters for some time, and to continue such for a year or two more, of the complex negotiations going on in the great Spanish Succession cause between Louis XIV. on the one hand and the Spanish and Dutch on the other, with England intervening. The English plenipotentiary or Lord Ambassador at Nimeguen was then Sir Leoline Jenkins, the same who had been Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury when Milton's nuncupative will was tried in that Court; and one of Mr. Pepys's kindnesses to young Skinner had been a hearty recommendation of him, with a "good and gracious character," to this Sir Leoline. Nothing had come of the recommendation till now, when, says Skinner, "heaven was "so propitious as to cause a letter to be sent from Nimeguen "to know whether I would embrace the opportunity of being "under Mr. Chudleigh, Secretary to the Embassy, the same "I had hopes of long ago." He prepared to start for Nimeguen immediately; and, on the day before he left, waited on Sir Joseph Williamson to take his leave, and beg the favour of "some recommendations" that might assist him in his journey. Sir Joseph then returned him his Milton papers, whatever they were, "with many thanks," and "was pleased," adds Skinner, "to give me a great deal of advice "not to proceed in the printing of my papers at Amsterdam; "and this, he said, he spoke out of mere kindness and affec-"tion to me." Skinner tendered Sir Joseph the profoundest thanks in return, and assured him that, as soon as he got to Amsterdam, which he would purposely take on his way to Nimeguen, he would recover the two Milton manuscripts from Elzevir "and suppress them for ever." He had hardly gone when Sir Joseph sat down and wrote the following note to Sir Leoline Jenkins, dated "Whitehall, 31st Octob., 1676":—

"I come casually to know that Mr. Chudleigh is taking one Mr. Skinner, a young man of Cambridge, to be his Secretary. The person is a very pretty young man, writes Latin very well, and a fine character. But he is most unfortunately fallen into an ugly

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business now freshly, he, it seems, being the party that hath put out Milton's works to be printed by the Elzevirs in Holland, and among other papers his Letters of State written for the Usurpers as their Latin Secretary. I have told the young man plainly what I thought of his mixing with that sort of men, and how taking such pitch is, and that indeed, till he had very well aired himself from such infectious a commerce as the friendship of Milton is, he could not be at all proper to touch any degree in the King's service. And I pray your Excellency to say so much to Mr. Chudleigh, if you please, to prevent his making so ill a step."

Little knowing what missive to Sir Leoline Jenkins was crossing the seas with himself, Mr. Skinner duly presented himself at Nimeguen, with the result he has left described in a very long and pitiful letter, of date "Nov. 19, 1676," written from Rotterdam, and addressed to Mr. Samuel Pepys. The first part of the letter is taken up with a statement of his past relations and obligations to Mr. Pepys, expressions of boundless gratitude to him, and apologies for having kept away from Mr. Pepys so long and even left England without paying his respects, all from shamefacedness on account of the borrowed £10. Then he reminds Mr. Pepys of the two Milton manuscripts which Mr. Pepys knew to have been in his possession some time ago, and tells the story of his recent interviews with Sir Joseph Williamson concerning those manuscripts, and of his journey to Nimeguen in secure hope at last of the very post which Mr. Pepys had tried to obtain for him :—

"After a hazardous passage cross the seas, though first a great expense in clothing myself for so great an appearance as this at Nimeguen, and a long, tedious, and mighty chargeable journey through all the parts of Holland (a country serving only to set a greater value on our own), I at last arrived at Nimeguen, meeting with a very kind and beyond expectation fair reception from Mr. Chudleigh, though (which is the misfortune I am telling you of) I was surprised with an unkind letter which his honour Sir Joseph Williamson had conveyed before my arrival to my Lord Jenkyns concerning me . . . His honour was pleased (whether I shall term it unkindly or unnaturally) to despatch a letter after me to my lord Jenkyns, to acquaint his Lordship that I was printing Milton's works, and wished them to have a care of me in the King's service; which has put a little stop to my being employed as yet, till I can

write to England and procure so much interest as to clear Sir Joseph Williamson's jealousy of my being yet engaged in the printing of these papers; though my Lord Jenkyns and Mr. Chudleigh are so well satisfied, after my giving them a full account of the business, and bringing my copies with me to Nimeguen, ready to dispose of them where Sir Joseph shall think fit, that they seem as much concerned at Sir Joseph's letter as I do, and have sent me here to Rotterdam at their charge (so kind they are), to remain here till I can write to England and they have an answer from Sir Joseph Williamson how that his honour is satisfied . . . Now, may it please your worship, having given you a full and true account of the whole affair, seeing the fortune of a young man depends upon this small thing, either perpetual ruin or a fair and happy way to future advancement, pray give me leave to beg of you, which I most humbly and submissively do, that you would please instantly to repair to his honour Sir Joseph, and acquaint him that I am so far from printing anything of Milton's now that I have followed his honour's advice, and, upon due pensitation with myself, have nulled and made void my contract with Elzevier at Amsterdam, have returned my copies to myself, and am ready to dispose of them where his honour pleases, either into the hands of my Lord Jenkyns, or into his own for better satisfaction; and am so far from ever procuring a line from Milton printed that, if his honour pleases, he shall command my copies and all my other papers to the fire. And, though I happened to be acquainted with Milton in his lifetime (which out of mere love to learning I procured, and no other concerns ever passed betwixt us but a great desire and ambition of some of his learning), I am, and ever was, so far from being in the least tainted with any of his principles that I may boldly say none has a greater honour and loyalty for his Majesty, more veneration for the Church of England, and love for his country, than I have. Once more I beg your worship, and, with tears instead of ink that might supply my pen, I implore that you would prevail with Sir Joseph to write another letter to my Lord Jenkyns and to Mr. Chudleigh and to recall his former . . . . Lest I should leave any stone unturned, I have penned out a letter to his honour myself, wherein I have humbly and with great submission cleared myself. Likewise Elzevier the printer has written to him by this post. Here at Rotterdam I shall stay till his honour is pleased to send to my Lord Jenkyns; which I pray your worship may be the next post after the receipt of this letter, which is next Friday, which will arrive at Nimeguen the Tuesday after, God willing, when I shall be sent for from hence and be received under Mr. Chudleigh, with all imaginable kindness, as soon as Sir Joseph's letter arrives."

Elzevir's letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, here mentioned by Skinner as despatched by the same post as his own, is still

extant. It is dated "from Amsterdam the 20th November 1676," the post from Amsterdam to England being then a day later, I suppose, than the post from Rotterdam. It is in French, as follows :—

"Sir,—It is about a year since I agreed with Mr. Skinner to print the Letters of Milton and another manuscript on Theology ; but, having received the said manuscripts, and having found there things which I judged fitter to be suppressed than published, I resolved to print neither the one nor the other. I wrote to that effect to Mr. Skinner at Cambridge; but, as he has not been there for some time, my letter did not reach him. Since then he has been in this town, and was delighted to hear that I have not begun to print the said treatises, and has taken back his papers. He told me that you were informed, Sir, that I was going to print all the works of Milton collectively. I can assure you that I never had such a thought, and that I should have a horror of printing the treatises which he made for the defence of so wicked and abominable a cause, even if it were not independently unbecoming for the son of him who first printed the *Defensio Regia* of Salmasius, and who would have given his life if he could have saved the late King of glorious memory, to print a book so detested by all honest people. I am bound to tell you, Sir, that Mr. Skinner expressed to me very great joy over the fact that I had not begun the printing of the said works, and told me it was his intention, in case the said book had been begun, to buy up the sheets for the purpose of suppressing them, and that he had taken a firm resolution so to dispose of the said manuscripts that they should never appear; and I shall venture to be answerable to you, Sir, for the strong resolution I have seen in him so to dispose of them, and chiefly since he has had the honour to speak with you, and you have shown him that you would not quite like the said manuscripts to appear; and, as he expects his advancement from you, one need not doubt that he will keep his word. Sir, I cannot conclude without expressing my acknowledgements for your goodness to me when I was in London; and I should desire to have occasion to be able to serve you in anything that would show with how much respect I am, Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,—Daniel Elzevier.

P.S. I forgot to say, Sir, that neither Mr. Skinner nor I had any part in what has of late appeared of the said Milton, and that I never heard tell of it till Mr. Skinner told me here. He had indeed informed me before that a certain bookseller of London had received some letters from some one who had stolen them from the late Milton ; but neither he nor I have had any connexion with that impression,—of which I pray you will be persuaded."

It may be doubted whether Mr. Chudleigh was as anxious to have Mr. Skinner for his under-secretary as he led Mr. Skinner to believe. This is the impression, at all events, from Sir Joseph Williamson's single preserved note of response to all the letters with which he had been assailed from Nimeguen, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, and also to any pressure that had been brought to bear upon him in Whitehall by Mr. Pepys. It is to Mr. Chudleigh, is dated "Whitehall, the 28th Nov. 1676," and begins, "Mr. Chudleigh,—"Sir, I have the favour of yours of the 14th and 20th." It then continues:—"I should have been very glad to have had "in my eye any youth that I could have said had been fit "for you as secretary. But indeed at present I have none "such: I mean not exactly such as I could wish. And surely, "if the young man we last spoke of,—I mean Mr. Skinner,— "had French perfectly, and that he were a little aired from "the ill name Mr. Milton's friendship ought to leave upon "one, there were not many more hopeful young men to be "found of that rank." One construes this into a renewed hint to Mr. Chudleigh that it would be better not to employ Skinner just yet, both on account of his Milton associations and because of his deficiency in French. Skinner, therefore, who had been waiting in Rotterdam, "at one Mr. Shepherd's house," was *not* recalled to Nimeguen.

At this point, however, Skinner's father, Mr. Daniel Skinner, senior, merchant, of Mark Lane and Crutched Friars, comes to the rescue. He had probably been advised to keep his son abroad for some time, that he might learn French and be "a little aired" otherwise for such employment as Sir Joseph was very willing to find for him in time. When we next hear from young Skinner, accordingly, it is from Paris. On the 20th of January 1676–7 he writes from that city to Mr. Pepys as follows:—

"Most honoured and worthy,—Since my late and most unfortunate repulse at Nimeguen, caused by the groundless and severe jealousies of Sir Joseph Williamson (for, *invocato Deo*, never had I the least thought of prejudicing either King or State, being infinitely loyal to one and mighty zealous for the other, all the

concerns I ever had with Milton or his works being risen from a foolish, yet a plausible, ambition to learning), being at Rotterdam, in expectation of returning into England, my father by his letters commanded me instantly to repair to France, there to retire privately and complete myself in the French tongue. Which having no sooner done, arriving in France and being commodiously settled at Paris, I received a whole packet of letters from Holland: amongst the rest one from your most worthy self,—a letter so beyond expression kind and favourable, so infinitely obliging, that I may safely declare you to be one of the worthiest, most generous, persons living. I see, Sir, my unhandsome departure out of England has not quite ruined the friendship and inclination that your noble breast entertains for me. . . . Please give me leave to salute you in French very speedily, and to give you testimony of my advancement that I make here, hoping in six months' time to return to England with those advantages that few English gentlemen here make in twelve, and withal to be more deserving of yours and Sir Joseph Williamson's favours: whom, pray, Sir, let me beg of you to certify that, though 'twas his pleasure to shipwrack me in the very port of Nimeguen, merely out of jealousy, I hope he will be so compassionate as to give me another vessel when I come to London. Assure him also that, as for Milton or his works or papers, I have done withal, and never had had to do with him had not ambition to good literature made me covet his acquaintance. Pray tell him, Sir, that all his papers will be very suddenly in his hands, as soon as the printer Elzevir at Amsterdam can find an opportunity of sending them over, and that I am here indefatigably studying the French tongue, only to render myself more capable of serving him and yourself, intending ever to acknowledge you for my grand patron.—I am, Sir, with all imaginable gratitude, your most obliged and devoted servant, DANIEL SKINNER.—*A mon logé chez Mad. Albert, à la porte St. Germain, proche la Fountain, à Paris.*"

There is still a little mystery about the two Milton manuscripts. Unless Skinner had prevaricated in his former letter to Pepys, he had taken them out of the hands of Elzevir in Amsterdam on his way to Nimeguen, carried them with him to Nimeguen, and exhibited them there; and Elzevir's letter at the same time to Sir Joseph Williamson was to the same effect. Yet now, it seems, two months later, the MSS. are still in Elzevir's hands. One has an impression that Skinner, after all, was unwilling to part with them until he had some guarantee of the *quid pro quo*. They were worth money; and, if Sir Joseph Williamson remained obdurate, might they not be published abroad in spite of him?

Sir Joseph must have suspected some sulky reserve of this kind in young Skinner's mind, and was angry, at all events, at the continued detention of the manuscripts. He must have conveyed the fact to Mr. Skinner senior; for on the 2nd of February 1676–7 that gentleman wrote to Elzevir. His letter has not been preserved; but the following was Elzevir's reply, sent in French, and dated Amsterdam, Feb. 19, 1676–7.

"Sir,—The honour of yours of the 2nd of this month has duly reached me. It is very true that I received by Symon Heere the two manuscripts of Milton,—to wit, his work on Theology and his Letters to Princes; which are still in the same state in which I received them, not having found it convenient to print them. You will know, doubtless, that Monsieur your son did me the honour to come to see me,—who was greatly satisfied when he saw that I had not printed the said works, and begged me to send them by the first opportunity to Nimeguen to the Secretary of the Embassy. But it began to freeze before I could carry out his orders, and I have since received your said son's order from Paris to send them to you by the first shipping opportunity; which commission I will not fail to execute, and shall give them, well packed, to Jacob Hendrincx, who will be the first to leave this for your city. I have been much vexed at not being able to execute his orders sooner; but the frost, which has lasted here more than three months, has prevented the vessels from leaving. At the request of your son I wrote a letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, in which I assured that gentleman that the said books were still in my hands, that I had no intention to print them, and that Monsieur your son would place them in his hands. Thus, Sir, you have no cause to trouble yourself on this account; for, in the first place, I am sure that your son has no intention to cause them to be printed, but on the contrary to place them in the hands of the gentleman above named, and, for my own part, I would not print them though one were to make me a present of £1000 sterling, and this for various reasons. I pray you, Sir, to believe that the said books will be sent you through Jacob Hendrincx, and will be forwarded to you at his leisure."

Before Elzevir's re-assuring letter had been despatched, Sir Joseph Williamson, in his impatience, had brought stronger means to bear upon young Skinner in his Paris retreat. It was on the 13th of February 1676–7 that Dr. Isaac Barrow, master of Trinity College, sent a letter from Cambridge to his reverend friend "Mr. George Seignior, at Ely House, Holborn, London," enclosing a note to be forwarded to young

Skinner. "I am sorry for the miscarriages of that wild young man to whom I have written the enclosed, which you may please to seal and send," was Dr. Barrow's message to Mr. Seignior. That gentleman does not seem to have known how to communicate with young Skinner directly; for it was after some delay, and through Sir Joseph Williamson's own secretary in the Foreign Office, Mr. Bridgeman, that Dr. Barrow's note did reach young Skinner. It was delivered to him by a Mr. Perwich, who took the precaution, as instructed by Mr. Bridgeman, of doing so "before witness," on or before the 15th of March 1676–7. It was as follows:—

"Trin. Coll., Feb. 13, 1676–7.

Sir,—By order of a meeting you are enjoined, immediately without delay, upon the receiving this, to repair hither to the college, no further allowance to discontinue being granted to you. This you are to do upon penalty of the Statute; which is expulsion from the College if you disobey. We do also warn you that, if you shall publish any writing mischievous to the Church or State, you will thence incur a forfeiture of your interest here. I hope God will give you the wisdom and grace to take warning. So I rest your loving friend,—Isaac Barrow.

For Mr. Daniel Skinner."

How Skinner received this peremptory order from the head of his college we learn only from Mr. Perwich's report to Mr. Bridgeman. "I found him much surprised," Mr. Perwich writes, "and yet at the same time slighting any constraining "orders from the superior of his college, or any benefit he "expected thence; but, as to Milton's works he intended to "have printed,—though he saith that part which he had in "MSS. are no way to be objected against, either with regard "to royalty or government,—he hath desisted from causing "them to be printed, having left them in Holland; and that "he intends, notwithstanding the college summons, to go for "Italy this summer. This is all I can say in that affair." The date of this report was March 15, 1676–7. Skinner did go to Italy; and we hear nothing more of him till May 23, 1679, on which day the registers of Trinity College, Cambridge, show that he was "sworn and admitted as a major fellow." The college was then under a new master, Barrow having

died in May 1677, hardly three months after he had sent his threatening note to Skinner; but, as Skinner's admission to the major fellowship was after an unusual interval from his admission to the minor fellowship, and also on an irregular day, the conclusion is that he was completely forgiven and restored to favour. In other words, the Milton manuscripts had been surrendered to Sir Joseph Williamson.

They had been sent to London by Elzevir, in all probability, shortly after the date of that letter of his, of Feb. 19, 1676–7, to Mr. Daniel Skinner, senior, in which he had so punctually promised them through Skipper Jacob Hendrincx. They came to London, it is quite certain, wrapped up in a paper parcel, addressed on the outside "*To Mr. Skinner, merch^t.;*" and it was this Mr. Skinner, the father of the culprit, that delivered them, wrapped up as they had come, and with that address still on the outside, into Sir Joseph Williamson's possession. The parcel was put into a press in the old State Paper Office in Whitehall, and was to be heard of or looked at no more for nearly a hundred and fifty years[1].

Meanwhile, though not by Daniel Skinner's means, there *had* been given to the world, in that surreptitious London edition of the *State Letters* in October 1676 which Skinner had reviled so much, one most important publication from Milton's posthumous papers. Notwithstanding Skinner's denunciations of it for incompleteness and inaccuracy, it was, in the main, a perfectly authentic collection of the *State Letters*,

[1] The authorities for this story of Daniel Skinner and the manuscripts of Milton's *State Letters* and his *Treatise of Christian Doctrine* are the letters and other documents that have been mentioned and quoted. Perwich's note was printed in 1825 by the Rev. C. R. Sumner, afterwards Bishop Sumner, in his "Preliminary Observations" to his translation of the Treatise of Christian Doctrine. The other letters and documents were printed in full by Mr. W. Douglas Hamilton in 1859 in his *Milton Papers* for the Camden Society,—with the exception of Sir Joseph Williamson's Letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins of Oct. 31, 1676, Sir Joseph's Letter to Mr. Chudleigh of Nov. 28, 1676, and young Skinner's second letter to Mr. Pepys, of date Jan. 20, 1676–7. These interesting documents in the series are from the MSS. in the Bodleian (Rawl. A. 352 and Rawl. A. 185). I know not whether they have been printed before.—One or two of the facts about Skinner are from Bishop Sumner's "Preliminary Observations" just mentioned; but he and others were totally in the dark on the whole subject when those "Observations" were written.—Todd notes that, at the very time when Daniel Elzevir was expressing his virtuous horror of Milton's writings to Sir Joseph Williamson, he had copies of Milton's *Defensio Prima* and *Defensio Secunda* on sale in Amsterdam. The proof exists in his Latin trade-catalogue for 1674.

with only about a dozen omitted that were in Skinner's own transcript. At all events it is that so-called surreptitious edition of the *State Letters* that has served as the substantive edition to this day. I have little doubt that Edward Phillips was the person who conveyed them into the publisher's hands, if he did not also write the Latin preface for him. Aubrey distinctly records, on information from Milton's widow before 1681, that she had given "all his papers" to Edward Phillips; and to this statement in Aubrey's jottings there is the marginal note "*In the hands of Moyses Pitt.*" The inference is that Phillips, examining Milton's papers in 1676, found those drafts of the State Letters from which Skinner had made his transcripts in 1674, and sold them and other things to the bookseller Pitts of St. Paul's Churchyard. No steps seem to have been taken to suppress the book. I have a copy before me which has been in the Library of Edinburgh University since 1678, "*ex dono R. D. Jacobi Nairn.*"

The next posthumous publication in Milton's name is "*Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines. In MDCXLI. Omitted in his other Works, and never before Printed, And very seasonable for these times. London: Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun at the West-end of St. Paul's*, 1681." It is a thin small quarto, of eleven pages of text, the gist of which was as follows:—

"Of these who swayed most in the late troubles few words as to this point may suffice. . . . A Parliament being called, to address many things, as it was thought, the people, with great courage, and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof in Parliament such as they thought best affected to the public good, and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity, the rest (to be sure the greater part) whom wealth or ample possessions or bold and active ambition, rather than merit, had commended to the same place. But, when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted their new magistracy were cooled and spent in them, straight every one betook himself (setting the Commonwealth behind, his private ends before) to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied; spite and favour determined all: hence faction; thence treachery, both at home and in the field; everywhere wrong and oppression; foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained in secret

or in open. Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, as their breeding was, fell to huckster the Commonwealth; others did thereafter as men could soothe and humour them best. . . . . Their votes and ordinances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else but new impositions, taxes, excises, yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments bestowed and shared among themselves, they in the meanwhile who were ever faithfulest to this cause, and freely aided them in person or with their substance when they durst not compel either, slighted and bereaved after of their just debts by greedy sequestrations, were tossed up and down after miserable attendance from one committee to another with petitions in their hands. . . . And, if the State were in this plight, Religion was not in much better. To reform which a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out,—only, as each member of Parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates . . .; yet these conscientious men, ere any part of the work done for which they came together, and that on the public salary, wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastorlike profession, and especially of their boasted Reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept, (besides one, sometimes two or more, of the best livings) collegiate masterships in the Universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms. . . . Thus they who of late were extolled as our greatest deliverers, and had the people wholly at their devotion, by so discharging their trust as we see, did not only weaken and unfit themselves to be dispensers of what liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the people, now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive or digest any liberty at all. . . . But, on these things and this parallel having enough insisted, I return to the story which gave us matter of this digression."

Appended to the eleven pages of text thus given to the world in 1681 were two pages of advertisement "*To the Reader*" by the editor or publisher, as follows:—

"The Reader may take notice that this Character of Mr. Milton's was a part of his *History of Britain*, and by him designed to be printed. But, out of tenderness to a party (whom neither this nor much more lenity has had the luck to oblige), it was struck out for some harshness, being only such a digression as the *History* itself would not be discomposed by its omission; which, I suppose, will

be easily discerned by reading over the beginning of the Third Book of the said *History*, very near which place this Character is to come in. It is reported (and from the foregoing Character it seems probable) that Mr. Milton had lent most of his personal estate upon the public faith; which when he somewhat earnestly and warmly pressed to have restored (observing how all in offices had not only feathered their own nests, but had enriched many of their relations and creatures, before the public debts were discharged), after a long and chargeable attendance, met with very sharp rebukes; upon which at last, despairing of any success in this affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendless, having spent all his money and wearied all his friends. And he had not probably mended his worldly condition in those days but by performing such service for them as afterwards he did; for which scarce anything would appear too great."

The *Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines*, so introduced to the public as Milton's seven years after Milton's death, is now always inserted, on the faith of this tract, in Milton's *History of Britain*, at the point indicated, i.e. immediately after the first paragraph of the Third Book. It forms eleven paragraphs of the text from that point; and the only caution against these eleven paragraphs in modern editions of the *History* is that they are enclosed within brackets, to denote that they are an insertion of matter first made public in 1681 into the text of the original edition as published in 1670. It may be a question, however, whether they ought to have been adopted into the *History* at all and ought not now to be turned out. They are an attack upon the memory of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly; and, though the part of the attack that concerns the Westminster Assembly corresponds closely enough, in parts of the wording, with what Milton had written in his wrath, more than once, against the Presbyterian Divines, or indeed against Divines generally, the part about the Long Parliament seems positively renegade from his previous testimonies of reverence for the persons and acts of that body, and from all that we now remember as historically Miltonic. Can Milton have either dictated such an insertion in 1670 into the previous manuscript of his *History*, or allowed it then to stand there for publication if it was already written? Can we imagine such a semblance

of approach to time-serving on his part in a prose book, at the very moment when he was chaunting to himself the great anti-Restoration song of his *Samson Agonistes*, with its passages of regret and moralizing over the fates of so many of his comrades, the flower of the Parliamentary and Republican faithful?

It is not the mere irrelevancy of the diatribe to the context in which it is imbedded that ought to make us sceptical. True, there is a look of oddity in such a "digression," foisted in at that point of the *History* where the ancient Britons are left to anarchy after the departure of the Roman governors and garrisons from the Island. But, as we saw at the time, one of the very characteristics of the book, as published by Milton in 1670, was that it seemed to delight in such parallelisms and modern applications. Farther, the general Miltonism of the style of the new paragraphs cannot be denied. What causes us to pause is rather the anti-Miltonism of the sentiments conveyed in a style so generally Miltonic. The doctrine that pervades the whole diatribe, for example, the very "point" that starts Milton on his supposed "digression," is the natural unfitness of the British genius and temper, as proved in all ages, for real liberty or any high political undertaking; and no one can read the sarcastic language in which this doctrine is asserted without remembering on the instant that extraordinary passage in the *Areopagitica* of 1644 in which Milton had asserted the dead opposite, declaring it, on the evidence of all British history, to be God's established manner, when He had any great new design in hand for the whole world, invariably to move it first among His own Englishmen.

The statement of the editor of the recovered fragment in 1681 was that it had actually stood in the manuscript of Milton's *History of Britain* in 1670, but had, "out of tenderness to a party,"—i.e. to the Presbyterians and other old Parliamentarians,—been "struck out for some harshness." The statement must be taken in connexion with the independent tradition which comes to us through Phillips and Toland. Phillips, writing in 1694, says that the *History*, as

published by his uncle in 1670, was complete as it had been written, "some passages only excepted, which, being thought "too sharp against the clergy, could not pass the hand of "the licencer, [and] were in the hands of the late Earl of "Anglesey while he lived [i. e. till 1686]: where at present "is uncertain." In the same page Phillips says, more explicitly, that it was his uncle himself that presented the Earl, who was his frequent visitor, "with a copy of the unlicensed papers of his *History*." Toland, writing in 1698, somewhat amplifies the tradition, and doubtless on good authority. Of the *History* he says that "the licencers, those sworn officers "to destroy learning, liberty, and good sense, expunged several "passages of it wherein he exposed the superstition, pride, "and cunning of the Popish monks in the Saxon times, but "which were applied by the sagacious licencers to Charles the "Second's bishops." Now, most obviously, the *Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines*, published in 1681, does not answer to either Phillips's or Toland's description of the passages that were suppressed in 1670; nor is it such a thing as any licencer of that date would have been likely to suppress. It is the very reverse. It is precisely such a passage as the licencers in 1670 would have been glad to keep in a book of Milton's and to send forth with his name. No one can imagine Roger L'Estrange, who seems to have been the licencer in question, expunging such a passage "out of tenderness" to the old Parliamentarians and Presbyterians.

The difficulty, therefore, still remains. Two hypotheses occur to me:—(1) Such a passage may have been written by Milton just before the abolition of the Monarchy and the institution of the Republic in 1648–9, when he was leading a private life in his house off High Holborn, and had brought down the manuscript of his *History* to the end of the fourth book. In the very sentences where he gives us this information, already quoted at p. 78 of Vol. IV., he hints that he might then have had reasons for personal complaint against the ruling powers, not unlike those supposed for him in the bookseller's advertisement appended to the *Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly;* though, by lucky

anticipation, he had at the same time given the lie direct to the present vulgar invention of 1681 by expressly declaring that he then bore his personal grievances in perfect silence, never went about troubling people with suits and petitions, never asked anything from anybody. Add this to the larger fact that the two years or so before 1648–9 were precisely that period in the history of the Long Parliament with which Milton, like all the other forward spirits, was most dissatisfied and disgusted on public grounds,—the period of renewed Presbyterian obstinacy,—and it will not appear so very surprising if Milton did, in 1648, or a year or two later, put on paper the disappointment of his earlier hopes of the Parliament. In that case, the old date of the writing has to be distinctly remembered, and the diatribe has to be read as nothing more than Milton's animadversion on the wretched state of things in England just before Pride's Purge and the happy establishment of the Republic. In that case also it must be part of the hypothesis that this portion of his manuscript of the *History of Britain* had long become obsolete in his regards in its existing form, and that it was he himself, and not the licenser, who cancelled it on the publication of the *History* in 1670, perhaps modifying the preceding sentences so as to indicate that there was a gap. (2) Should this hypothesis fail, we may revert to the suspicion, already hinted at page 647, that the liberties taken by the licenser with Milton's manuscript in 1670 did not consist merely in the excision of passages, but included also *doctorings* of some passages so as to give them a new significance. May not Milton, while submitting to some of the slighter interpolations or changes of wording, as well as to the excisions, have rebelled against the more serious *doctorings?* May not the doctored passages which he refused to accept, as well as the passages suppressed by the licenser, have been among the curiosities given to the Earl of Anglesey, and may not the *Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines,* as published in Brome's catch-penny tract of 1681, have been one of them? One cannot suppose, indeed, that the Earl, who was then still alive, had

anything to do with the affair. L'Estrange himself might be suspected, were it not that the title-page and the advertisement betray the hand of some still coarser and less informed hack. He commits the blunder of giving 1641, instead of 1643, as the date of the Westminster Assembly.

There is no doubt whatever as to the authenticity of the next of the posthumous Milton publications. It was "*A Brief History Of Moscovia and of other less known Countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay. Gather'd from the Writings of several Eye-witnesses. By John Milton. London, Printed by M. Flesher, for Brabazon Aylmer at the Three Pigeons against the Royal Exchange*, 1682." The printer, Miles Flesher, was the same who afterwards printed for Tonson the great fourth or 1688 edition of *Paradise Lost*, called the Somers Edition; and Brabazon Aylmer is known to us already as not only Milton's last publisher in his life, but also in this very year 1682 the proprietor of the copyright in *Paradise Lost* by purchase from Simmons, though about to transfer half of it to Tonson. It may have been this interim proprietorship of *Paradise Lost* that reminded him of a manuscript of Milton's that had been put into his hands by Milton himself about the same time as those of the *Epistolæ Familiares* and *Prolusiones Oratoriæ*, but had remained unpublished. The following, at all events, is Aylmer's advertisement, inserted between Milton's preface to the *History of Moscovia*, which is signed "J. M.," and the text of the book :—

"This Book was writ by the authour's own hand, before he lost his sight. And some time before his death dispos'd of it [sic] to be printed. But it being small, the Bookseller try'd to have procured some other suitable Piece of the same Authour's to have joyn'd with it, or else it had been publish'd ere now."

The volume is a very neatly printed duodecimo or small octavo, with five unnumbered pages of preface and 109 pages of text. Aylmer's information that the original was in Milton's own hand is interesting. One might else have referred it to about the year 1657, when Russia came a good deal into Oliver's calculations of foreign politics and one of

Milton's state-letters for him was to the Czar. As it is, one must refer the compilation to the early years of Milton's Secretaryship, between 1649 and 1652, or possibly to his days of private study and pedagogy. He seems to have had a special fondness for geographical readings and compilations, and he has dashed some of the most sounding geographical names from this prose performance into his epic verse. He had taken considerable pains with it, and has appended a list of his authorities.

What of Milton's almost life-long compilations towards a Latin Dictionary? They were, Aubrey tell us, among the papers given by his widow to Edward Phillips; and we have seen Wood's statement that Phillips made large use of them for his *Enchiridion Linguæ Latinæ* and his *Speculum Linguæ Latinæ* of 1684. But that was not the last use of them. Till 1693 the latest and most popular Latin Dictionary in England was that by Dr. Adam Littleton; but in 1693 there appeared "The Cambridge Dictionary" or "*Linguæ Romanæ Dictionarium Luculentum Novum*," described as "made by several persons, whose names have been concealed from public knowledge." The words are from the preface to the subsequent and more famous Latin Dictionary of Robert Ainsworth, the first edition of which appeared in 1736. Giving an account of all the Latin Dictionaries of this country previous to his own, Ainsworth, after mentioning the use made by the Cambridge Editors of 1693 of preceding printed Dictionaries, adds that "they likewise used a manuscript collection in "three large folios, digested into an alphabetical order, made "by Mr. John Milton out of all the best and purest Roman "authors." As Ainsworth incorporated the Cambridge Dictionary, and as all subsequent Latin Dictionaries have incorporated Ainsworth, something of Milton's Latinity must be flowing latently still in every schoolboy's veins.

The Revolution of 1688 had, of course, removed much of the obloquy attached to the recollection of Milton's prose-writings. The very fact of the conspicuous mention of them, together with those of Knox and Buchanan, Owen, Baxter, and others, in that famous Decree of the University of Oxford, of July 21,

1683, by which the High Church party had sought to back up the then tottering system of English Absolutism, had again recommended them to general attention. The Decree had enumerated certain "damnable doctrines" of anti-monarchical tendency to be found in various ancient and modern books, and had ordered copies of the books to be publicly burnt in Oxford by the hands of the University marshal; and in an academic poem on the occasion there had been these lines of delight over the burning of Milton in particular:—

> "In mediâ videas flammâ crepitante cremari
> MILTONUM, cœlo terrisque inamabile nomen."

So much less *inamabile* had the name become before the close of the century, so efficiently had the events and consequences of the Revolution concurred with the now fully established celebrity of Milton's poetry in bringing his prose-writings back into fashion, that one is not surprised at having to note the publication of the first collective edition of Milton's prose-works as an incident of the reign of King William. It appeared in 1698, in two volumes folio, under the superintendence of Toland, and with Toland's Life of Milton prefixed; and that the publication was even then deemed somewhat venturesome is proved by the fact that the volumes, though really printed in London, purported to have been printed at Amsterdam. This first edition of the prose-works, the predecessor of Birch's editions of 1738 and 1753, carries us into the eighteenth century.

In 1743 was published a very remarkable thin folio volume of 180 pages, entitled "*Original Letters and Papers of State, addressed to Oliver Cromwell; concerning the affairs of Great Britain from the year* 1649 *to* 1658. *Found among the Political collections of Mr. John Milton. Now first published from the Originals. By John Nickolls, Jun., member of the Society of Antiquaries, London.*" The volume consists of a large number of the most private documents in Cromwell's correspondence and relating to his affairs through the time indicated. There are letters of secret military intelligence and political information received by him during his campaigns in Ireland and Scotland, some of them in cipher; there are admiring and enthusiastic

letters to him through that military part of his career from Bradshaw, Harrison, St. John, Vane, and others of the chiefs of the Commonwealth, varying in their style of address from "Honest Noll" to "My Lord" or "My dear Lord"; there are familiar family letters, including one from Cromwell's wife to him, the only letter of hers known to have survived; and about half of the volume is filled with those letters and addresses to Cromwell, through his Protectorate, from individuals, corporations, churches, counties, and councils of officers, which he valued so much as to refer to them in his speeches as "witnesses" to his Government. That Milton should have been in possession of such a quantity of intimate Cromwellian papers, the very papers that Cromwell himself must have kept in a locked cabinet, is somewhat surprising, and the rather when we consider that more than half of them were written after Milton had become blind, and that they were not such as could have been required by him for the purposes of his Secretaryship. Yet Milton had certainly possessed and treasured them. "From him they came into the possession of "Thomas Ellwood," says the editor in his preface; who then recapitulates the story of Ellwood's connexion with Milton as told in Ellwood's History of his own Life, and continues, "That history aforesaid of Thomas Ellwood's life, written by "himself to the year 1683, was published in octavo 1714, "a year after his death, with a supplement concerning his "writings and the remainder of his life by J. W.; who was "*Joseph Wyeth*, citizen and merchant of London, and for "several years intimate with him; into whose hands, among "the other papers of the said Ellwood, these letters fell; and "through the hands of *J. Wyeth's* widow they came into the "possession of the present editor." The pedigree is perfect, and the only question is how Milton became possessed of the papers. The likelihood, almost the certainty, is that he had contemplated a Life of Cromwell or some History of Cromwell's Time, and that the papers had been entrusted to him confidentially for that purpose. As the last of them is an address to Richard Cromwell after his accession to the Protectorate, the conjecture may be that they were entrusted to

Milton about that time. They had never been reclaimed; and Ellwood may have appeared to Milton a more trustworthy custodian for papers of that class after his own death than either Phillips or Skinner.

Phillips was dead, Skinner was dead, Sir Joseph Williamson and all that generation were dead, and there had been the lapse of those four eventful generations more which made the British world of the Four Georges, when, one day in the year 1823, Mr. Robert Lemon, Deputy Keeper of the State Papers, had occasion to search one of the presses of the Old State Paper Office, then still in the Middle Treasury Gallery, Whitehall. Among other things there that had not seen the light for many a day, he came upon the identical parcel, with the words "*To Mr. Skinner, merch*t.," on its wrapper, which had been deposited there by Sir Joseph Williamson or his Secretary in 1677, and which contained the long-lost Skinner Transcript of Milton's Latin State Letters and the manuscript of his Latin Treatise of Christian Doctrine. The *Latin State Letters* having already been before the world since 1676, there seemed no particular need for publishing the recovered Skinner transcript of *them*; and that elegant little manuscript still remains in the State Paper Office, now part of the new Record Office between Fetter Lane and Chancery Lane. The manuscript of the Treatise of Christian Doctrine is also, of course, there now; but it was thought that such a Treatise, a totally new revelation of Milton, ought not to remain in manuscript. Accordingly, by command of George IV., the Rev. Charles Richard Sumner, M.A., then Keeper of the King's Library, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, undertook to edit it. His edition of the original Latin appeared in 1825, in the form of a handsome quarto volume from the Cambridge University Press, with the title *Joannis Miltoni Angli De Doctrina Christiana Libri Duo Posthumi;* and in the same year appeared his English Translation of the work, with the title *A Posthumous Treatise on The Christian Doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone, in two Books: By John Milton.*

MILTON'S TREATISE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

The *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* is a very important and very curious book. Had it been published while Milton was alive, or shortly after his death, it would certainly have become notorious, and would probably have exerted very considerable influence on the course of English theological thought through the last two centuries, as well as on the traditional reputation of Milton himself. As it is, though it has been fifty years before the world, it seems to have found few real readers. Our interest in it here is purely biographical; and in that respect, at all events, it is not to be overlooked or dismissed carelessly. Not only does it throw light upon *Paradise Lost*, not only does it form an indispensable commentary to some obscure parts of that poem by presenting in explicit and categorical prose what is there imaginatively assumed and even veiled; but it tells us a good deal about Milton and his opinions besides, peculiarly and even oddly characteristic, that we should not have known otherwise, or should have known but vaguely.

Milton's fundamental idea in the treatise is that, though the belief in a God is impressed on all men by the wonders of the universe and by the phenomenon of conscience, and though every sane man must be naturally a theist, yet no one can have right thoughts of God by natural reason alone, and the condition of mankind as respects matters supernatural would have been that of almost complete agnosticism but for the divine revelation contained in the Christian Scriptures. The divine origin and inspiration of these Scriptures, defined as comprising only and precisely those books of the Old and New Testaments which Protestants have accepted as canonical, is Milton's assumption throughout. His assumption we say; for the most extraordinary thing about the treatise, the thing that must strike every modern critic of it most strongly, is that no proof whatever is attempted or thought necessary on that subject of the divine inspiration and authority of the Bible which might seem to underlie all the rest. There is no discussion of the credibility of a direct or miraculous revela-

tion from God to the human race at any place or in any time, or of the special claims of the Hebrew books of the Old Testament and the Greek books of the New to be regarded as the unique revelation of the kind hitherto in the history of the human race, or of the meaning of inspiration, its modes, or the variety of its degrees; and this is the more remarkable because the dates and authorship of some of the canonical books are admitted to be uncertain, and discrepancies among them in various particulars and corruptions and falsifications of the text are also confessed. It is as if Milton's own regard for the Bible was so settled and profound, as if its divine and radical distinctness from all the other books of the world was so much of an axiom with himself, that he had no patience for argument on the subject, little belief that argument could be of use, and would only rest in the certainty that, wherever the Bible penetrated, it would carry its own fire and prove itself. Partly, however, the omission of an argument which seems now so vital may have been owing to the fact that his treatise was not a discourse on the Christian evidences addressed to unbelievers, but a compendium of Christian doctrine addressed to believers, not an examination of the vouchers of the Bible so much as an exposition of its contents. On that understanding he has only to ask the assent of his readers to one or two propositions as to the mode of dealing with the Scriptures.

One is that the plain sense of Scripture is always to be taken boldly, without reserve and without sophistication. As we should have been all agnostics in things supernatural without the Bible, so let us not shrink from anything the Bible plainly tells us because it may seem strange to our reason. For example, in such a high and abstruse matter as the nature of God, while we may know that God as he really is in himself is incomprehensible and unimaginable by us, yet "our safest way is to form in our minds such a conception "of God as shall correspond with his own delineation and "representation of himself in the sacred writings." If it is there said on any occasion that God "repented," let us believe that he did repent; if it is said that he "grieved," let us

believe that he did grieve; if it is said that he "feared," let us believe that he did fear; if it is said that he "rested and was refreshed," let us believe that it was so; if anything even of the outward corporeal form of man is attributed in any place to God, let us not avoid the distinct conception so suggested. They may or may not be figurative expressions: that is no business of ours; they are at all events the expressions by which God himself has chosen to intimate to us how he would have himself conceived, and it is not for us to refuse them or turn them into mist. The cautions of theologians against what they call anthropomorphism or anthropopathy in our notions of Deity have been excessive, and may have done harm. God, we may be sure, has taken care of his own dignity in his representations of himself in the Scriptures; and to avoid these representations, or tamper with them, or attenuate them, or do anything else than accept them plainly and thankfully, is to frustrate the very intention with which the Scriptures were given. On this point Milton solicits the agreement of his readers at the outset. Another point, stipulated generally at the outset, but insisted on more particularly in the course of the treatise, is the right of individual interpretation of the Scriptures. No one can safely depute the formation of his Christian creed from the Scriptures to any other person, or to any body of persons, whether called The Church or by any other name. Diligent perusal of the Scriptures, with collection out of them of the exact doctrines which they contain, is the duty of every professing Christian. In all essential matters the Scriptures are plain to the simplest understanding; and, though there will be differences of interpretation among the most honest students of the Bible, the fact that those who so differ all equally found on the Bible and appeal to the Bible is to be taken as an assurance that, as the differences cannot be vital, so they are to be tolerated and respected by Christians among themselves. Hardly have we become accustomed, however, to Milton's resoluteness in his fundamental principle that the Scripture alone is the rule and canon of religious faith when we are startled by the recognition of

another principle, which might seem incompatible with the supreme authority assigned to the written Bible. "Under "the Gospel," he says in one place, "we possess, as it were, "a twofold Scripture: one external, which is the written "word, and the other internal, which is the Holy Spirit, "written in the hearts of believers, according to the promise "of God;" after which he adds, "Hence, although the "external ground which we possess for our belief at the "present day in the written word is highly important, and, "in most instances at least, prior in point of reception, yet "that which is internal and the peculiar possession of each "believer is far superior to all, namely the Spirit itself." Again, after dwelling on the fact that the New Testament has not come down to us pure and perfect, but with corruptions, falsifications, and mutilations, he remarks, "It is "difficult to conjecture the purpose of Providence in com- "mitting the writings of the New Testament to such un- "certain and variable guardianship, unless it were to teach us "by this very circumstance that the Spirit which is given to "us is a more certain guide than Scripture; whom therefore "it is our duty to follow." But, though thus apparently at one with the Quakers and some other sects in the theory of a mystic inner revelation over and above the Bible, Milton hardly gives the same practical prominence to the doctrine of the inner light that it receives in the system of the Quakers. Whether because he regards the inner spiritual apprehensions of the believer as things incalculable in the general account, or because he conceives that they come always or chiefly in the act of commerce with the written Scriptures and are inscrutably imbedded in that act, it is to this commerce with the written Scriptures that he assigns the practical supremacy throughout his treatise.

His treatise, he explains, had been prepared strictly by this method in his own case. Having in early life resolved not to take his religion on trust, but to derive it directly "from divine revelation alone," he had begun an assiduous and systematic study of the Old and New Testaments in the original languages, extracting passages and arranging them

under heads; and, though he had assisted himself at first by a few of the shorter systems of theology written by approved Protestant divines, and had afterwards resorted to more copious theological works, the result had been an increasing dissatisfaction with all previous attempts of that kind, and a conviction that, if he would have a system of divinity genuinely Biblical, free from shifts and evasions, he must persevere in compiling his own. It was by such perseverance for years that the present treatise had grown on his hands; and, as he had found it a treasure to himself, he gives it to the world in the hope that it may be useful to others. It is addressed to the learned and to those of manly understanding. One particular in which it will be found to differ from previous works of the kind is that it does not merely cite texts or give references to them in the margin, but quotes them in full in the pages themselves, quotes them in abundance and what may seem over-abundance, never advancing any proposition or indulging in any exposition except in connexion with a complete conspectus of all the texts of Scripture bearing on the point *pro* or *con*. He does not expect immediate or universal agreement with him on all points, and indeed advises his readers to exercise their own judgments freely; but he requests a candid hearing, with abstinence from bad temper or outcry of heresy where anything may seem new or unusual. He can assure them that he had not read the works of some so-called heretics with whose opinions he may be found to be here and there in unison till he had himself worked out those opinions independently from Scripture. All this, with more to the like effect, is contained in the preliminary address which introduces the treatise; and the highly ceremonious form of that preliminary address proves Milton's belief that the treatise would be found unusually important. It is no ordinary preface by an author to his readers, but a kind of Apostolic Epistle or Dedication to all Christendom, headed with this benediction:—"JOHN MILTON, ENGLISHMAN, TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST, AND ALSO TO ALL EVERYWHERE ON EARTH PROFESSING THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, PEACE AND KNOW-

LEDGE OF THE TRUTH, AND ETERNAL SALVATION IN GOD THE FATHER AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." Milton clearly expected that his treatise *would* become notorious.

The expectation cannot have been founded on anything extraordinary or stimulating in the style of the treatise. It is written throughout in the calmest and most prosaic mood, with a rigid suppression of the imaginative, not a single outbreak of rage or real anger, and hardly a flower or nettle of the peculiar Miltonic rhetoric of the prose pamphlets. Consisting, to so large an extent, of mere collections of texts from Scripture, all duly cited, it is not even continuously fluent as any ordinary book is, but breaks itself, as it were, into a maze of expository rivulets trickling among banks of Biblical quotations. It is these expositions, winding among the banks of texts, and professing wholly to be washings from them, that contain the substance of the treatise. That is Miltonic enough. Though professing only to be Milton's Christian theology as derived from the Bible, it involves at the same time his physics, his metaphysics, his ethics, the entire system of his speculative notions and beliefs. The Miltonic philosophy, presented to us in the other writings only in dispersed poetic gleams or in diffused living glow and fervour, is here exhibited coolly and connectedly, as we have already said, in its driest bones of abstract thesis and proposition. This is done in two Books or divisions, the first theoretical, or treating of Christian Knowledge, the second practical, or treating of Christian Duty.

The theoretical part begins with a disquisition on the Nature and Attributes of God. After Milton's characteristic advice to his readers to receive frankly whatever Scripture teaches on this subject, and not to be alarmed by the bugbears of anthropomorphism and anthropopathy, he proceeds to define or describe God, the Jehovah or Jah or Ehie of the Hebrews, as an infinite, eternal, immutable, incorruptible, omnipresent, omnipotent, single, living, omniscient, all-holy, most gracious, true, just, incomprehensible, self-subsisting Spirit. There is nothing so far in the description that is not

at least generally orthodox. Nor in the next two chapters, treating of what is called "the internal efficiency" of God, or the Divine Decrees in general and Predestination in particular, is there anything specially heterodox, unless a refusal of strict Calvinistic doctrine on those subjects, and an accordance rather with the Arminian doctrine, is to be regarded as heterodoxy. Milton is no necessitarian, but holds that, though God foreknew and foreknows all events, he "has not decreed them all absolutely," but has left all his reasonable creatures, whether angels or men, perfectly free agents, subject only to "contingent decrees," or decrees that *if* they act thus or thus then such or such will be the consequence. "I allow," he says, "that future events which God has fore-"seen will happen certainly, but not of necessity. They will "happen certainly, because the divine prescience cannot be "deceived; but they will not happen necessarily, because pre-"science can have no influence on the object foreknown, in-"asmuch as it is only an intransitive action." So, he maintains, "there is no particular predestination or election, but only general:" i.e. John or Peter is not predestined to be saved as John or Peter, but believers are predestined to be saved, and John and Peter will be saved if they are in the class of believers. So, on the other hand, "there can be no reprobation of individuals from all eternity." The rejection of the fundamental doctrine of Calvinism thus distinctly declared at the outset of the treatise had already been intimated in various passages of *Paradise Lost*.

It is, however, when we come to the discussion of the "external efficiency" of God, or the execution of His decrees, that Milton's heterodoxy first becomes flagrant. The first and most important of God's effected decrees, as revealed in Scripture, was, he says, the generation of the Son; and he goes on to propound in a long chapter views about the nature of Christ which are expressly and emphatically those of high Arianism. The Son of God, he concludes from an examination of all the relevant Scripture texts, did not exist from all eternity, is not coeval, or co-essential, or co-equal with the Father, but came into existence by the will of the

Father, to be the next being in the universe to Himself, the first-born and best-beloved, the Logos or Word through whom all creation should take its beginnings. But, though thus inferior to the supreme Godhead, the Son is, in a certain grand sense, divine. We are to believe that "God imparted to the "Son as much as He pleased of the divine nature, nay, of the "divine substance itself, care being taken not to confound the "substance with the whole essence." The Anti-Trinitarianism apparent in this representation of Christ pervades also that of the third person of the Trinity in the orthodox system. The doctrine of Scripture respecting the nature of the Holy Spirit, says Milton, is altogether very shadowy and uncertain; but, on the whole, the Holy Spirit may be regarded as a person, and it may be collected that, "inasmuch as he is a "minister of God, and therefore a creature, he was created "and produced of the substance of God, not by natural neces-"sity, but by the free-will of the agent, probably before the "foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, "and far inferior to Him." It is even hinted as Milton's belief that the Holy Spirit is of more limited relations in the total purposes and operations of Deity than the Son, less all-filling or omnipresent, perhaps a being whose functions do not extend beyond that fabric of things which we know as our heavens and earth.

To this subject of the Creation of the Universe Milton passes, as being "the second species" of God's external efficiency or known operations after the generation of the Son. What Deity may have been doing through all eternity is a mystery, though it is "not imaginable" that He should have been wholly occupied from all eternity in forethinking the single creation of the six days and the brief history of mankind. In other words, there may have been universes and universes that are out of our ken. All created existence over and above our visible mundane universe is summed up for us by Scripture, however, in the conception of a single other universe, higher and invisible, consisting of the Heaven of Heavens, the throne and habitation of God, and the realm of the heavenly powers or angels. It is, on all grounds, most probable

that this Heaven of Heavens, if not eternal, was formed long before the beginnings of our world, and also that the creation of the Angels was long antecedent to that of Man. Even the apostasy of a portion of the Angels and their expulsion from Heaven were probably antecedent. Already, before this point, Milton has introduced the idea of Matter, in the supposed form of a prime or original matter which may have been used even in the formation of the Heaven of Heavens, and in that of the Hell into which the fallen angels were driven. In speaking of this original matter he attaches much importance to the notion that matter cannot have been created out of nothing, as most of the moderns had maintained, but must be regarded as a phenomenon or efflux of God Himself, a something produced out of his own substance. One consequence of this view is that, the material used in creation being thus not only from God but actually of the substance of God, "no created thing can be finally annihilated." Another is that there is serious error in the common antithesis which opposes matter so persistently to spirit, as if the former were something intrinsically brute, bad, and despicable, and goodness or divinity resided only in the latter. "The original matter of "which we speak is not to be looked upon as an evil or trivial "thing, but as intrinsically good, and the chief productive "stock of every subsequent good. It was a substance, and "derivable from no other source than the fountain of every "substance, though at first confused and formless, being after-"wards adorned and digested into order by the hand of God." This view of Matter as originally nothing else than an efflux from the very substance of Deity places Milton, it can hardly be doubted, in the company of the Pantheists. There is no evidence, indeed, of any approach on his part to such thorough and systematized Pantheism as that of his junior contemporary, Spinoza; but the inference from his language is that his mode of imagining Nature had come to be that of a modified or arrested Pantheism, stopping short of Spinoza's mainly by a strong prior reservation of that freedom of will for all rational intelligences which Spinoza denied. The prime matter of all finite existence, Milton seems to have

held, was an emanation or production from the substance of God; but God had voluntarily loosened his hold, as it were, on those living portions or centres of finite existence which he had endowed with free will, so that their independent actions might originate consequences not morally referable to Himself. This seems also the doctrine hinted in Raphael's words to Adam, *Paradise Lost*, V. 469–471 :—

> "O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
> All things proceed, and up to him return,
> If not depraved from good."

Milton, it will have been seen, propounds in his treatise for actual belief a conception of the invisible universe of pre-human existence corresponding most closely with that adopted for his *Paradise Lost*. There was the one eternal, infinite, and incomprehensible God; there was the divinely-generated Son, inferior to the Father, but His delegate and representative for all the worlds; there was the Heaven of Heavens, framed mysteriously for the more immediate dwelling of Paternal Deity and of the Divine Son; there were the hosts of angelic spirits, ranged round the throne in this Heaven of Heavens or dispersed innumerably through its boundless depths; there was already the Hell that had been formed for the reception of the apostate angels and was now populous with them; and there was also Chaos, or that aggregate of prime matter which remained unabsorbed into either the everlasting Heaven of Heavens or the more recently formed Hell. Only in one point does the treatise seem to convey an impression different from that conveyed in the poem. In the treatise Christ, the Logos, is distinctly antecedent to the angelic world, and is represented indeed as the energy by which that world had come into existence, while in the poem we read, in one passage (V. 600–605), of the presentation of Christ to the assembled angels as a kind of epoch or novelty in the history of the Empyrean, announced to the angels by Paternal Deity thus :—

> "*This day* I have begot whom I declare
> My only Son, and on this holy hill
> Him have anointed."

The impression, however, is corrected for us in another passage

(III. 383–391), where the angelic hosts themselves adopt the doctrine of the treatise in their song, saluting Christ as "of all creation first," the unclouded image of the Almighty Father, and expressly adding:—

> "He Heaven of Heavens, and all the powers therein,
> By thee created."

In the account given in the treatise of the Creation of the Visible or Mundane Universe, and of Man at the centre of it, there is no deviation from the orthodox view of the work of the six days, except in so far as a deviation may be already involved in the notion that the creation was not out of nothing, but out of pre-existing chaotic matter, and except in so far as there may be a peculiarity in Milton's doctrine as to the body and soul of the human being. As he has protested against too strong a distinction between matter and spirit, so he does not like the common distinction between body and soul. "Man is a living being, intrinsically and "properly one and individual, not compound or separable, "not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed "of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body," but so that "the whole man is soul and the soul man,— "that is to say, a body or substance, individual, animated, "sensitive and rational." Again, "That the spirit of man "should be separate from the body, so as to have a perfect "and intelligent existence independently of it, is nowhere "said in Scripture, and the doctrine is evidently at variance "both with nature and reason." Milton here, therefore, repudiates that doctrine of the immateriality of the soul which Descartes had so vigorously maintained, and which had become generally the doctrine of orthodox theology, and reverts to the older notion of a certain corporeity of the soul, a certain rooted inherence of mind and thought somehow in the network of the bodily organism. The dust-formed man of the sixth day of creation, Milton held, was not a shaped material clod or mechanism with an independent soul put into it from without itself, but was actually the whole man, body and soul together, or rather soul because and by virtue of that divinely formed and organized body.

That "breath of life" which is said in Genesis to have been breathed by God into the dust-formed man is explained as not having been the soul at all, but a certain something else, in the nature of a mere initial quickening or impulse. It will have been noted even that, in defining man as "a body or substance, individual, animated, sensitive, rational," Milton uses words almost identical with those of Hobbes in the same connexion (see ante, p. 283); and, though the difference between Milton's general system of thought and that of Hobbes is enormous, inasmuch as Milton starts avowedly from pure Theistic Spiritualism, and treats matter as secondary or derivative, yet there is so far an agreement with Hobbes that Milton's cosmological conception, his conception of the processes of the visible world, those of mind included, is undoubtedly materialistic. All cosmical life, he holds, is but a diversified organization of that common matter which was originally an efflux or production out of the substance of God. So in the very subtle continuation of the last passage we have quoted from *Paradise Lost*. The whole world of God, animate and inanimate, angels and men as well as the brute creatures, consists, Raphael there informs Adam, of—

> "One first matter all,
> Endued with various forms, various degrees
> Of substance, and, in things that live, of life,
> But more refined, more spiritous and pure,
> As nearer to Him placed, or nearer tending,
> Each in their several active spheres assigned,
> Till body up to spirit work";

and the possibility of such a gradual evolution of the common matter of all things from lower to higher is farther intimated by the conjecture that the bodies of men, though fed from corporal nutriments,

> "May at last turn all to spirit,
> Improved by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
> Ethereal, as we."

Without venturing on this evolution hypothesis in his treatise, Milton is content with impressing there as strongly as he can his theory of the evident materiality of the human

soul at present. Important consequences are to follow from it; but meanwhile he insists chiefly on one. It is that soul and body are propagated together from fathers to children by natural descent, and that there is no foundation for the opinion that God creates a new soul immediately and supernaturally for every person that comes into the world. That opinion, he says, must be rejected as degrading to God when we think what horrible sorts of souls there are and how imperfect are even the best of them. Man is a body-and-soul, or a soul-body, and transmits himself as such.

From Creation Milton passes on to "the remaining species of God's external efficiency," viz. his Providence, or Government of the whole Creation. After a general chapter on the subject, recognising a certain fixed or immutable order of nature arising from God's absolute decrees, but leaving abundant room for the free will of all rational creatures in matters decreed only contingently, and room also for miracles or extraordinary providences, he discusses the special government of the Angels. Here he is quite at one with himself in *Paradise Lost*. He believes not only in the existence of Angels, and their distribution into good and bad, but also in the organization of both varieties into ranks and degrees, with archangels and princes among them, separate provinces and ministries, and permitted powers of transit from their native habitations, whether in the Empyrean or in Hell, into and through the Mundane Universe. Thus we arrive at a chapter entitled "Of the special Government of Man before the Fall, including the institutions of the Sabbath and of Marriage." Acknowledging that God hallowed the seventh day to Himself and consecrated it to rest in remembrance of the consummation of His work, and referring for proof to Gen. ii. 2, 3, and Exod. xxxi. 17, he maintains that there is no evidence whatever that the Sabbath was a Paradisaic institution, or known to Adam, or to the Israelites before the delivery of the law on Mount Sinai, and thinks it most probable that Moses, "who seems to have written the book of Genesis much later than the promulgation of the Law," took the words out of the Fourth Commandment

relating to God's rest on the seventh day and inserted them in what appeared suitable places, for the purpose of additionally fortifying the commandment then newly given. The institution of Marriage is discussed more at large, and in a manner more shocking to common opinion. Not only is the Miltonic Doctrine of Divorce fully re-asserted and re-argued from Scripture, with a reference to one of Milton's previous writings on the subject; but there is a grave and elaborate argument for the lawfulness of Polygamy. As a plurality of wives was allowed to the Hebrew patriarchs and saints, so Milton sees no reason for concluding that the liberty is abrogated under the Gospel, or should now be considered dishonourable or shameful. This defence of Polygamy is one of the novelties of the Treatise. There is a slight hint in the direction in one passage in the *History of Britain*, and it may have been known to Milton's contemporaries that he entertained the Polygamy heresy as well as the Divorce heresy; but only in the Treatise is the matter clearly divulged. Of course, the polygamy contemplated by Milton is for men only. While arguing for the man's right to a plurality of wives, he does not even glance at the possibility of a counterpart claim on behalf of women for a plurality of husbands. The necessary subjection of woman to man, indeed, is explicitly re-affirmed in the Treatise, and is a permanent Miltonism.

The Fall of Man, Sin, and the consequences of Sin in death and all the other evils that have ruined the once fair world, are the topics leading Milton naturally to that part of his exposition of God's special Providence for the human race which treats of the Christian scheme of Redemption and Renovation. It occupies a series of closely arranged chapters, the nature of which may be gathered from the following main propositions:—

"Redemption is that act whereby Christ, being sent in the fulness of time, redeemed all believers at the price of his own blood, by his voluntary act, conformably to the eternal counsel and grace of God the Father."

"The Humiliation of Christ is that state in which, under the character of God-Man, he voluntarily submitted himself to the

divine justice, as well in life as in death, for the purpose of undergoing all things requisite to accomplish our redemption."

"The Exaltation of Christ is that by which, having triumphed over death, and laid aside the form of a servant, he was exalted by God the Father to a state of immortality and the highest glory, partly by his own merits, partly by the gift of the Father, for the benefit of mankind; wherefore he rose again from the dead, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God."

"Regeneration is that change operated by the Word and Spirit whereby, the old man being destroyed, the inward man is regenerated by God after his own image in all the faculties of his mind, insomuch that he becomes as it were a new creature, and the whole man is sanctified both in body and soul for the service of God and the performance of good works."

"Justification is the gratuitous purpose of God whereby those who are regenerated and ingrafted in Christ are absolved from sin and death through his most perfect satisfaction, and accounted just in the sight of God, not by the works of the law, but through faith."

"Adoption is that act whereby God adopts as his children those who are justified through faith."

"Imperfect glorification is that state wherein, being justified and adopted by God the Father, we are filled with a consciousness of present grace and excellency, as well as with an expectation of future glory, insomuch that our blessedness is in a manner already begun."

"Assurance of Salvation is a certain degree or gradation of Faith, whereby a man has a firm persuasion and conviction, founded on the testimony of the Spirit, that, if he believe and continue in faith and love, having been justified and adopted, and partly glorified by union and fellowship with Christ and the Father, he will at length most certainly attain to everlasting life and the consummation of glory."

These propositions, and the entire texture of the chapters which contain them, are sufficiently in accord with the most evangelical Christian orthodoxy, save in so far as the form of statement here and there may betray a tinge of Milton's Arminianism or of his Arianism. At all events, Bishop Sumner,

the editor and translator of the Treatise, "rejoices in being able to state that the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ is so scripturally and unambiguously enforced as to leave, on that point, nothing to be desired." The Bishop may have found some compensation for Milton's Arianism in the resoluteness with which, in this part of his treatise, he rejects that lower Unitarian or Socinian view of the person of Christ which would deny his divinity in any real sense. In opposition to "those who contend for the merely human nature of Christ," he maintains the doctrine of the union of the two natures in Christ, holding that no name short of *The-Anthropos* or *God-Man* adequately describes the Christ who walked and suffered on our earth, inasmuch as that very mystery of mysteries which we are told to believe, though we cannot explain it, is that somehow the Divine Logos or Filial Divinity which pre-existed all created things, and stood alone with God the Father ere angels or men were in the universe, became incarnate at a particular point of historical time in the man Jesus, the son of Mary.

But, while this acknowledgment of the mystery of the Incarnation may be a compensation with orthodox theologians for much that has preceded in the Treatise, there runs through all Milton's account of Christ's ministry and its effects a surprise of another kind, which the commentators hitherto have shrunk from bringing out. Milton himself introduces it cautiously. It grows out of his doctrine of the radical unity of the soul and body in man, their necessary inseparability. Applying this doctrine to the consideration of Death as brought into the world by the first sin, and as part of the decreed punishment for sin, he has to ask what Death really is. The common notion, which defines it as the separation of soul and body, is of course inadmissible in his theory. "Here "then," he says, "arises an important question, which, "because of the prejudice of divines in behalf of their pre-"conceived opinions, has usually been dismissed without "examination, instead of being treated with the attention it "deserves. Is it the whole man, or the body alone, that is "deprived of vitality? As this is a subject which may be

"discussed without endangering our faith or devotion, I "shall declare freely what seems to me the true doctrine, "as collected from numberless passages of Scripture." The result is uncommon. Whereas the orthodox Protestant notion is that at the death of every human being the soul takes flight at once to Heaven or to Hell, leaving the body in the grave till the Resurrection, Milton's conclusion is that, at the last gasp of breath, the whole man dies, soul and body together, and that not till the Resurrection, when the body is revived, does the soul live again, does the man or woman live again in any sense or way, whether for happiness or misery. This, if I mistake not, is the heresy of the *Soul-Sleepers* or *Mortalists*, of whom we had to take account among the English sects of 1644 (Vol. III. 156–157), when there was no sign that Milton was one of them or would ever be one of them. In his present treatise, though he tries not to obtrude his view too violently, he leaves no doubt what it is. Are the souls of the millions on millions of human beings who have died since Adam, are these souls already either with God and the Angels in Heaven or down in the diabolic world, waiting to be rejoined to their bodies on the Resurrection Day? They are *not*, says Milton; but souls and bodies together, he says, are dead alike, sleeping alike, defunct alike, till that day come. There they lie, is Milton's vision of the dead of the world before his own time—there they lie, all really dead, all feelingless, all silent, the millions and millions of them, thick and sere as the autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa, till the last trump shall stir their multitudes. When he himself lay down to die, what he felt in his pillowed blindness was that he too was about to become one of the sleepers, wholly at rest, wholly extinct, hearing nothing, knowing nothing, till the great reawakening. What matter for regret or disappointment, he virtually asks, is there in this view of the Scripture doctrine of immortality? If those who fell asleep in the temples of the heroes were fabled to have no sense, when they awoke, after however long an interval, that they had slept more than an instant, how much more would intervening time be annihilated for those who sleep in Jesus?

They die; they awake to be with Christ: to them, though there may have been hundreds or thousands of years of a noisy world meanwhile, will not the dying and the awakening seem to be in one and the same moment? Would there be any degradation of Christianity, he virtually asks, in such an interpretation of the effects of Christ's mission and ministry on earth? What greater boon could there be to a world of fallen and sinful humanity than a religion offering redemption and pardon through Christ, renovation of nature, adoption by God, the imperfect glorification possible in this life, and the assured hope at last of perfect glorification when body and soul shall be revivified together and there shall be the call into God's presence and the life everlasting?

This Religion, or Covenant of Grace, Milton goes on to say, had passed through two dispensations, that of the Law and that of the Gospel. Under the Gospel the Mosaic Law is abolished in all its parts, even the Decalogue included. After a chapter on this subject, he proceeds to such matters as "the external sealing of the Covenant of Grace" by sacraments, the constitution of the Visible Church universal, the use of the Holy Scriptures, the constitution of particular churches, church-discipline, forms of worship, &c. It is here that we learn definitely that Milton agreed with the Baptists in rejecting Infant Baptism and in holding immersion in water to be the proper form of the rite, and that we have also the formal repetition that was to be expected of such old Miltonisms as his life-long principle of Protestant individualism, his preference for Congregationalism or Independency over Prelacy or Presbyterianism as a form of church-organization, his antipathy to a State Church or professional and paid clergy, and his detestation of the interference of the State or Civil Magistrate in any way in matters of religious belief. On the details of these repetitions we need not dwell, but may pass to the concluding chapter of the theoretical division of the Treatise. It is entitled "Of Perfect Glorification, including the Second Advent of Christ, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the General Conflagration," and exhibits Milton as an enthusiastic Millennarian. He expected, it appears, a real

second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, suddenly and gloriously, at some future moment of historical time, with the rousing then of the sleeping dead, and with some wondrous change also in those that should be alive on the earth to behold the advent. At this point he becomes rather obscure or uncertain in his interpretations of Scripture; but he expected, it seems, not a single Day of Judgment, but a slow process of judgment, to be prolonged perhaps through the thousand years of Christ's predicted terrestrial reign, and to be wound up by a new revolt of Satan and his confederates, their final overthrow, the sentencing equally of the devils and bad men, the destruction by fire of the present Mundane World, the departure of bad men and devils into their extramundane Hell of eternal torments, and the exaltation of the Saints into a perpetuity of happiness in the Heaven of Heavens, or in a new Heavens and Earth created for their enjoyment.

Of the second or practical part of the Treatise, entitled "Of the Worship or Love of God," less needs be said here than of the theoretical. It is an Essay on Christian Ethics and Casuistry, and is, in the main, serious and sensible, rather than powerful or exciting. It first expounds Milton's notions of duty towards God, or of the duties and forms of religion, and then his notions of the duties of man to himself and to his neighbours, or the virtues that go to constitute ideal character and citizenship. As duties to oneself he recommends temperance in its two forms of sobriety and chastity, modesty, decorum, contentment, frugality, industry, liberality, humility, magnanimity, fortitude, and patience; and through his expositions of these duties, and of the corresponding duties to our neighbours, there runs, with all the strength and strictness, an unmistakeable vein of high manner or gentlemanlike habit. Thus, when he defines the virtue of "liberality" to be "a temperate use of our honest acquisitions in the provision of food and raiment and of the elegancies of life," and proceeds to include among the comforts or elegancies of life authorized by Scripture such things as occasional gaieties, wine, ointment

and fragrances, gold ornaments and jewels, tapestry and other furnishings, and when again he rebukes churlishness of any kind and makes the special virtue of urbanity to comprehend "not only the innocent refinements and elegancies of con- "versation," but also wit, grace, and sprightliness in reply, we seem to be reminded of the handsome young Milton of Cambridge, the Milton of *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and *Comus* in the Horton days, the later Milton who could dictate a sonnet in his blindness inviting a friend to a neat repast, light and choice, of Attic taste, with wine and music, and the still more aged Milton, of whom the uniform report, by those who saw him as he walked about in his grey suit with his silver-hilted sword, or sat at home in black, was of his distinguished politeness and affability in combination with dignity of bearing. One may be a little surprised at finding the Milton of the controversial pamphlets reprehending "evil speaking," "malicious construction of the motives of others," "contumely and personal abuse," "hasty anger" and "revenge"; but, as he recommends also "veracity," freedom of speech even to boldness, and a "spirit of admonition," we can imagine the compromise. In speaking of the duties of citizens to magistrates or the constituted authorities he does not forget his old doctrine of the right of resistance to usurped or unjust rule; but, on the whole, he handles that topic cautiously, inserting also a sentence which seems intended to describe his own fourteen years of compelled acquiescence with the state of things in England after the Restoration. "That it may be the part of prudence," he says, "to obey the commands even of a tyrant in lawful "things, or, more properly, to comply with the necessity "of the times, for the sake of public peace, as well as of "personal safety, I am far from denying"; and so he dismisses that subject. Whatever his sympathies with the Quakers, he is no Quaker in the matter of war. "There "seems no reason," he says, "why war should be unlawful "now any more than in the time of the Jews, nor is it any- "where forbidden in the New Testament." He is equally astray from the Quakers in the matter of the lawfulness of

oaths; and in treating of oaths and also generally of the virtue of veracity he is, even on this side of Quakerism, far less rigid than might have been expected. An oath sworn to a robber, or otherwise exacted by compulsion, is not binding; "no rational person will deny that there are certain individuals," e. g. madmen, children in certain circumstances, people in sickness or in a state of intoxication, and enemies, "whom we are fully justified in deceiving"; feints and stratagems in war, even when they are "the greatest untruths and with the indisputable intention of deceiving," are perfectly legitimate, if unaccompanied by perjury or breach of faith. These relaxations of the rule of veracity were probably intended as common-sense answers to questions of casuistry discussed in Milton's day; and they are less after Milton's own heart than another oddity of opinion or sentiment, which occurs in his dissertation on Prayer. While we are commanded to pray not for ourselves only, but for all mankind, even our enemies, we are also commanded, Milton holds, "to call down curses publicly on the enemies of God "and the Church, as also on false brethren, and on such as "are guilty of any grievous offence against God, or even "against ourselves,"—the same being lawful in private prayer, "after the example of some of the holiest of men." For the rest, about times and places of prayer, and the other forms and ordinances of public worship, Milton is very latitudinarian. Church-going is good; fasting and the like are good; a moderate attention to ceremonial in worship is good; but a devout heart is the main thing. Times and places for prayer are indifferent; liturgies and set forms of prayer are bad; the Lord's Prayer itself was not meant as a formula for incessant repetition; and prayer need not even be audible to be real and efficient. The most pronounced feature of this part of the treatise, however, is its Anti-Sabbatarianism. Milton is an Anti-Sabbatarian thoroughly and to the last extreme. The Mosaic Law having been abolished under the Christian dispensation, and the Decalogue as part of it, the Jewish Sabbath has vanished; nor is there any shade of divine authority for the substitution of the first day of the week for equivalent

or corresponding observance by Christians. It is uncertain whether the festival of "the Lord's Day," which is mentioned but once by that name in Scripture, was weekly or annual; and the sole reasons for observing Sunday as a day of rest and of public worship are that one day in seven seems convenient for those purposes and that the Sunday has been generally selected. One must be careful, he says, to allow no more than this,—which he perceives to be very much the view of Calvin, Bucer, and others he names,—and to protest against the allegation of a divine commandment for Sunday observance, and also against any edict of magistrates requiring such observance. It is even a sin to keep Sunday if by keeping it one should seem to acknowledge, or should encourage, the notion of its Sabbatic obligation, inasmuch as it is always a sin to limit Christian liberty by inventing imaginary sins, or to burden human life with laws and prohibitions not imposed by the Gospel.

With various classes of persons, on very various grounds, it may be matter for regret that such a treatise as that of which we have thus given a summary was ever written by Milton or has come down with his name attached. That is no concern of ours. The book exists; it is Milton's, and was his solemn and last bequest to all Christendom; and, having done our proper duty by it in the preceding summary, we have only to append such remarks as seem requisite historically. These are three:—(1) Milton's theological views had been progressive and had undergone changes. He certainly was not an Arian or Anti-Trinitarian of any kind in 1629, when he wrote the *Ode on the Nativity*, and there spoke of Christ as having sat from all eternity as "the midst of Trinal Unity," nor as late as 1641, when he closed his first prose-pamphlet, *Of Reformation*, with the tremendous prayer in which he invoked Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as "one Tri-personal Godhead," to look down with pity on the afflicted Church and State of England. As certainly, he did not hold the doctrine of soul-sleeping or the suspension of personal consciousness between death and the Resurrection when he wrote lines 85–92 of his *Penseroso*,

or the ecstatic conclusions of his *Lycidas* and *Epitaphium Damonis* in 1637 and 1639. Nor was he an Arminian or Anti-Calvinist on the subject of Predestination and Free Will in 1644, when he spoke in his *Areopagitica* of "the acute and distinct Arminius" as having been "perverted" by reading an anonymous book. Similarly, his Metaphysical Pantheism, his Cosmological Materialism, and even his Anti-Sabbatarianism, may have been opinions of comparatively late formation. His drift into these and other heterodoxies may have begun about 1644, when he exchanged his temporary Presbyterianism or semi-Presbyterianism in Church-government for Independency or Congregationalism, breaking off also from the Presbyterians and associating himself rather with the freer Independents and miscellaneous sects in the interest of his special Divorce controversy. Most probably the definite formation of the system of views propounded in his posthumous treatise is to be ascribed to the time of his Secretaryship to the Commonwealth and the Protectorate between 1649 and 1660; but it is possible enough that the system was not finally consolidated and did not receive some of its most characteristic peculiarities till after the Restoration. (2) Milton cannot be identified, by the sum-total of his theological views at the last, with any one of the English sects or denominations of his time. A professed Congregationalist in Church-polities, though with a tendency to absolute Individualism, a strenuous Protestant in the main principle of reverence for no other external authority in religion than that of the Bible, and a confirmed anti-Prelatist and Anti-State-Church-man, he had manifest points of sympathy theologically with several of the massive sects of English Nonconformists, but complete agreement with none of them. The Baptists, and especially the General Baptists, might have claimed him for some of his views, but would have repudiated him for others; he had a liking for the Quakers, and for some of their habits and principles, but no patience for their Peace and Non-interference notions, their rigidity in trifles, and their proscription of the graces; and, while he acknowledged the Socinians as honest and very tolerable Christians, he thought them too low and merely

rationalistic in their version of Christianity, too incapable of the Biblical mysteries and grandeurs. (3) It would be a mistake to say of Milton, on any of these accounts, or on account of his Anti-Sabbatarianism and Latitudinarianism generally, or on account of the extreme boldness and heterodoxy of some of his speculations, that he did not belong most truly and properly to the great Puritan body of his countrymen. We have seen sufficiently in these pages what English Puritanism really was, through what phases it passed, what multiform varieties of thinking and of free-thinking it included. Only an unscholarly misconception of Puritanism, a total ignorance of the actual facts of its history, will ever seek, now or henceforward, to rob English Puritanism of Milton, or Milton of his title to be remembered as the genius of Puritan England.

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